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Communities of Dissent. Social Network Analysis of Religious Dissident Groups in Languedoc in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries

Delfina Isabel Nieto Isabel

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Look again at that dot.
That's here. That's home. That's us.
On it everyone you love, everyone you know,
everyone you ever heard of,
every human being who ever was,
lived out their lives.
The aggregate of our joy and suffering,
thousands of confident religions, ideologies, and economic doctrines,
every hunter and forager, every hero and coward,
every creator and destroyer of civilization,
every king and peasant, every young couple in love,
every mother and father, hopeful child,
inventor and explorer,
every teacher of morals, every corrupt politician,
every 'superstar,' every 'supreme leader,'
every saint and sinner in the history of our species lived there
—on a mote of dust suspended in a sunbeam.

Carl Sagan, *Pale Blue Dot: A Vision of the Human Future in Space*

Abstract

This dissertation focuses on the application of the methods of Social Network Analysis to the study of religious dissident movements in late medieval Languedoc. The aim of the project is to analyse the community performance of late Cathars, and Beguins of Languedoc in order to identify and compare organizational patterns and to reassess the participation of women in late medieval heresy. The study is based on a relational reading of inquisitorial sources, mainly registers and books of sentences. I argue that the relational nature of inquisitorial records makes them the ideal source not only for the study of social relationships within dissident religious movements but also for the application of formal network analysis methods. This approach stresses the need to consider the dissident community as encompassing both priestlike elites traditionally identified as the leadership of heretical groups and the social basis that shaped them and made them possible. Furthermore, as will be discussed, despite the current acknowledgement of the importance of female involvement in religious dissent, the fact that women were soon excluded from sacerdotal functions within some of these non-orthodox communities has fostered the underestimation of their contribution as brokers and, therefore, as key players within spiritual networks.

The following pages will describe the different kinds of relations between actors that can be retrieved from the sources, as well as the role played by women in such relational structures. Acquaintanceship, family, and friendship ties are the most common, but the flows of information, beliefs, money, victuals, and relics have also been considered. In the case of women, the application of this methodology shows that they were central in sustaining dissident networks, but that this function was neither exclusive to them nor their sole purpose. Finally, I will propose that understanding the relational mechanisms that led new members to join the network—that is, to convert—contributes to the ongoing debate on the so-called “invention of heresy.” Thus, the social dimension of the flow of beliefs and spiritual practices leads to the conclusion that the networks that can be extracted from inquisitorial records were indeed social networks and not inquisitorial constructs, and that they provided the basis for the transmission of alternative religious cultures.

Resumen

Esta tesis se centra en la aplicación de los métodos de Análisis de Redes Sociales al estudio de los movimientos religiosos disidentes en el Languedoc tardomedieval. El objetivo del proyecto es analizar la *performance* comunitaria de los grupos cátaros tardíos y de los beguinos del Languedoc con el fin de identificar y comparar patrones organizativos y reevaluar la participación de las mujeres en la disidencia espiritual de este período. El estudio se basa en una lectura relacional de las fuentes inquisitoriales, principalmente registros y libros de sentencias. Sostengo que la naturaleza relacional de los registros inquisitoriales los convierte en la fuente ideal no sólo para el estudio de las relaciones sociales dentro de los movimientos religiosos disidentes, sino también para la aplicación de métodos formales de análisis en redes. Este enfoque enfatiza la necesidad de considerar que el concepto de comunidad disidente abarca tanto a las élites sacerdotales, tradicionalmente identificadas como líderes de grupos heréticos, como a la base social que los formaba y los hizo posibles. Además, como se discutirá más adelante, a pesar del reconocimiento actual de la importancia de la participación femenina en la disidencia religiosa, el hecho de que las mujeres fueran pronto excluidas de las funciones sacerdotales dentro de algunas de estas comunidades no ortodoxas ha

fomentado la subestimación de su contribución como intermediarias y, por lo tanto, como actores clave dentro de las redes espirituales.

En las páginas siguientes se describen los diferentes tipos de relaciones entre los actores que se pueden obtener de las fuentes, así como el papel desempeñado por las mujeres en dichas estructuras relacionales. Los lazos de amistad, familia y amistad son los más comunes, pero también se han considerado los flujos de información, creencias, dinero, suministros y reliquias. En el caso de las mujeres, la aplicación de esta metodología muestra que fueron centrales para el apoyo material de las redes disidentes, pero que esta función no era exclusiva de ellas ni era su único propósito. Finalmente, propondré que la comprensión de los mecanismos relacionales que llevaban a los nuevos miembros a unirse a la red -es decir, a convertirse- contribuirá al debate en curso sobre la llamada “invención de la herejía”. Así, la dimensión social del flujo de creencias y prácticas espirituales lleva a la conclusión de que las redes que se pueden extraer de los registros inquisitoriales eran en realidad redes sociales y no constructos inquisitoriales, y que proporcionaron la base para la transmisión de culturas religiosas alternativas.

Resum

Aquesta tesi se centra en l'aplicació dels mètodes d'Anàlisi de Xarxes Socials a l'estudi dels moviments religiosos dissidents al Llenguadoc tardomedieval. L'objectiu del projecte és analitzar la *performance* comunitària dels grups càtars tardans i dels beguins del Llenguadoc per tal d'identificar i comparar patrons organitzatius i reavaluar la participació de les dones a la dissidència espiritual d'aquest període. L'estudi es basa en una lectura relacional de les fonts inquisitorials, principalment registres i llibres de sentències. Mantinc que la naturalesa relacional dels registres inquisitorials els converteix en la font ideal no només per a l'estudi de les relacions socials dins dels moviments religiosos dissidents, sinó també per a l'aplicació de mètodes formals d'anàlisi en xarxes. Aquest enfocament emfatitza la necessitat de considerar que el concepte de comunitat dissident abasta tant a les elits sacerdotals, tradicionalment identificades com a líders de grups herètics, com a la base social que els formava i els va fer possibles. A més, com es discutirà més endavant, tot i el reconeixement actual de la importància de la participació femenina a la dissidència religiosa, el fet que les dones fossin aviat excloses de les funcions sacerdotals dins d'algunes d'aquestes comunitats no ortodoxes ha fomentat que se subestimi la seva contribució com a intermediàries i, per tant, com a actors clau dins de les xarxes espirituals.

A les pàgines següents es descriuen els diferents tipus de relacions entre actors que es poden obtenir a partir de les fonts, així com el paper exercit per les dones en aquestes estructures relacionals. Els llaços d'amistat, família i amicitia són els més comuns, però també s'han considerat els fluxes d'informació, creences, diners, subministraments i relíquies. En el cas de les dones, l'aplicació d'aquesta metodologia mostra que van ser centrals per al suport material de les xarxes dissidents, però que aquesta funció no era exclusiva d'elles ni era el seu únic propòsit. Finalment, proposaré que la comprensió dels mecanismes relacionals que portaven als nous membres a unir-se a la xarxa, és a dir, a convertir-se, contribuirà al debat en curs sobre l'anomenada “invenció de l'heretgia”. Així, la dimensió social del flux de creences i pràctiques espirituals porta a la conclusió que les xarxes que es poden extreure dels registres inquisitorials eren en realitat xarxes socials i no constructes inquisitorials, i que van proporcionar la base per a la transmissió de cultures religioses alternatives.

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CHAPTER ONE



Introduction

*Ce qui vaut pour le biologiste, ce qui pour lui est sagesse et raison—
comment pour l'historien serait-ce sottise, et déraison?
Comment celui qui cherche à travailler sur la plus complexe de toutes les matières,
sur l'activité historique des hommes,
accepterait-il de se lancer plus longtemps à l'aventure, sans boussole, isolément,
et de n'implorer comme dieu que le Hasard?*

(Lucien Febvre, *Combats pour l'Histoire*, 76)¹

1.1 Presentation and objectives

Between the twelfth and the fourteenth centuries, the region of Languedoc, in fact, the whole area spanning between the north-east of the Iberian Peninsula and northern Italy, witnessed the emergence of a series of new forms of piety that later became the centre of new religious expressions. Some of these fell quite effortlessly within the framework of orthodoxy, giving rise to new institutional contexts, that is, new religious orders, while others ended up being regarded as heretical, and thus their followers turned—more or less unwillingly—into religious dissidents.² The main objective of this work is to analyse the community performance of some of them through an innovative methodology that will help identify the existence of common patterns of articulation and reassess the participation of women in these movements. To this purpose, I will study the sources from the perspective of social network analysis, testing the validity of its application to medieval sources and outlining of a revised picture of religious dissent.

It is for many reasons that the twelfth and thirteenth centuries are considered a transcendent moment for the creation of Europe, but the changes introduced during this period in the field

¹ Lucien Febvre, “Pour une histoire dirigée. Les recherches collectives et l'avenir de l'histoire,” in *Combats pour l'Histoire*, (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, 1992, 76. URL: http://classiques.uqac.ca/classiques/febvre_lucien/Combats_pour_lhistoire/febvre_combats_pour_histoire.pdf.

² This notion is of course indebted to the work of Herbert Grundmann, *Religiöse Bewegungen im Mittelalter* (Berlin: Ebering, 1935), who argued in favour of the common inspiration of spiritual groups that ended up both inside and outside the Church, comparing, in particular, the figures of Valdes and Francis of Assisi. I will return to Grundmann's work and his influence on the study of religious movements in the following section.

of religious piety are truly paradigmatic.³ It was then that spirituality gradually ceased being the monopoly of ecclesiastical authority and opened up to new views and experiences. In particular, the most innovative phenomenon was the massive involvement of the laity, who sought a more direct and intense participation in religious practice. Thus, by the end of the twelfth century, non-institutional expressions were widespread and the Church was forced to devote extraordinary efforts to impose constraints and exert control over these movements.⁴ The desire to lead a new way of life, more in tune with evangelical aspirations, expanded quickly to all social strata, and poverty became a central issue, a social, ethical, and religious value that encompassed not only material poverty but also voluntary poverty as the highest expression of spiritual commitment.⁵ It is precisely this framework that, from the twelfth century onwards, brought about the emergence of the Beguines in northern Europe and elsewhere, but also of other spiritual groups such as the Italian Humiliati, the Waldensians, the Beguins of Languedoc, and also to some extent, the so-called ‘Cathars’.⁶ An overall approach that considers the functioning and organisation of different dissident communities against a new methodological background is bound to provide new and rewarding interpretations.

The present work has its origins in the Master Dissertation entitled “*Qui spiritus ambo sunt unum. Diálogo y conversación entre los sexos en las redes de espiritualidad beguina del Languedoc*,” whose conclusions hinted at the gendering of central roles in the complex network of communities of Languedocian Beguins, closely related to the most rigorist Franciscanism.⁷ On that basis, the main hypotheses of the present work are as follows: (1) between the second half

³ For a general overview of the spiritual context of the period—besides the aforementioned Grundmann, *Religiöse Bewegungen im Mittelalter*—see André Vauchez, *Les laïcs au Moyen Age. Pratiques et expériences religieuses* (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1987).

⁴ See, especially, Robert I. Moore, *The Formation of a Persecuting Society. Authority and Deviance in Western Europe, 950–1250* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1987).

⁵ On the topic of poverty and its importance for the spiritual movements of the late Middle Ages, see the classic Lester K. Little, *Religious Poverty and the Profit Economy in Medieval Europe* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1983.)

⁶ Despite the fact that ‘Cathar’ is a nowadays widely popularised term and frequently used in academic writing, the religious communities it refers to never used it to describe themselves, especially in Languedoc; for that reason, I will try to avoid it as much as possible, and otherwise will place it between quotation marks. I will return to this point in the following chapters. For an overview and interpretation of the Beguine phenomenon, see Bernard McGinn, *The Flowering of mysticism: men and women in the new mysticism, 1200–1350* (New York, NY: Crossroad, 1998); and Victoria Cirlot and Blanca Garí, *La mirada interior: escritoras místicas y visionarias en la Edad Media* (Barcelona: Martínez Roca, 1999). For a study on the Humiliati, see Frances Andrews, *The Early Humiliati* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999). The next chapter will provide ample references for the study of the three major heretical groups of the period.

⁷ The preliminary conclusions of this study were published in Delfi I. Nieto-Isabel, “*Qui spiritus ambo sunt unum. The Network of Beguin Spirituality in the Early 14th-century Languedoc*,” in *Women’s Networks of Spiritual Promotion in the Peninsular Kingdoms (13th–16th Centuries)*, ed. Blanca Garí (Rome: Viella, 2013), 147–66.

of the thirteenth century and the first half of the fourteenth century, in southern France, dissident spiritual communities developed clandestine operational and coordination strategies to ensure the circulation of beliefs and the survival of the group as such. These strategies share certain patterns of articulation that evidence the underlying spiritual networks behind these communities of dissent; (2) the relational nature of inquisitorial records makes them the ideal source for the application of the formal methods of social network analysis to the study of personal connections within religious movements, but understanding the sociological features and constraints of the inquisitorial procedure is essential for this approach to succeed; and (3) the role played by men and women within the spiritual networks of the various movements was functionally differentiated, and resulted in a reinforcement of the structure supporting the community.

Given that the subjects of this dissertation were members of dissident groups, and although the topic of religious dissent will be addressed in detail in Section 2.1, it is important to note here that I will not be using the term ‘heresy’ unless explicitly referring to the views of the Church. Despite the fact that, as will be shown throughout this dissertation, these groups differed greatly in their views, practices, beliefs, intents, and attitudes towards the hierarchical Roman Church, defining them as ‘heretics’ leans on the discourse and terminology of the persecuting authority; a terminology loaded with doctrinal connotations. Although the use of ‘heresy’ is still widespread in Anglophone scholarship, the terms ‘dissent’ and ‘dissidence,’ widely used by French scholars since the late 1960s, have been gaining momentum for some years now and will be the norm throughout the following pages.⁸

The choice of ‘dissent’ over ‘heresy’ is especially significant bearing in mind that the sources for this dissertation were mostly produced within the inquisitorial system. These sources will be described in detail in Section 2.3, which will also discuss some of the problems presented by their nature, such as: a lack of coherent chronology; the fact that they are compilations and excerpts of previous registers; that they refer to previous depositions now lost; and that they include the mistakes of seventeenth-century copyists, for the main corpus is formed by manuscripts 21 to 39 of the Doat Collection now kept in the Bibliothèque nationale de France.⁹

⁸ See, for instance, Julien Théry, “L’hérésie des bons hommes. Comment nommer la dissidence religieuse non vaudois ni béguine en Languedoc (XIIe–début du XIVe siècle)?” *Heresis* 36–37 (2002): 75–117; and Pilar Jiménez-Sánchez, *Les catharismes. Modèles dissidents du christianisme médiéval (XIIe–XIIIe siècles)* (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2008). See especially, *ibid.*, 34–35, for an account of George Duby’s argument in favour of using the term *dissident* instead of *hérétique*

⁹ I am very grateful for the financial support I have received from the projects led by Dr. Blanca Garí, *Topografía de la espiritualidad femenina mendicante en Cataluña y Reinos Peninsulares de la Edad Media* (HAR2008-02426/HIST), thanks to which I was able to obtain digitised copies of MSS 27 and 28 of the Doat Collection, and *CLAUSTRA. Atlas de espiritualidad femenina* (HAR2011-25127) that funded my attendance to the *Digital Humanities Summer School at Oxford* in 2014 and 2105, which, besides helping me develop my skills in that field, allowed me to spend

Moreover, I have also analysed the data provided by the inquisition carried out by Jacques Fournier between 1318 and 1325 in seven Pyrenean villages, and the sentences connected to the inquests conducted by Bernard Gui during his activity as inquisitor, recorded in his *Liber Sententiarum*.¹⁰ Finally, the evolution of the inquisitorial procedure has been gleaned from the *Processus inquisitionis*—also known as *Ordo processus Narbonensis*—the first manual for the inquisitors of Languedoc, commissioned by Pope Innocent IV and the archbishop of Narbonne and written by Bernard de Caux and Jean de Saint-Pierre in 1247, and Bernard Gui’s *Practica inquisitionis heretice pravitatis*.¹¹

Despite the problems associated with the use of inquisitorial registers, their confessional nature has made them a traditionally attractive source for historians, for they seem to provide a glimpse of a past reality. In the present work, the data extracted from these sources have been processed with the purpose of implementing a methodological approach based on social network analysis; its development is precisely the last objective of this dissertation.¹² The goal of formal network analysis is not to acknowledge that networks exist, but, assuming they do, to describe their patterns in order to understand their effects.¹³ With the aim of importing theoretical network concepts to further historical analysis, the following pages will explore the groups of medieval religious dissenters from a relational perspective. In fact, as I will show in Section 1.3,

a short stay at the Bodleian Library where the microfilmed copies of MSS Doat 21 to 39 are kept.

¹⁰ The only extant copy of the register of Fournier’s inquisitions is a parchment copy made from Fournier’s private library for the personal use of the bishop, MS Lat. 4030 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, edited in Jean Duvernoy, ed., *Le Registre d’Inquisition de Jacques Fournier, évêque de Pamiers, 1318-1325* (Paris–La Haye: Mouton–École des hautes études en sciences sociales, 1978). The registers of the inquisitions conducted by Bernard Gui are extant in Add. MS 4697 British Museum, and edited in Annette Pales-Gobilliard, ed., *Le livre des sentences de l’inquisiteur Bernard Gui (1308-1323)* (Paris: CNRS, 2002).

¹¹ The *Processus inquisitionis* was edited in Ad Tardif, “Document pour l’histoire du *processus per inquisitionem* et de l’*inquisitio heretice pravitatis*,” *Nouvelle Revue du droit français et étranger* 7 (1883): 669–678. Gui’s manual has been analysed both from the edition in Guillaume Mollat, ed., *Manuel de l’inquisiteur Bernard Gui* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1964), and from the excerpts recorded in MS Doat 30.

¹² The hypothesis that dissident groups were organized a specific type of mathematically modelled networks was put forward in Paul Ormerod and Andrew P. Roach, “The Medieval Inquisition: Scale-free Networks and the Suppression of Heresy,” *Physica A* 339 (2004): 645–652. Although I agree with their initial premise, their rather theoretical paper was basically focused on the use the inquisitors could have made of this notion in order to better prosecute ‘heretical groups’, the authors taking the ecclesiastical analogy that regarded heresy as a disease at face value. Furthermore, they claimed that “the evidence from medieval history is inevitably far more qualitative than quantitative, and is not open to the kind of rigorous analysis which can be carried out on, for example, the structures of the world wide web,” see *ibid.*, 653. As I will try to show in the following chapters, it is my opinion that a formal productive study can be carried out through a thorough analysis of inquisitorial registers in specific contexts in order to glean the topology of the network structures of dissident spiritual communities.

¹³ The theoretical and practical implications of applying network analysis to historical problems will be discussed in Section 1.3. See Claire Lemerrier, “Formal network methods in history: why and how?” *Neurocomputing* 71, no.1 (2008): 1257–1273, for an overview of the suitability of this approach for historical research.

social network analysis was developed to deal with data obtained by questionnaires, and, in spite of their other limitations, inquisitorial records are probably the historical source that can best accommodate this model.

The fact that the registers and books of sentences are not complete, which sometimes poses an unsurmountable obstacle for statistical analysis, does not necessarily hinder network studies, because analysing a ‘complete’ network is not the only productive option.¹⁴ As will be discussed in the chapters below, in the worst-case scenario, the network extracted from these sources will still outline part of the spiritual network the inquisitors intended to uncover, but, as will also be argued, will not provide a manufactured view full of false connections. Unquestionably, it will lack information, not only because of the characteristic gaps of inquisitorial registers, but also because deponents were first and foremost ‘confessing subjects’ who were forced to testify, and thus were likely to lie or at least conceal information out of fear.¹⁵ However, the aim here is not to map all the connections between all the members of the spiritual network, but to be aware of the limitations of the sources and to choose well our questions. As a result, the answers will be informative enough to detect structures that might not have been recognised by those involved in them, but that nonetheless provide information about the mechanisms behind them.

To this end, Chapter 3 will analyse in depth the communities connected to the so-called ‘heresy of the burned Beguins’, also known as Beguins of Languedoc. The goal is to characterise the members of this group, to trace the formation process of their identity as a distinct religious expression, and, more importantly, to study the structure of the network they formed. This movement was regarded as a ‘new heresy’ by ecclesiastical authorities, and was treated as such by inquisitors, who struggled to define the beliefs and practices that could help identify them. In contrast, Chapter 4 will look into the composition, territorial distribution, religious performance, and structure of a contemporary group that was perceived as part of a much older heresy, the ‘Cathar’ network of the early fourteenth century. Considered as the last major outbreak of this religious movement, and traditionally connected to the actions of the old notary Peire Auter and his entourage, this network provides an ideal opportunity for the comparison of the nuances of

¹⁴ See Lemerrier, “Formal network methods,” 1263–1264: “Even in the richest ‘community studies,’ making use of exceptional sources and research workforce (...), we do not find any complete representation of reality, as any representation is an abstraction: maps, tables, and narratives use changing scales and successive focuses to build a composite—some would say cubistic—image.”

¹⁵ I am borrowing the expression ‘confessing subject’ from John H. Arnold, *Inquisition and Power. Catharism and the Confessing Subject in Medieval Languedoc* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001), esp. 74–110. For a study on the effects of the deponents’ fear on inquisitorial sources, see Caterina Bruschi, *The Wandering Heretics of Languedoc* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 142–189.

the inquisitorial procedure and the different network topologies characteristic of the different religious groups.¹⁶

One of the main issues addressed will be whether the structure of the sources itself and the way in which they were generated—the inquisitorial inquest—condition the structure of the resulting network or not. On the one hand, inquisitions were organised by regions and jurisdictions, and that is how the deponents were summoned, but this fact only constrains the geographic area covered by the network; it does not force individuals into being related to each other beyond their birthplace and place of residence. On the other hand, did the way in which questions were formulated pre-determine the type of network that can be extracted from the answers? This dissertation is based on the premise that, although the formulaic inquisitorial questioning determines some properties of the network, it is not the only aspects that needs to be factored in.

In other words, despite the traits of the inquisitorial procedure, which were quite similar regardless of its targets, the networks of the different religious communities were different depending both on their own features and on the social fabric that supported them. This approach stresses the need to consider the dissident community as encompassing both priestlike elites traditionally identified as the leadership of heretical groups and the social basis that shaped them and made them possible. The resulting networks account for individual and group agency, revealing the distributed processing of beliefs, and the structurally situated strategies of the different actors. Furthermore, as will be argued, despite the current acknowledgement of the importance of female involvement in religious dissidences, the fact that women were soon excluded from sacerdotal functions within many of these non-orthodox communities has fostered the underestimation of their contribution as brokers and, therefore, as key players within spiritual networks. Female participation in the social fabric of dissident communities—a topic that has been discussed by several authors regarding specific case studies¹⁷—was central, and, in my view, must not be discussed as if it was an afterthought, but should be integral to the

¹⁶ The so-called ‘Auterius revival’ will be extensively discussed in Chapter 4, however, it is worth mentioning here that, throughout this dissertation, the names of the individuals documented in inquisitorial sources will appear in their Occitan/Catalan version. This is the result of a personal choice that in no way intends to question the approaches that opt for the Latin version of names, but admittedly takes a stance against the widespread use of French variants. Whereas it is not possible to assert that the names I will be using were the actual names these individuals recognized, it is my believe that the recourse to Occitan and Catalan forms is much closer to their linguistic context than French could ever be.

¹⁷ Richard Abels and Ellen Harrison, “The participation of Women in Languedocian Catharism,” *Medieval Studies* 61 (1979): 214–251; Anne Brenon, *Les femmes cathares* (Paris: Perrin, 1992); Gwendoline Hancke, *Les Belles Hérétiques. Être femme, noble et cathare* (Castelnaud-la-Chapelle: L’Hydre Éditions, 2001); John H. Arnold, “Heresy and Gender in the Middle Ages,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Women and Gender in Medieval Europe*, ed. Judith M. Bennett and Ruth Mazo Karras (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 496–510.

analysis of the community performance of spiritual networks. The presence of women among the members of these communities was not incidental, and should not be treated as such.¹⁸

Finally, I will propose that understanding the relational mechanisms that led new members to join the network —that is, to convert— contributes to the ongoing debate on the so-called ‘invention of heresy’.¹⁹ Thus, the social dimension of the flow of beliefs and spiritual practices leads to the conclusion that the networks that can be extracted from inquisitorial records were indeed social networks and not inquisitorial constructs, and that they provided the basis for the transmission of alternative religious cultures.

1.2 A Debate on Dissent: Literature review

In 2012, Robert I. Moore published *The War on Heresy*, an unusual book motivated by the author’s concern with the general lack of quality works on medieval history that were addressed to the general public.²⁰ Issued with only a minimal academic apparatus, the full notes and bibliography were published online.²¹ In the preface, Moore’s claim that “old men often reflect on the errors of their youth and are seldom given the opportunity to correct or (alas) to repeat them,” already hints at the main purpose of this work.²² Thirty-five years earlier, in 1977, Moore wrote *The Origins of European Dissent*, which soon became one of the seminal works on medieval religious and social history.²³ There, Moore discussed the origin and nature of religious dissent, and his conclusions had (and still have) great impact on different generations of scholars.²⁴ Among his conclusions was the belief that the reports of heresy in the eleventh

¹⁸ See Chapter 8, “Women and Heresy,” in Andrew P. Roach, *The Devil’s World: Heresy and Society 1100-1300*, (London–New York, NY: Routledge, 2005), 182–192, where the author sums up the role of women in two centuries of spiritual changes in barely ten pages and a few sparse references to Beguines in the previous chapter.

¹⁹ The next section will provide a detailed account of the origin of this debate, the different views involved in it, and my own approach to the problem.

²⁰ Robert I. Moore, *The War on Heresy. Faith and Power in Medieval Europe*, (London: Profile Books, 2012). Moore’s own account of his motivation for writing the book can be found at Robert I. Moore, “*The War on Heresy*. Notes and Bibliography,” *R I Moore*, accessed 14 April 2016, www.rimoore.net.

²¹ See previous note.

²² Moore, *The War on Heresy*, xii.

²³ I will refer to the corrected edition Robert I. Moore, *The Origins of European Dissent* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1985), although the book was originally published in 1977 by Allen Lane.

²⁴ The miscellany Michael Frassetto, ed., *Heresy and the Persecuting Society in the Middle Ages. Essays on the Work of R.I. Moore* (Leiden: Brill, 2006), a detailed and comprehensive compilation of contributions by some of the most renowned English-speaking researchers on religious dissent, attests to the influence of Moore’s work on scholarship.

and first half of the twelfth century did not refer to a single distinct religious movement but shared several common traits. Moreover, he concluded that the appearance of the so-called ‘Cathar’ sect could be placed around the 1160s, and was an entirely ‘indigenous’ phenomenon that could not be attributed to external eastern influences.²⁵ In *The War on Heresy*, however, Moore paints a rather different picture, for he presents ‘Catharism’ as a construction; in his own words, “the long-cherished ‘dualist tradition’ and the ‘Cathars of the Languedoc’ are largely mythical, and the war on heresy was proactive and creative, not reactive and defensive.”²⁶ Both Moore’s controversial self-revision and the stir it caused perfectly embody the debate that has been going on among the scholars devoted to the study of dissident religious movements in the Middle Ages over the last eighty years.²⁷ The aim of this section is to provide an overview of such debate while presenting the specific approach on which I have based my research.

In a sense, most of the conclusions of *The Origins of European Dissent* about the ‘heretical movements’ of the eleventh and twelfth centuries derived from the work of Herbert Grundmann in the 1930s. The year 2015 marked at the same time the eightieth anniversary of the first publication of Grundmann’s *Religiöse Bewegungen im Mittelalter* and the twentieth anniversary of its translation into English by Steven Rowan, *Religious Movements in the Middle Ages*.²⁸ The impact of Grundmann’s historiographical legacy is still all-pervading. His conception of ‘religious movements’ provided a new approach to the study of heresy, orthodoxy, and religious practice, and his conceptual framework enjoys a lingering influence on the scholarly community still today. I have already discussed in the previous section the ideals shared by dissident groups and the new religious orders as one of the major points of Grundmann’s view. Furthermore, his contributions to the twelfth-century resurgence of apostolic life, the issue of poverty, the importance of the vernacular culture for the spiritual involvement of the laity, especially of women, and last, but not least, the development of the notion of the ‘women’s

²⁵ For Moore’s overview of his own work, see Robert I. Moore, “Afterthoughts on *The Origins of European Dissent*,” in *Heresy and the Persecuting Society*, ed. Michael Frassetto, 291–326.

²⁶ Moore, *The War on Heresy*, 338.

²⁷ See Peter Biller’s fierce criticism and Moore’s response to it in Peter Biller, “Review of *The War on Heresy. Faith and Power in Medieval Europe*, (review no. 1546),” *Reviews in History*, accessed 14 April 2016, <http://www.history.ac.uk/reviews/review/1546>.

²⁸ Herbert Grundmann, *Religiöse Bewegungen im Mittelalter*, (Berlin: Ebering, 1935), trans. Steven Rowan (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1995). The German edition was republished in 1961 and 1975; I refer here to Herbert Grundmann, *Religiöse Bewegungen im Mittelalter: Untersuchungen über die geschichtlichen Zusammenhänge zwischen der Ketzerei, den Bettelorden und der religiösen Frauenbewegung im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert und über die Grundlagen der deutschen Mystik* (Hildesheim: Olms, 1961). It was also translated into Italian in 1980 by Mulino Bianco (Bologna).

religious movement', an expression he himself coined and which majorly influenced the works of Caroline Walker Bynum, are particularly remarkable.²⁹

The early forms of the debate on heresy were focused on whether religious dissent was primarily caused by social conditions or religious concerns. Grundmann's work was in itself a reaction against the interpretations of religious phenomena that stressed social and economic causes above all others. In fact his relative lack of consideration for the social context was one of the first criticisms his work received from Marxist historians.³⁰ Grundmann studied religion in terms of religion; in his analysis, spiritual movements are not secondary to other aspects—that is, they are not social reactions disguised as religious movements—thus, dissenters appear as religious but not social reformers. It was not until the late 1970s that *Religiöse Bewegungen* started to receive criticisms focused on the need to further explore the social background of religious dissidents.³¹ However, despite these concerns, which were in turn explicable in terms of the evolution of medievalism in the second half of the twentieth century, Grundmann's framework remained prevalent. Although the publication of the English translation of *Religiöse Bewegungen* had to wait until the last decade of the twentieth century, Grundmann's ideas were widely assimilated by North American and British scholars already in the late 1960s. In fact, it was in that period that English-speaking scholars showed an increasing interest in the study of religious dissidence, which produced, on the one hand, a number of innovative overviews on this topic, and on the other, specific studies on different dissident spiritual groups.³² Some of these works, in particular Lerner's dismantlement of the so-called heresy of the Free Spirit, brought about a wave of scepticism. However, Grundmann's influence is also to be found behind one

²⁹ Among the vast corpus of literature devoted to women's religious history, I would like to single out Bynum's works as the turning point in the perceptions of gender in medieval religion. For a discussion on the new approaches to spirituality that takes into account Grundmann's contributions, see Caroline W. Bynum, *Jesus as Mother: Studies in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982), 1–21.; see also her most influential and cited work, Caroline W. Bynum, *Holy feast and holy fast: the religious significance of food to medieval women* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), a topic she has recently revisited in Caroline W. Bynum, "Fast, feast, and flesh: the religious significance of food to medieval women," *Women in the Medieval world*, vol. 1, ed., Cordelia Beattie (Abingdon: Routledge, 2017), 243–66.

³⁰ See Claire Taylor, *Heresy in Medieval France: Dualism in Aquitaine and the Agenais, 1000-1249* (Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer, 2005), 69–77, for a detailed discussion on the criticism on Grundmann's views. The Marxist approach is presented in depth in Ernst Werner, *Häresie und gesellschaft im 11. Jahrhundert* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1975).

³¹ See Bynum, *Jesus as Mother*, 13.

³² See, among others, Robert E. Lerner, *The Heresy of the Free Spirit in the Later Middle Ages* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1972); David Burr, *The Persecution of Peter Olivi* (Philadelphia, PA: American Philosophical Society, 1976), and Peter Biller, "Curate infirmos: The Waldensian Practice of Medicine," in *The Church and Healing*, ed. William J. Sheils (Oxford: Blackwell, 1982), 55–77. The aforementioned Moore, *The Origins of European Dissent*, also belongs to this period.

of the now most traditional overviews on religious dissident movements in the Middle Ages, Malcom Lambert's *Medieval Heresy*.³³

The last decade of the twentieth century opened up a new research line for the study of 'heretical movements': literacy. North American and British scholars became increasingly interested in written culture and in addressing the relationship between spiritual dissenters and textual tradition. Thus, dissident spiritual communities became 'textual communities' and, at the same time, the sources of written texts.³⁴ In 1992, a conference on the topic "Heresy and Literacy" was held in Oxford. Its results were published in a now well-renowned volume edited by Peter Biller and Anne Hudson.³⁵ A similar interest in texts aroused in France also in the 1990s, and brought about a true renovation of French university studies on 'heresiology' that revolved around the research group led by Monique Zerner, which was mainly focused on the critical analysis and reassessment of the elaboration techniques of polemical sources. The seminar "Hérésie, stratégies d'écriture et institution ecclésiale" conducted at the Université de Nice between 1993 and 1996 resulted in the publication of a volume that Zerner introduced with the following words, "Nous nous intéressons plutôt aux manipulations des textes par l'institution ecclésiastique, c'est-à-dire au rapport du text écrit à la vérité et à la construction d'une vérité."³⁶ Their overall historical approach was in line with Moore's views, especially regarding the conclusions of another of his most influential works *The Formation of a Persecuting Society*, which he published in the late 1980s.³⁷ There, Moore hypothesised the birth of a persecuting mentality, one that created an enemy with the purpose to destroy it; moreover, according to him, medieval elites created categories of dissent and endowed them with specific features, and inquisitors were one of the mechanisms that tried to suppress difference by naming and tagging it.

Closing the circle, Moore's views paved the way for one of the strongest criticisms received by the theoretical framework established by *Religiöse Bewegungen*. Following Grundmann,

³³ This work was first published as Malcom D. Lambert, *Medieval heresy: popular movements from Bogomil to Hus* (London: Edward Arnold, 1977). In later editions, Lambert changed the subtitle to accommodate to his new views on Catharism, *Medieval heresy: popular movements from the Gregorian reform to the reformation* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992). I will go back to this topic below.

³⁴ In section 2.1 below, I will further discuss this concept, first coined in Brian Stock, *The Implications of Literacy: Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983).

³⁵ Peter Biller and Anne Hudson, eds., *Heresy and Literacy, 1000-1530* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

³⁶ Monique Zerner, ed., *Inventer l'hérésie? Discours polémiques et pouvoirs avant l'inquisition* (Nice: Centre d'études médiévales, Faculté des lettres, arts et sciences humaines, Université de Nice Sophia-Antipolis, 1998), 9. For an excellent historiographical overview of French literature on the general topic of heresy and 'Catharism' in particular, see Pilar Jiménez-Sánchez, *Les catharismes*, 25–48.

³⁷ Moore, *The Formation of a Persecuting Society*.

many modern authors have favoured intellectual or moral reasons for medieval religious dissent. However, this position is now under attack (and has been for some time) on the grounds of what Mark G. Pegg has dubbed its ‘intellectualist bias’.³⁸ In Pegg’s own words, “this prejudice assumes that heresy is basically a kind of thought, a distinctive attitude, a philosophy, a theory. The ideas (...) are perceived as something intellectually pure, uncontaminated by material existence or historical specificity.”³⁹ He claims that, in Grundmann’s ‘intellectualist’ approach, behaviours and practices follow ideas, and, most importantly, an alleged ‘original heresy’ is recognisable even through time, space, and different social contexts. Although Pegg’s assessment might seem a little too harsh, it is true that the most recent research on the inquisitorial records and the inquisitorial actions of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries—carried out by scholars such as Biget, Théry, Biller, Bruschi, Given, Arnold, and Pegg himself—concurs that the sources convey an idea of heresy that to some extent results from the mental image constructed by the inquisitorial apparatus in its purpose to eradicate it.⁴⁰ Although these scholars represent very different and often opposing approaches to the problem of ‘heresy’ and the different ‘heresies’ portrayed in inquisitorial texts, all of them share the same concern for revising and rereading the sources while downplaying the actuality of the stereotypes they construct.

Currently, most studies on dissident religiosity can be placed at some point between two diametrically opposed viewpoints: (1) those who perceive heresy as a mythical construct made up by medieval ecclesiastical authorities and perpetuated by historians who adopted the terminology of the documents generated by such authority; and (2) those who study religious dissenters and emphasise the self-awareness of their communities and their conscious dissident stance. In the specific case of the so-called ‘Cathar’ heresy, the debate is particularly belligerent. Until the late twentieth century, most historians considered the existence of Catharism a fact, a distinct heretic movement with a strong widespread doctrinal component. A unified anti-ecclesiastical group with a well-defined hierarchy, these ‘Cathars’ allegedly had their roots in the Manicheans that coexisted with the early Christians, the same sect Augustine had extensively written about around the turn of the fifth century. This picture of Catharism was largely based

³⁸ Although Pegg has made public his standpoint on the subject in many, if not all, his works, see especially, Mark G. Pegg, *The Corruption of Angels: The Great Inquisition of 1245-1246* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001), 15–19.

³⁹ Pegg, *The Corruption of Angels*, 15.

⁴⁰ The production of these authors is particularly extensive; here I point out only the most relevant works for the topic under discussion. See, Jean-Louis Biget, “‘Les Albigeois’: remarques sur une dénomination,” in *Inventer l’hérésie?*, 219–256; Julien Théry, “L’hérésie des bons hommes,” Peter Biller, “Goodbye to Waldensianism?” *Past & Present* 192, no. 1 (2006): 3–33; Bruschi, *The Wandering Heretics*; James B. Given, *Inquisition and Medieval Society: Power, Discipline, and Resistance in Languedoc*, (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1997); Arnold, *Inquisition and Power*; and Pegg, *The Corruption of Angels*.

on the accounts provided by medieval polemical sources written by the clergy. This is not to say that these claims had gone completely uncontested until the end of the last century. As early as 1848, Charles Schmidt already cast doubts on the alleged direct filiation from the Manicheans to Western Catharism.⁴¹ He also proposed a common external origin for Cathars and Bogomils, and his work was highly influential. However, the classic *A History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages*, published in 1888 by Henry Charles Lea again depicted the Cathars as a sect founded by Mani in the third century BC that reached Western Europe in the twelfth century.⁴² The Manichean connection was maintained throughout the first half of the twentieth century. In 1953, another classic, Arno Borst's *Die Katharer*—while following Grundmann's premises on religious movements—insisted on Schmidt's views that Catharism was an external phenomenon, a twelfth-century eastern import characterised by a dualist doctrine up until then unknown in the Latin world.⁴³ This dogmatic approach was predominant over several generations of historians and burdened for a long time the analysis of the origins and nature of Catharism.

From the 1950s onwards, 'revisionist' historians began to question this picture of Cathar practices and beliefs. Raffaello Morghen, following a less dogmatic approach than his predecessors, argued that the ascetic traits of eleventh-century dissenters had more to do with moral and popular concerns than with the presence and influence of an eastern dualist church.⁴⁴ The historiographic debate of the 1950s and 1960s between Morghen's stance and the more traditional views that privileged the external causes and saw the dissident communities of the eleventh century as early 'Cathars' influenced by eastern Bogomilism was crucial for the development of research on Catharism. A decade later, in 1977, as I have already mentioned, Moore's *The Origins of Medieval Dissent* moved forward the appearance of an indigenous Catharism to the 1160s, and gave powerful arguments that convinced many to abandon the Bogomil hypothesis.⁴⁵ *The Formation of a Persecuting Society* furthered the revisionist approach, which by the end of the century had already become 'deconstructionist', a stance perfectly exemplified by the works of Zerner first, and later on Pegg, and Moore's *The War on Heresy*. This approach defends that the existence of a dissident Church is a mere attribution of ecclesiastical structures—hierarchy, territorial organisation, theological interpretations, hospitality and assistance entities—to a disorganised mass of dissenting individuals. Needless

⁴¹ Charles Schmidt, *Histoire ou doctrine de la secte des cathares ou albigeois* (Paris: J. Cherbuliez, 1848-1849). Schmidt recovered and popularised the use of the term 'Cathar' among scholars.

⁴² Henry Charles Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages* (New York, NY: Harper & Brothers, 1888).

⁴³ Arno Borst, *Die Katharer*, (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1953).

⁴⁴ This work was first published in 1951; here I refer to Raffaello Morghen, *Medioevo cristiano* (Rome: Laterza, 1984).

⁴⁵ For instance, Malcom Lambert, see n. 37 above.

to say, these theses have provoked much debate. Most recently, in 2016, Antonio Sennis brought together the latest contributions to it by some of the most outstanding names in the field. The resulting volume is a study in contrasts that includes starkly opposing views, and sometimes belligerent attacks.⁴⁶

To mention but a few of the contributions of post-revisionist historians have made to this controversy over time, in the year 2000, Anne Brenon argued that polemical sources did not ‘invent’ but rather codified the beliefs and practices of ‘Cathar’ dissidents, adapting them to their own discourse.⁴⁷ In 2009, Caterina Bruschi criticised deconstructionism for denying all agency to dissenters, turning them and their beliefs into mere instruments of the institutions and elites that did hold such agency.⁴⁸ In 2011, Lucy Sackville provided a detailed account of ‘revisionist’ historiography, and argued that the obscure origins of the ‘Cathars’ and the fact that contemporary sources called them ‘Manicheans’—undoubtedly adopting a constructed image of a heresy that was familiar to them through the writings of Augustine—does not justify disregarding all evidence supporting their existence.⁴⁹ Finally, in the aforementioned 2016 volume, Claire Taylor incisively argues that, “This matters at an ethical level, because by being cleverly iconoclastic and populist in suggesting that those using ‘Cathar’ have made $2 + 2 = 5$, Pegg and now Moore have $2 + 2 = 3$.”⁵⁰

The studies devoted to Waldensianism, or the movement of the Poor of Lyons, have also seen their fair share of debate. The ‘Cathars’ and the Waldensians, or Poor of Lyons, were the most important ‘heretical’ groups of the Middle Ages, and for that reason both Catholic and Protestant historians presented them at some point as the predecessors of the Protestant Reformation, obviously with very different purposes in mind and using very different arguments.⁵¹

⁴⁶ Antonio Sennis, ed., *Cathars in Question* (Woodbridge: York Medieval Press, 2016).

⁴⁷ Anne Brenon, “Le catharisme méridional: Questions et problèmes.” In *Le Pays cathare: Les religions médiévales et leurs expressions méridionales*, ed. Jacques Berlioz, (Paris: Seuil 2000), 81-100. I borrow Claire Taylor’s expression ‘post-revisionism’ to label historians who do not agree with deconstructionist approaches but nevertheless feel the need for a more nuanced reading of the sources and do not necessarily support the Bogomil connection. Taylor, *Heresy in Medieval France*, 2 et seq.

⁴⁸ Bruschi, *The Wandering Heretics*, 7 and 105–106.

⁴⁹ Lucy Sackville, *Heresy and Heretics in the Thirteenth Century. The Textual Representations* (Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer, 2011).

⁵⁰ Claire Taylor, “Looking for the ‘Good Men’ in the Languedoc: An Alternative to ‘Cathars’?”, in *Cathars in Question*, ed. Antonio Sennis (Woodbridge: York Medieval Press, 2016), 244.

⁵¹ See, Jiménez-Sánchez, *Les catharismes*, 25–31, for the claims of Catholic and Protestant historians about the ancestry of Protestantism; see also, Biller “Goodbye to Waldensianism?”, 3–4, for a specific account of confessional writing on the history of the Waldensians.

However, two main features of Waldensianism clearly marked a difference in the evolution of its historiography and in the paths the controversies surrounding it would follow. First, whereas the origins of ‘Catharism’ are still most uncertain and, as I have shown, have given rise to a variety of hypotheses, Waldensianism was founded by a merchant from Lyons called Valdes in the early 1170s, and condemned as schismatic in 1184.⁵² The movement, formed by a select group whose members took religious vows and their followers, spread from Lyons over a vast geographic area. Secondly, unlike ‘Catharism’ and most other persecuted religious dissenters, Waldensianism did not disappear; it survived until the sixteenth century and even retained its name, although losing most of its original character.

Post-medieval reformed Waldensians were the first to write the history of medieval Waldensians, trying to see early hints of the movement even before Valdes and underplaying its initial orthodoxy and Catholic characteristics. In the second half of the nineteenth century, drawing on the work of confessional authors, historians discovered new sources and produced modern overviews.⁵³ In 1935, one of the main contributions of Grundmann’s *Religiöse Bewegungen* was, as I have noted above, the claim that dissident groups and the new religious orders were based on similar ideals; the German scholar precisely exemplified it by establishing the parallels between the figures of Valdes and St Francis of Assisi, which furthered non-confessional research on Waldensianism and a new and more thorough revision of polemical and inquisitorial sources. From the 1970s onwards, the same scepticism that progressively took hold of the new approaches to the history of ‘heretical’ movements, fostered by Lerner’s dismantlement of the Free Spirit in 1972, started to shake the well-established foundations of the views on the Waldensian movement which, up until the 1980s, was still seen as a mostly unified spiritual group, despite minor theological differences within its ranks. While some historians still held to their views, some others adopted the ‘deconstructionist’ approach and cast doubts upon the identity, continuity, and coherence of Waldensianism; mostly Euan Cameron and Grado Merlo.⁵⁴ They emphasised the differences of the so-called Waldensians between different communities, regions, and time periods, which led Merlo to propose the plural *valdismi* in order to better reflect the reality of a movement that was no longer seen as the once homogenous

⁵² See Gabriel Audisio, *The Waldensian Dissent. Persecution and Survival, c. 1170–c. 1570*, trans. Claire Davison (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 6–25, for the origins of the movement; the book was originally published in 1989 as *Les ‘Vaudois’: naissance, vie et mort d’une dissidence (XIIe–XVIe siècle)*.

⁵³ Among others, Karl Müller, *Die Waldenser und ihre einzelnen Gruppen: bis zum Anfang des 14. Jahrhunderts* (Gotha: F.A. Perthes, 1886) URL: <https://archive.org/details/diewaldenserundi00mull>; for a thorough review of Waldensian historiography see Biller, “Goodbye to Waldensianism?”.

⁵⁴ See Euan K. Cameron, *The Reformation of the Heretics: The Waldenses of the Alps, 1480–1580* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984); Grado G. Merlo, *Valdesi e valdismi medievali: itinerari e proposte di ricerca* (Turin: Claudiana, 1984).

Waldensianism. Cameron and Merlo called for the need for a more critical approach to the sources and the transgressive identities provided (constructed) by them. In his influential article of 2006, “Goodbye to Waldensianism?,” Peter Biller, carried out an in-depth analysis of the critical historiography that aimed to ‘demolish’ Waldensianism.⁵⁵ Stating that, “it is perhaps time now to toy with the idea that deconstruction has gone too far and to mount a case against it,” Biller proceeded to detail what he considered the main flaws of Cameron’s and Merlo’s arguments.⁵⁶ While admitting the need for revisiting the sources, his ‘demolishing’ criticism points out how deconstructionists often leave out evidence that would weaken their theses, how it is necessary to draw lines between the different inquisitors and polemicists, and finally, how although it is useful to gauge the variety of practices and beliefs within a spiritual group and between its different communities, these ‘individuation’ also needs moderation, for it can lead to the virtual dismantlement of any spiritual expression.

In contrast to the lively historiographical tradition of the study of Cathars and Waldensians, the modern academic interest in the so-called Beguins of Languedoc can only be traced back to the second half of the twentieth century. The reasons for this circumstance are probably manyfold. First, the documentary evidence of their practices, beliefs, and experiences has been partially eclipsed by the much more numerous records relevant to the study of the other two groups, whose activities extended over a far longer timespan. Secondly, most of such evidence is only extant in several manuscripts copied centuries after the events they recorded, and a few other sparse documents. Thirdly, these groups did not leave an imprint in the artistic production of the period, and, finally, unlike Cathars and Waldensians, they were never considered the forerunners of the Protestant Reformation.⁵⁷ The rediscovery of the fate of the Beguin communities of Languedoc must be attributed to the work of Raoul Manselli, which influenced, to a greater or lesser extent, all later contributions. His extensive production devoted to the Franciscan sphere and its most rigorist faction includes *Spirituali e Beghini in Provenza*, which, in the late 1950s provided the first overview of the inquisitorial actions against these groups and their relation to the evolution of the Franciscan Order from the last quarter of the thirteenth century to the 1330s.⁵⁸ Manselli’s work presented such actions in a chronological order and providing plenty of examples, while stressing the common traits within the movement and underlining the cases he considered most

⁵⁵ Peter Biller has mainly devoted his research to the study of Waldensianism; see, besides the already cited Biller, “*Curate infirmos*,” and “Goodbye to Waldensianism?,” Peter Biller, *The Waldenses, 1170-1530: between a religious order and a church* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001).

⁵⁶ Biller, “Goodbye to Waldensianism?,” 17.

⁵⁷ See Jean Duvernoy, “Une ‘hérésie’ en bas Languedoc: l’affaire des béguins,” *Etudes sur l’Hérault* 4 (1988): 88-89, for an inventory of the few material remains that can be associated with these communities.

⁵⁸ Raoul Manselli, *Spirituali e beghini in Provenza* (Rome: Nella sede dell’Istituto, 1959).

remarkable. The appendices include the transcription of some hitherto unpublished depositions. On the basis of these documents, Manselli outlined the community life of these groups before the inquisitorial prosecution, focusing—again in line with Grundmann’s framework—on the shared beliefs and the deviations from these.

Much more recently, in 2008, the works of Louisa Burnham were a most significant contribution to the study of the so-called Beguins of Languedoc.⁵⁹ Following Manselli’s methodology and discourse, Burnham added evidence to the study by examining notarial sources and delving deeper into the mechanisms of prosecution and the strategies used by the accused to avoid them. As for the situation before the inquisitorial intervention, Burnham repeats Manselli’s views and the different figures singled out by her study come to life through the roles they played in the clandestine atmosphere that surrounded their persecution.⁶⁰ In the appendix to her work, Burnham provides a transcription of the formerly unpublished Beguin Martyrology—kept in the Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel (Germany)—which lists the accused who were handed over to the secular arm and subsequently burned at the stake.⁶¹

Given the relationship between the Beguin communities of Languedoc and the Order of St Francis, the works of David Burr, an specialist in the work of Peter of John Olivi, are an invaluable contribution to the historiographical overview presented here, in particular his monograph devoted to the history of Franciscan dissent published in 2001.⁶² This study includes a brief analysis of the prosecution and persecution of Beguin communities. His focus, once again, is on the beliefs of these spiritual dissenters and their relation to Olivi’s apocalyptic framework and the so-called ‘Spiritual’ Franciscans.⁶³ Last but not least among the overviews of the Beguin communities of Languedoc is Blanca Garí’s analysis, published in 2006.⁶⁴

⁵⁹ See, among others, Burnham, *So Great a Light*; Louisa A. Burnham, “A Prosopography of the Beguins and Spiritual Friars of Languedoc”, *Oliviana* 2 (2006): 2–17, accessed 14 April 2016, <http://www.oliviana.org/document37.html>; and most recently, Louisa A. Burnham, “The Angel With the Book,” in *Pietro di Giovanni Olivi frate minore. Atti del XLIII Convegno internazionale, Assisi, 16-18 ottobre 2015* (Spoleto: CISAM, 2016), 363–94.

⁶⁰ See Arnold, *Inquisition and Power*, 1–15, for a reflection on the role of historians when facing inquisitorial sources; see also Burnham, *So Great a Light*, 58–59, for her own stance on the matter.

⁶¹ Ms. 1006, Wolfenbüttel Herzog-August-Bibliothek; I have used the edition in Burnham, *So great a light*, 189–193. Burnham completes some of the gaps and inaccuracies in the manuscript; I will return to this source in the following chapters.

⁶² David Burr, *The Spiritual Franciscans. From Protest to Persecution in the Century After Saint Francis* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001).

⁶³ One of the goals of Burr’s work is to determine the suitability of the term ‘Spiritual’ to label the different rigorist groups within the order. I will discuss these groups in detail in Chapter 3.

⁶⁴ Blanca Garí, “Fuera de la ley/Por encima de la ley: Proscripción y movimientos a institucionales en la Baja Edad Media,” in *Las figuras del desorden: heterodoxos, proscritos y marginados, Actas del V Congreso de Historia Social de España (Ciudad Real 2005)*, ed. S. Castillo and P. Oliver (Madrid: Siglo XXI, 2006), 136–166.

Her contribution stands out for the effort to outline the reality prior to the beginning of the inquisitorial prosecution, as well as for her focus on the relationships established outside the ecclesiastical institution and the hitherto overlooked or misrepresented importance of women as a whole in these communities.

To conclude, the present section has offered an overview of the most relevant approaches to the general subjects of ‘heresy’ and dissent, as well as to the study of specific dissident spiritual movements. As I have shown above, the ongoing debate about spiritual dissent moves now between two main conflicting general approaches. On the one hand, ‘deconstructionism’—lately called ‘inventionism’—claims that medieval ‘heresies’ are largely fictional constructs created by the persecuting authorities whose aim was to suppress difference. Labelling and including them into ‘categories of transgression’ made them easier to prosecute, and persecute.⁶⁵ According to this view, the misinterpretation of the sources, or, to be more precise, the excessive trust put in the discourse created by the sources, has led to the perpetuation of a sort of historical hoax. On the other hand, the most traditional views of non-revisionist scholars emphasise the conscious establishment of alternatives to orthodoxy and its institutions and elites by spiritual dissenters, often admitting external causes and turning similarities into causal relations. The fact remains that Grundmann is probably the only common ground whose importance as stepping stone in the current conceptions of spiritual movements is recognised by scholars coming from both extremes of the controversy.

It is true that many scholars still maintain outdated perspectives about the origin of medieval heresies in general—and about some of them in particular—and that in some cases, long-standing traditions and categories have not been able to sustain the force of a deep critical analysis.⁶⁶ However, it is also true that the most common criticism received by deconstructionists is that they overlook all evidence that does not fit into their framework. In all likelihood, the sources, as inquisitorial and polemical sources are meant to do, exaggerated the degree of organisation and self-awareness of ‘heretical’ communities, but to claim that there is nothing real behind them does not seem a proper historical analysis. Furthermore, attributing the perception of organised dissident spiritual communities to the ‘invention’ of ecclesiastical elites, not only denies all agency but also all notion of self-awareness to these groups, and in

⁶⁵ See Arnold, *Inquisition and Power*, esp. 37–47 and 54–56, for a discussion of the imposition of transgressive identities on the confessing subject. I will return to this point in Section 2.2.

⁶⁶ I am referring here to the so-called heresy of the Free Spirit, which is now considered the perfect example of ecclesiastical construct whose creation was motivated by the desire to discourage new devotional and mystical ways of experiencing spirituality that were seen as dangerous by the established orthodoxy. See, Lerner, *The Heresy of the Free Spirit*.

sum, their own sense of identity. As I have already pointed out in the previous section, and I will develop in detail in Chapters 3 and 4, this dissertation aims for a satisfactory compromise between ‘deconstructionism’ and ‘non-revisionism,’ both of which, in my opinion, are too rigid to successfully reflect such a multifaceted problem as ‘heresy’ in such a multifaceted context as the Middle Ages. It is my goal to approach dissident spiritual communities from a different framework: the relational perspective, for, as I will discuss in the following section, both spiritual communities and inquisitorial sources are inherently relational, which provides a unique opportunity for the application of Social Network Analysis to these historical networks.

1.3 From Social Network Analysis to Historical Networks

The current conception of Social Network Analysis (hereinafter SNA) was born around the 1970s, and it was indeed a child of many fathers, an inherently interdisciplinary field that emerged from the unlikely association of sociology, anthropology, and mathematics. Although social networks were already present—albeit indirectly—in the idea of social group first developed in the works of Durkheim and Tönnie in the 1890s,⁶⁷ it was during the 1930s that this theoretical construct saw its first major developments, brought about by the involvement of several groups of sociometric analysts, sociologists, and anthropologists.⁶⁸ Jacob L. Moreno, usually considered one of the founders of SNA, was a pioneer of sociometry, the quantitative study of social relationships, into which he incorporated the mathematical graph theory. Moreno, a psychiatrist and psychosociologist—also known for being the founder of psychodrama—published some of the first sociograms, that is, the first depictions of social networks, which he used to analyse preferences within small groups.⁶⁹ At the same time, in Harvard and Manchester, sociologists and anthropologists influenced by the works of the social anthropologist Alfred Radcliffe-Brown furthered the relationship between mathematics and social theory, a line of research that became increasingly important over the following decades.

In the 1970s, the mathematical innovations of the so-called “Harvard Revolution” represented a major breakthrough for the ever-growing number of scholars devoted to the study of social networks. Harrison White, a theoretical physicist and sociologist who was very much

⁶⁷ Émile Durkheim, *De la division du travail social: étude sur l'organisation des sociétés supérieures* (Paris: Félix Alcan, 1893); Ferdinand Tönnies, *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft* (Leipzig: Fues's Verlag, 1887).

⁶⁸ For an overview of the development of SNA from the 1930s to the present, see John P. Scott, *Social Network Analysis* (Los Angeles: SAGE, 2013), 11-39.

⁶⁹ Jacob L. Moreno, *Who Shall Survive: A New Approach to the Problem of Human Interrelations* (Washington D.C.: Nervous and Mental Disease Publishing Co., 1934).

concerned about the lack of scientificity of the analysis of social structures, became the leader of the Harvard group. White influenced many scholars, among them his student Mark Granovetter, whose renowned article “The Strength of Weak Ties” fostered the application of network analysis to a variety of case studies and popularised the methodology.⁷⁰ Finally, in the 1990s, the most recent addition to SNA was the contribution of physicists to network studies and the application of their models to social phenomena. Although harshly criticised by sociologists for their apparent disregard for (or lack of knowledge of) previous research—a criticism not entirely undeserved—the works of Watts and Strogatz, and Barabási have undeniably opened up new perspectives and de facto created the new field of sociophysics.⁷¹ However, mathematical transformations run the risk of forming empirical artefacts unless accompanied by a reflection on methodology and its corresponding theory. This reflection is one of the main objectives of this section.

One of the aims of the present dissertation is to apply SNA methods to the study of the movements of spiritual dissent in Languedoc in the Late Middle Ages. Social science studies using historical data are common enough, as are historical studies that refer to networks in a mostly qualitative, metaphorical way while actually conducting some variation of a prosopographical analysis.⁷² However, the aforementioned studies in the social sciences have sufficiently shown that the methods of SNA can be successfully applied to specific sets of historical data under certain circumstances. My goal here is to produce a historical study that results from the application of some of the theoretical concepts and methods of SNA to the analysis of a specific collection of inquisitorial sources. The necessary steps to conduct this sort of study include a careful research design, source criticism—which usually needs a previous adaptation to SNA depending on the data—interpretation and valuation, quantification if applicable, and finally, and most importantly, contextualisation and critical analysis of the results.⁷³ This merge of

⁷⁰ Mark S. Granovetter, “The Strength of Weak Ties,” *American Journal of Sociology* 78, no. 6 (1973): 1360–1380.

⁷¹ See Scott, *Social Network Analysis*, 38: “Unaware of the prior work of sociologists and social anthropologists, the social physicists have claimed to have discovered the existence of order in social life and the mathematical principles that govern it. Behind the ignorance and the hype, however, there are some interesting discoveries that do, in fact, highlight some new directions in social network analysis.” For the seminal papers of social physics, see Duncan J. Watts and Steven H. Strogatz, “Collective dynamics of ‘small-world’ networks,” *Nature* 393, no. 6684 (1998): 440–442; Réka Albert and Albert-László Barabási, “Statistical Mechanics of Complex Networks,” *Reviews of Modern Physics* 74 (2002): 48–97.

⁷² For social science studies that use historical data, see among many others, Peter S. Bearman, *Relations into rhetorics: Local elite social structure in Norfolk, England, 1540–1640* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1993); John F. Padgett and Christopher K. Ansell, “Robust action and the rise of the Medici, 1400–1434,” *American Journal of Sociology* 98 (1993): 1259–1319; Charles Tilly, *Popular contention in Great Britain, 1758–1843* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995); and Roger V. Gould, *Insurgent Identities. Class, Community, and Protest in Paris from 1848 to the Commune* (Chicago–London: University of Chicago, 1995).

⁷³ For a helpful discussion on how to extract data from unstructured text, see Marten Düring, “From Hermeneutics to Data to Networks: Data Extraction and Network Visualization of Historical Sources,” *Programming Historian*, last modified 18 February 2015, <http://programminghistorian.org/lessons/creating-network-diagrams-from-historical-sources>).

SNA and historical methods is what characterises the young and burgeoning field of Historical Network Analysis, to which this dissertation belongs.⁷⁴

It is only fair to note here that the paucity and eventual shortcomings of the sources—that I will discuss in length in the next chapter—are not the only obstacles for the application of SNA to historical, and most specifically, medieval data. On the one hand, it is imperative to bear in mind that such methodologies have been designed in other fields of knowledge, which use completely different parameters and have very specific goals, usually far removed from our own. Thus, we must proceed with extreme caution, which does not imply, however, that we should refrain from borrowing methodologies from other disciplines. In fact, this is a rather healthy, albeit daring, way of going forward, for ultimately knowledge grows best in the fringes between research fields.

At any rate, before applying these methods to medieval datasets, we must be aware that we are trying on a shoe that does not quite fit, and therefore will necessarily require several adjustments, not only in regard to the method itself but also concerning our own expectations for the validity and scope of the results it will provide. On the other hand, the so-called *law of the instrument* cannot be ignored either. As stated by its author, the psychologist Abraham Maslow, “I suppose it is tempting, if the only tool you have is a hammer, to treat everything as if it were a nail.”⁷⁵ In other words, when provided with a shiny and new methodological tool that seems to allow for new and exciting perspectives on well-trodden sources, it is tempting to apply such tool to any and all datasets in order to obtain a priori fruitful and enlightening results. This is happening already with network analysis, which, to make the temptation even stronger, is nowadays empowered by software tools that provide unprecedented colourful and appealing visualisations that seem to shed a bright new light on our understanding of historical problems. Although the purpose of network visualisations is to present information in a way that makes structures accessible at first sight, these illustrations should not reify networks, for they are merely graphic representations of relational data that are rather useless without the interpretation provided by historians, who understand the context behind the data that made possible the visualisation in the first place.

⁷⁴ SNA methods and ideas have been successfully applied to historical data in various fields, for example in the study of correspondences, of social movements, of kinship, relations of power, and in economic history. See, among others, Margaret Mullett, *Theophylact of Ochrid: reading the letters of a Byzantine archbishop* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1997); Isabelle Rosé, “Reconstitution, représentation graphique et analyse des réseaux de pouvoir au haut Moyen Âge: Approche des pratiques sociales de l’aristocratie à partir de l’exemple d’Odon de Cluny († 942),” *Redes. Revista hispana para el análisis de redes sociales* 21 (2011): 199–272; Andreas Gestrich and Martin Stark (eds.), *Debtors, Creditors and their Networks. Social Dimensions of Monetary Dependence from the Seventeenth to the Twentieth Century* (London: German Historical Institute London, 2015).

⁷⁵ Abraham H. Maslow, *The Psychology of Science: A Reconnaissance* (New York, N.Y.: Harper & Row, 1966), 15.

The main reason for this caveat is that historians mainly work with man-made realities, people, and interactions between people. The fundamental difference between human systems and biological and physical systems is that the references in all systems formed by people are always cultural and symbolic, and thus involve intentions, meanings, motivations, ideas, and beliefs, which does not happen in physical systems, which follow laws that have nothing to do with the ‘personal’ motives and backgrounds of particles. Therefore, network theory can be applied to some of the things we do, not to all of them, and the result will ultimately be the proposal of new hypotheses whose validation will mostly depend on the traditional methods of historical analysis and interpretation. This does not diminish the merit of applying these new methods, on the contrary, it turns the instrument into a new source of pertinent questions that go above and beyond the aesthetic appeal of complex visualisations. Moreover, despite the aforementioned drawbacks, the relational perspective of network analysis has provided historical research with a new and promising methodological standpoint.

Networks are a way of thinking about social systems that focuses on the relationships between the components of such systems, that is, the nodes, or, in the case of the spiritual networks I will discuss later on, the actors. In fact, the ultimate purpose of network analysis is to help study complex systems in general, for the idea of network is mainly based on the principle that “the whole is greater than the sum of the parts.”⁷⁶ The nodes that form a network have a series of attributes associated with them, and the selection of the attributes that are most relevant to our case is always crucial to the fulfilment of research objectives, while, at the same time, plays an important role in defining them.⁷⁷ These attributes can be categorical (gender, occupation, birthplace) or quantitative (age), but it is necessary to point out that the principal limiting factor to the attributes in any study is the information provided by its specific sources. Given that the main goal of this dissertation, as stated above, is the study of dissident spiritual communities, the nodes (actors) of the networks presented in the following chapters will be the members of such communities, and the attributes I will pay attention to are gender, place

⁷⁶ This is the result of a poor translation of the famous phrase of Gestalt psychologist Kurt Koffka (a better translation would be “the whole is *other* than the sum of the parts”) and its original meaning relates to the theory of perception. This expression is often used in network studies to signify the existence of network effects that cannot be explained merely from the properties of the individual components of the system, for the properties of the individual are different from the properties of the collective. For a comprehensive review on network properties, see Ricard Solé. *Redes complejas. Del genoma a Internet* (Barcelona: Tusquets, 2009).

⁷⁷ For a general overview of the main concepts involved in SNA, I refer in particular to Stanley Wassermann and Katherine Faust, *Social Network Analysis: Methods and Applications* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 28–66; and Stephen P. Borgatti, Martin G. Everett and Jeffrey C. Johnson, *Analyzing Social Networks* (Los Angeles, CA: SAGE, 2013).

of residence, and religious status, among others.⁷⁸ It would be really interesting to compute age among the traits of the members of these communities, for it would provide a great deal of information about their internal dynamics, unfortunately, besides a few cases, the information about age can only be indirectly inferred if at all and is otherwise not available.

The relations between the actors, also known as links, ties, or edges, also present their own characteristics (they can be *directed* relations, as the link between giver and recipient, or *undirected* relations, as in siblings; *reciprocal*, as in sisterhood, or *one-sided*, as in the inquisitor interrogating the accused) but one of the most powerful traits of the network model is that it allows for indirect connections through which initially unconnected parts of a community can end up affecting each other. Acquaintanceship, the most basic connection, family, and friendship ties are the most common interactions within the network, but the flow of information, beliefs, money, and victuals need also be taken into account.⁷⁹ The analysis of the different links between nodes also comprises temporal variability, for such links can extend over continuous periods or only happen a specific number of times.

Thus far, it would seem that every historical research problem could be broken down into a matter of nodes and links and studied through the methods of SNA; however, that is not the case. If the main interest of a given study lies in attributes, that is, gender, age, and so on, the most appropriate methodology is statistical analysis. In contrast, network analyses are helpful in studying the relationships between people, especially those that could not be understood merely on the basis of attributes. Looking at the whole network, we may identify hitherto ignored and unrecognised structural characteristics and network effects (interdependences between network, structure, and behaviour). Even more, under certain circumstances, certain networks can be analysed that had very real repercussions despite not being detected by historical research and going unnoticed by the social actors involved in them.⁸⁰

Humans inherently depend on a social environment to fulfil their needs and gain an understanding of language, behaviour, beliefs, symbols, rules, and values. The relational approach of SNA focuses on the embeddedness of actors in their respective environments, that is, on the structures formed by the relationships that determine behavioural attitudes and

⁷⁸ I will return to this topic in Chapters 3 and 4, upon discussing the specific features of each dissenting community.

⁷⁹ For a taxonomy of the different types of relations that can be established between actors, see Borgatti, Everett and Johnson, *Analyzing Social Networks*, 4.

⁸⁰ See, especially, Matthias Bixler, “Historical Network Research: Taking Stock,” in *Debtors, Creditors and their Networks. Social Dimensions of Monetary Dependence from the Seventeenth to the Twentieth Century*, ed. Andreas Gestrich and Martin Stark (London: German Historical Institute London, 2015), 43–67.

affect the actors' self-awareness. In sum, whereas statistical methods classify structures based on the percentages of attributes (gender, age, occupation), social network analysis studies the organisation and relations between members. Thus, the most important contribution of social networks to historical research is the shift towards a relational perspective that helps reveal network structures but also allows for the interpretation of network effects. This is not to say that statistical analyses are to be disregarded, on the contrary, they will complement the network study presented here, for they provide additional insight into spiritual communities, as will be shown below.

Biological and physical network studies are usually based on huge datasets, and so are social network studies of contemporary realities, however, historical research, and especially the research focused on the medieval period does not share such luxury. Thus, for medievalists it is of crucial importance to add qualitative analysis to the quantitative analysis provided by both statistical and network studies. The main problems of applying this methodology to our field of historical research are as follows: (1) lack of a sufficient number of data; (2) chronological inaccuracy; and (3) anthroponymical uncertainties. The paucity of data—which, as I will shortly discuss, is a key factor in the choice of the most suitable type of network research—can only be addressed through qualitative interpretation and interpolation. As for the chronological imprecision of medieval data, in many cases simply related to the fact that spiritual processes are difficult to constrain to a specific timeframe, the solution is to work with snapshots of networks at different time periods, although visualising less time-sensitive structures can also provide valuable information.⁸¹ Furthermore, the cross-referencing of different sources provides a way to minimise the difficulties presented by medieval documentation in regard to the proper identification of people who are named using different birth names, last names, and even nicknames (including different spellings).⁸² Finally, the forced closeness between people in some medieval environments is not to be disregarded either. This factor needs to be taken into account so that it may be subtracted from acquaintance networks that are not purposefully built but merely incidental, which leads to a reflection on territorial distribution that I will address in the following chapters.⁸³

⁸¹ For a brief but helpful discussion on the complexities of mapping networks over time, see Bonnie H. Erickson, "Social Networks and History: A Review Essay," *Historical Methods: A Journal of Quantitative and Interdisciplinary History* 30, no. 3 (1997): 157.

⁸² I will return to this point in Section 2.3, see Walter L. Wakefield, "Pseudonyms and Nicknames in Inquisitorial Documents of the Middle Ages," *Heresis* 15 (1990): 9–22.

⁸³ For a discussion of this "inescapable intimacy" in the case of mid-thirteenth-century Cathars, see Pegg, *The Corruption of Angels*, 67–71.

The dearth of data characteristic of many pre-modern contexts might suggest that there is no possible systematic way of collecting and recording information. Were this the case, it would in turn make the use of formal methods and visualisations rather unproductive, for the purpose of visualisations would become merely descriptive. A qualitative analysis of the information provided by the sources in regard to the shape and workings of a network would then be required. Later, such qualitative and narrative study of individual interconnections could be used to extrapolate to larger contexts.

While the general nature of medieval documentation seems to point in this direction, the fact is that the specific case of the research presented in this dissertation, mostly based on inquisitorial sources, provides a distinct vantage point. As I will argue in Section 2.2 and 2.3, the inquisitorial process and the textual sources it generates stem from a relational worldview. Inquisitors only see individuals to the extent that they are connected to each other, which in fact provides the basis for the whole inquisitorial system to work. Thus, despite the inaccuracies and obstacles that this documentation may entail, it does allow for a strong structural approach in which qualitative description and analysis are not enough to provide the whole picture. Moreover, social networks, and, in particular, spiritual networks, allow for different levels of analysis. The first and most detailed one is the study at the node level, that is, the examination of individual behaviours and connections; the broadest scope is obviously granted by the network-level analysis, which, in a way, blurs the distinctions between individuals; and, finally, a third intermediate level studies the links between individual actors and allows for the observation of their actions against their social background.

To conclude this brief overview of the transition from SNA to the study of historical networks, it is necessary to introduce a few basic concepts of network studies that will be extensively used throughout Chapters 3 and 4 and are especially helpful for addressing the problem at hand:

- (1) The simplest notion is *node degree*, also called *degree centrality*, that is, the number of connections a given node has or, in other words, the number of people to whom an individual is related by reasons of kinship and spiritual ties, among others. The higher the involvement of an individual in their spiritual community, the higher the number of connections, that is, his or her degree centrality. But despite the apparent simplicity of this concept, the most well-connected person is not necessarily the most important member of a community, for the strategy used in the collection and representation of data can drastically change the centrality of an individual.⁸⁴ For instance, in a specific type of network called *ego-network*, a network

⁸⁴ This is apparent in the case of the Beguin spiritual network that I will discuss in length in Chapter 3. I provided

that represents the connections of one person, that individual is obviously at the centre. Thus, for example, the most central figure in the ego-network of Bernard Fenàs, an inhabitant of Albi that appeared before the inquisitors in February 1324, was Bernard himself, which does not translate into his importance in the network as a whole.⁸⁵ In sum, the better our knowledge of the full network, the more accurate the assessment of the degree centrality.

(2) *Closeness centrality* is a measure of the shortest path between nodes. Thus, the more central a node is, the lower its total distance from all other nodes. It should be noted that the definition of path here is not so much related to actual physical distance but rather to the steps of the network that separate two nodes. However, this concept can be conveniently adjusted to account for geographical distance. Spiritual communities exist on the territory, and this parameter can reveal how concentrated a community is. Do they relate only to people in their immediacy, or are they connected over vast geographical areas? This value is especially relevant taking into account the conflicting theories about the existence of superstructures that pose alternatives to the existing authority discussed in the previous section.

Maps are the tool that comes to mind when trying to figure out whether or not a certain group is established over a vast territory, but maps cannot account for relationships and is only through network visualisations that it is possible to get a better hold of the connections of geographically dispersed communities. Obviously, in order to address the problem of the existence of a Cathar Church that I have introduced above, an extensive study would have to include all known sources and people involved in the movement over a geographic area ranging at least from southern France to northern Italy for a specific time period, which is not the goal of the present dissertation.

(3) *Betweenness centrality* reflects the number of times a node acts as a bridge along the shortest path between two other nodes; in other words, it quantifies the status of a node as intermediary. In theory, an actor with high betweenness centrality has a large influence on the flow of items (beliefs, news, money, books, and victuals, among others) through the network.⁸⁶ These actors can become the connecting point between communities, thus

a first approach to this problem in Delfi I. Nieto-Isabel, “*Qui spirit ambo sunt unum*. The Network of Beguin Spirituality in the Early 14th-century Languedoc,” in *Women’s Networks of Spiritual Promotion in the Peninsular Kingdoms (13th-16th Centuries)*, ed. Blanca Gari (Rome: Viella, 2013), 147–166. For an extensive and instructive discussion of the concept of node degree, see Scott Weingart, “Networks Demystified 2: Degree,” *The Scottbot Irregular*, accessed 13 April 2016, <http://www.scottbot.net/HIAL/index.html@p=6526.html>.

⁸⁵ Bernard Fenàs confessed in February 1324 regarding his acquaintance with two *heretici* whom he had “adored” on several occasions, but he does not appear in other depositions than his own, Doat 27, fols. 32r-33v.

⁸⁶ This only applies if we assume that the transfer of those items follows the shortest possible path, that is, in the case of spiritual networks, the smallest number of intermediaries. Of course this argument merits further discussion,

turning into de facto brokers whose removal would slow down the normal performance of the network, or, in extreme circumstances, facilitate its dismantlement.

(4) *Assortativity* is the tendency of any given node to connect with other nodes similar to it. This concept is directly related to the notion of *homophily*, defined as the tendency to maintain positive ties with people that are similar to us with respect to socially significant attributes such as gender or religion.⁸⁷ It is worth noting that this positive ties need not be solely the result of preference but could also reflect the availability of suitable partners.⁸⁸ People tend to relate to other people whose social range is similar to theirs, thus, social networks, networks formed by human beings, should be naturally assortative, whereas biological and physical systems are disassortative.

Finally, the increasing interest in the phenomenon of social networking has fostered the proliferation of “network studies” that do not take into account the SNA theories and methods that sociologists and anthropologists developed over at least the last forty years by borrowing both mathematical tools and physical concepts. The overview of SNA presented in this section is far from comprehensive but aims to offer a clear picture of the possibilities of its application to historical data by historians, and to outline the theoretical framework and basic concepts that will be extensively used in the chapters that follow. The objective of the network analyses included in this dissertation is not to show that social relationships are important, but to shed light on the way in which very specific spiritual networks worked. This, as I have already noted, needs not only a certain degree of formal analysis but also an understanding of the context within which they appeared, prospered, and were ultimately prosecuted and persecuted, all the while insisting on the fact that network visualisations are not the end product but a point of departure for new research questions.

and I will return to it in Chapter 3. Betweenness centrality was mainly developed in Linton Freeman, “A set of measures of centrality based on betweenness,” *Sociometry* 40 (1977): 35–41.

⁸⁷ See Borgatti, Everett and Johnson, *Analyzing Social Networks*, 9; and, especially, Miller McPherson, Lynn Smith-Lovin and James M. Cook, “Birds of a Feather: Homophily in Social Networks,” *Annual Review of Sociology* 27 (2001): 415–444 for further discussion on this topic.

⁸⁸ This argument is especially relevant when trying to discern the motives and degree of adherence of inquisitorial deponents to the beliefs of the different dissident groups. As I will discuss later on, several practices could be seen as a matter of opportunity or simple circumstantial situations, and have been considered as such, in particular, by ‘inventionist’ scholars; see, for instance, Pegg, *The Corruption of Angels*, 109: “The choice between a monastery and a ‘house of heretics’ for a young girl often depended more on local practice than on a fervent heretical belief.”

Conclusions

Theory-led network studies run the risk of perfectly reflecting the network they aim to describe. Our brain looks for patterns on the basis of its own references, and this is something every researcher in every field should take into account, because the temptation to look for patterns, to search for the big picture, is strongly ingrained in the structure and workings of our mind. We must be aware of it and remain extremely careful when trying to validate theories and hypotheses, because there is a strong possibility that we get carried away by this inclination. Even with the full range of statistical methods at our disposal, it is crucial not to force data into a model that leads to misinterpretation, and, in sum, to distorting historical reality in the process of analysing it. That said, however, the intuition about the ties that bind historical networks, which can only come from the intimate knowledge of the sources related to them, must not be disregarded.⁸⁹

The most general structure of spiritual networks suggested by the inquisitorial sources is the acquaintanceship network, that is, who knows who. The people each deponent mentions are people they know about—usually people they have met—and although the spiritual and acquaintanceship networks they belong to do not necessarily overlap, the fact remains that they are testifying about at least a part of their own social entourage, which should be assortative, for it is indeed a social network. In fact, if the result is dissortative, this could suggest that the deponent was making acquaintances up. Although concealing the truth to protect others or hoping for leniency was probably common (and in fact the inquisitors expected it), lying to involve people who were not related to the community was probably not frequent, especially since inquisitors constantly cross-referenced testimonies.⁹⁰

Inquisitors—and more specifically, the inquisitorial process—created the aforementioned ‘confessing subjects’ and saw them as fundamentally relational individuals. Whereas this does not automatically imply that they actually were relational individuals, it does facilitate the use of a relational method to grasp at least a piece of their reality. Furthermore, the fact that the relationships between the members of dissident spiritual communities were in a sense timeless—for they were forced to depose many years after the facts they testified about had happened—can

⁸⁹ According to Linton Freeman, the developer of the notion of betweenness centrality described in the previous section (see p. 25), this ‘structural intuition’ is one of the basic components of Social Network Analysis. See Linton C. Freeman, *The Development of Social Network Analysis: A Study in the Sociology of Science* (Vancouver: Booksurge Publishing, 2004), 3: “Social network analysis is motivated by a structural intuition based on ties linking social actors, it is grounded in systematic empirical data, it draws heavily on graphic imagery, and it relies on the use of mathematical and/or computational models.

⁹⁰ On the constant doubting inherent to the inquisitorial discourse see Arnold, *Inquisition and Power*, 93–98.

even help overcome the time factor, one of the major difficulties posed by the visualisation of historical networks reconstructed from usually fragmentary data. Therefore, inferring the way in which inquisitors saw and dissected heresy is an unavoidable step to understand their registers and the information they can provide. Although the evidence regarding deponents is only indirect—for it must be ultimately gleaned from the other side of the ‘dialogue’ between inquisitors and suspects—the registers do provide direct evidence as to the mindset of inquisitors, and understanding that will help us form realistic expectations as to what relational information can be extracted from the sources, and what kind of networks can be mapped from it.

CHAPTER TWO



Theoretical and Methodological Remarks

*Here the ways of men divide.
If you wish to strive for peace of soul and happiness, then believe;
If you wish to be a disciple of truth, then inquire.*

(Friedrich Nietzsche,
“Letter to Elizabeth Nietzsche,” 11 June 1865)

The validity of the results of any project involving the quantitative analysis of historical data essentially depends on the representativeness of the sources on which it is based. However, the selection of said sources is most times constrained by processes of selective survival and preservation. Medieval documents exemplify the singular act of putting something in writing in order to preserve it, which was only reserved for significant instances. A good case in point is provided by inquisitorial registers, which were carefully produced and kept with the clear intention of recording events and to serve as future reference. But other mechanisms also intervene in determining the extant sources available, such as personal initiatives and interests, selective deposit, and even chance. The whole process is quite random, that is, no obscure purposes underlie the preservation of some specific inquisitorial records and not others, which, in turn, grants a certain initial degree of representativeness to the records that have actually survived. Thus, the only purposes that need concern historians are those of the producers of these documents, namely, uprooting heresy, keeping records that would facilitate this task, and keeping track of the individuals involved in heretical activities and acquaintances.

The terminological shift from ‘heresy’ and ‘heretics’ to ‘dissent’ and ‘dissidents’ in fact symbolises the change in perspective involved by the interpretation of any historical data. Analytical categories need to be defined as clearly as possible but with enough flexibility as to encompass the dynamic realities the sources reveal.⁹¹ The study of dissident networks from

⁹¹ This is a common enough problem for historical research that nonetheless seems in need of further clarification in the field of historical sociology; see Karen V. Hansen and Cameron L. Macdonald, “Surveying the Dead Informant: Quantitative Analysis and Historical Interpretation,” *Qualitative Sociology* 18, no. 2 (1995): 227–229.

inquisitorial records builds on the criteria of inquisitors as to what defined ‘heretics’; therefore, it is imperative to establish their point of reference in order to assess which individuals are likely to appear in said networks, and to what extent this representation reflects the structures supporting them. This is but another way of taking stock of the aforementioned representativeness of sources to determine whether a network analysis is even feasible. Conversely, the approach to the repression of heresy in earlier centuries of the Middle Ages, and the sources it generated, make it impossible to conduct such an analysis for the earlier period, given that the accounts of heretical activities present a view somewhat detached from the everyday workings of these groups and focus instead on their most doctrinal aspects.⁹²

The accusation of ‘heresy’ in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Languedoc subsumed a wide variety of activities and categories. The groups on which this dissertation focuses were fully integrated into the spiritual landscape of the period long before inquisitorial action was launched against them. They were not seen as foreign or dangerous, but rather as fellow villagers who led a life of commitment.⁹³ In contrast, inquisitors gradually understood the need to systematise ‘heresy’ in order to effectively repress it, while maintaining a rather binary perspective (heretical/non-heretical) they evolved towards a nuanced concept that allowed for different degrees of transgression. Common gestures more rooted in tradition, courtesy, and charitable practices than in doctrinal displays were perceived as heretical when their recipients were labelled as heretics. In sum, all those who had contact with people suspected of doctrinal deviance were in turn likely to be ‘infected’ and thus became suspects themselves. Modern scholarship has struggled to stay away from such “unhelpful binaries” with uneven degrees of success.⁹⁴ But however misleading inquisitorial categorisations have proved for the assessment of heretical activity and of the actual dimensions and organisation patterns of these movements, they actually favour the implementation of network analyses.

A few remarks seem now in order to complete an overview of the theoretical and methodological framework that provides the foundations for this work. Thus, the present chapter will review the evolution of the perception of religious dissent by ecclesiastical authorities as

⁹² See, for example, Moore’s study on the synod of Arras and the enquiry carried out in 1024 by the bishop Gerard of Cambrai against a group of ‘heretics’ that were active in his diocese; Moore, *Origins of European Dissent*, 9–18. The *Acta Synodi Atrebatensis* are edited in Jacques Paul Migne, *Patrologiae cursus completus*, vol. 142 (Paris: Garnier, 1880), cols. 1271–1312.

⁹³ See Théry, “L’hérésie des bons hommes,” 97–98, for a discussion on the imposition of the concept of *heretica pravitas* (heretical depravity) and “la normalité de la dissidence des bons hommes”.

⁹⁴ See Section 1.2 above for a detailed account of such attempts. I am thankful to Dr. David Zbíral for letting me borrow his expression “unhelpful binaries” to refer to the perceived dichotomy between heresy and orthodoxy.

well as put forward my own approach to the subject. The development of inquisitorial tribunals from their appearance in the early 1230s to the first quarter of the fourteenth century will also be addressed. Section 2.3 will extensively discuss the selection of sources for this dissertation, and provide a description of their contents and production contexts. Finally, I will briefly introduce the different tools used to analyse them.

2.1 An Anatomy of Spiritual Dissent

On 11 August 1244, when Arnauda de la Mota, a woman from Montauban—a village two days north from Toulouse—testified before the Dominican Friar Ferrer, she was following the standard inquisitorial formula of the time, which compelled her to say the truth “about herself and others, both living and dead, on the crime of heresy and Waldensianism.”⁹⁵ Thirty years later, on 30 June 1273, a certain Burgundian named Michel de Pech-Rodil also deposed under a similar formula “sworn as a witness and questioned about the matter of heresy and Waldensianism.”⁹⁶ In these examples, the term ‘heresy’ refers to a very specific religious group, the so-called ‘Cathars’, and, in fact, this was the common sense of the word in thirteenth-century Languedoc, although it had obviously never lost its more general meaning.⁹⁷ By the early fourteenth century, although the renowned Bernard Gui, in his inquisitorial manual, called these religious dissenters “modern

⁹⁵ Doat 23, fol. 2v: “de se et de aliis vivis et mortuis super crimine haeresis et Valdensis.” Between 1229 and 1247, Friar Ferrer, known as ‘the Catalan’, acted first as episcopal inquisitor in Narbonne and later as papal inquisitor; he excommunicated Count Raimon VII of Toulouse in June 1242, and, according to Bernard Gui, his name was still feared in the early fourteenth century: “Nomen eius qualiter gladius in auribus hereticorum resonat usque hodie.” See Célestin Douais, *Documents pour servir à l’histoire de l’inquisition dans le Languedoc* (Paris: Librairie Renouard and Société de l’Histoire de France, 1900), cxxxviii–cxliii. For a more recent biographical account of Friar Ferrer, see Walter L. Wakefield, “Friar Ferrier, Inquisition at Caunes, and Escapes from Prison at Carcassonne,” *Catholic Historical Review* 58, no. 2 (1972): 220–237. On his inquisitorial activities, see Yves Dossat, *Les crises de l’Inquisition toulousaine au XIIIe siècle (1233-1273)* (Bordeaux: Imprimerie Bière, 1959), 222–225.

⁹⁶ Doat 25, fol. 10r: “testis iuratus et interrogatus super facto hæresis et Valdenciæ.” Doat 25 and 26 have been recently edited and translated into English in Peter Biller, Caterina Bruschi, and Shelagh Sneddon, eds. *Inquisitors and Heretics in Thirteenth-Century Languedoc*. Edition and Translation of Toulouse Inquisition Depositions, 1273–1282 (Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2011), however, all references to the manuscripts of the Collection Doat included in this dissertation are based on the digitised and microfilmed copies of the original manuscripts kept in the Bibliothèque nationale de France (see Section 1.1, n. 9 above).

⁹⁷ See Jean Duvernoy, “L’acception: ‘haereticus’ (iretge) = ‘parfait cathare’ en Languedoc au XIIIe siècle,” in *The Concept of Heresy in the Middle Ages (11th-13th C.): Proceedings of the International Conference, Louvain, May 13–16, 1973*, ed. W. Lourdaux and D. Verhelst (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1983), 198–210. In this paper, Duvernoy also makes a case for the term ‘heretic’ being used to refer to a member of the sacerdotal elite of this group. Although I will return to the terminological problems associated with these spiritual dissenters in Chapter 4, hereinafter I will use the expressions *bons omes* and *Good Men* to refer to them.

Manicheans”, ‘heretic’ was still used to refer to them throughout his *Book of Sentences*.⁹⁸ For instance, Galharda, a married woman who lived in a farmstead near Buzet-sur-Tarn with her husband Peire, testified on 15 December 1305 that she had seen two men there who she knew were “of those that they call heretics.”⁹⁹

However, in the same *Liber sententiarum Tholosanae* the term also acquired a broader sense. In the General Sermon held on 7 March 1316, another Burgundian called Johan of Breysan was handed over to the secular arm for belonging to “that heresy that is called sect of the Waldensians or Poor of Lyon;”¹⁰⁰ and Bernard de Na Jacma, a Franciscan Tertiary from Belpech, was sentenced to life imprisonment in July 1322 for his adherence to spiritual Franciscans and Beguins who had been imposed penances “for being involved in the crime of heresy.”¹⁰¹ In fact, in the early fourteenth century this generalised use of ‘heresy’ and ‘heretics’ to describe all religious groups that fell outside the pale of orthodoxy was not exclusive to Gui. For instance, Jacma Lauret had to testify before the bishop of Lodève in 1320 “as a suspect of the heresy and errors of the Beguins.”¹⁰² Thus, between the thirteenth and the early fourteenth century the notions of ‘heresy’ and ‘heretic’ evolved in order to encompass an ever-increasing number of religious expressions. This evolution reflected a change not only in inquisitorial views but also in the way in which the Church responded to religious dissent. ‘Heresy’ was ultimately a category created by orthodoxy, but in fact, they were both conventions that developed together in a complex bilateral relationship.

The key factor of ‘heresy’—a word which, as it is well known, derives from the Greek *haíresis*, that is, ‘choice’—is the deliberate choice to disobey the established orthodoxy, but said establishment was indeed a long and arduous process, and the first centuries of Christianity were a period of struggle within the Church. At the same time, as Saint Paul had already explained, the appearance of ‘heresies’ was to be expected as an almost necessary means to sort the wheat from the chaff, “For there must be also heresies among you, that they which are approved may be made manifest among you” (1 Corinthians 11:19). This period witnessed the return of a series of topoi linking the spiritual expressions that evolved outside the institutional framework with an unbridled amoral sexual and vicious behaviour, but in fact, these old cultural stereotypes had

⁹⁸ See Mollat, *Manuel de l'inquisiteur*, 10 et seq.: “De Manicheis moderni temporis.” As noted in Section 1.1, an edition of Gui’s register can be found in Pales-Gobilliard, *Le livre des sentences*.

⁹⁹ Pales-Gobilliard, *Le livre des sentences*, 716: “de illis qui vocantur heretici.”

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 952: “in illa heresi que dicitur secta Valdensium seu Pauperum de Lugduno.”

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 1330: “pro hiis que commiserant in crimine heresis.”

¹⁰² Doat 28, fol. 13r: “tanquam suspecta de haeresi et erroribus Begguinorum.”

also been used against the early Christians before the Edict of Milan endowed Christianity with a legal status in 313.¹⁰³

During the Early Middle Ages, when ecclesiastical structures and regulations were very much a work in progress, the main concerns of the Church were not ‘heresies’ but conversion and the consolidation of the most basic Christian practices and doctrines.¹⁰⁴ It was not until the eleventh century that the so-called popular heresies appeared.¹⁰⁵ The most outstanding conclusion of Moore’s *The Origins of European Dissent*—a work I have already mentioned in Section 1.2 for its substantial contribution to the study of religious movements—was that the main expression of dissent in the Middle Ages was precisely related to the spread of popular heresies in this period.¹⁰⁶ The ecclesiastical hierarchy, seeking ways to respond to the threat these groups posed, looked back to the Church fathers—especially Saint Augustine and Saint Jerome—and thus perceived the movements of the eleventh and early twelfth centuries as new instances of the ‘heresies’ already known to early Christianity. Although the reaction of the Church evolved from a few undirected actions to organised preaching campaigns against ‘heresy’ (led by figures such as Bernard de Clairvaux), its views on ‘heretical’ groups did not change, and these were seen as the result of a gullible laity corrupted by an external factor: a charismatic and usually literate leader, the ‘heresiarch’ or ‘master of heretics.’¹⁰⁷

The image of the heretic outsider that threatened the passive community denied all agency to said community and was largely based on the prejudices of a literate ecclesiastical elite. Despite this commonly accepted premise, most scholars, from Norman Cohn in his classic work *The Pursuit of the Millennium*, to Moore, and more recently Roach—to name but a few—associate the resurgence of popular religious dissent in one way or another with the Gregorian

¹⁰³ See Bernard McGinn, *The Harvest of Mysticism in Medieval Germany* (New York, NY: Crossroad, 2005), 53–54.

¹⁰⁴ See Jennifer Kolpacoff Deane, *A History of Medieval Heresy and Inquisition* (Plymouth: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2011), 8–23 for a brief but comprehensive overview of the development of the ecclesiastical framework in the first centuries of the Middle Ages.

¹⁰⁵ See the illustrative exchange of arguments between Robert Moore and Richard Landes about the appearance of popular heresies somewhat earlier, around the year 1000, in Richard Landes, “The Birth of Popular Heresy: A Millennial Phenomenon,” *Journal of Religious History* 24, no. 1 (2000): 26–43; and Robert I. Moore, “The Birth of Popular Heresy: A Millennial Phenomenon?” *Journal of Religious History* 24, no. 1 (2000): 8–25. While Landes suggests that these movements were related to the advent of the millennium and the apocalyptic expectations associated with it, Moore claims that, in this early period, the accusation of ‘heresy’ was commonly used both as a rhetoric resource and a political weapon, which does not mean that there was actual popular religious unrest.

¹⁰⁶ See Moore, *Origins of European Dissent*, ix.

¹⁰⁷ See Arnold, *Inquisition and Power*, 19–48 for a detailed analysis of the evolution of ecclesiastical views on the composition of dissident movements and the corresponding response to them.

reforms, which would have to some extent prompted it.¹⁰⁸ In my opinion, this establishment of a causal relationship between both phenomena instead of seeing them as reactions to shared concerns about the perceived relaxation of the hierarchy and decline of spiritual commitment also denies the initiative and a degree of agency to popular movements. This is especially significant given that said reactions would, in turn, pave the way for the apostolic awakening—the *imitatio apostolorum*—of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, when, as Grundmann noted, both the groups that ended up as fully institutionalised orthodox religious expressions and those that became dissidents were based on the same spiritual references.

From the second half of the twelfth century onwards, the relationship of some of these groups with the Scriptures—the traditional source of divine authority—changed; the official approach did not satisfy them any more, and this brought about the effective end of the ecclesiastical and Latin monopoly. Sacred texts were gradually translated into the vernacular language outside of the institutional framework and, in a society centred around orality where passive reading was the norm and literacy was mostly based on memorisation, translations facilitated the spread of texts and beliefs, which, in turn, fostered the appearance of what Brian Stock described as ‘textual communities’.¹⁰⁹ These communities, formed by literate and mostly illiterate people, were organised around the common understanding of a text, which was generally provided by one literate member, the *interpretes*, who understood it and disseminated its message among the rest of the group. Thus, wanting to reconnect with a new, in a way, more literal, interpretation of the texts, these spiritually committed communities based their way of life and their beliefs on the interpreter’s views on a specific textual corpus.

The twelfth century also witnessed the introduction of a key concept that had especially important effects on the spiritual sphere: the development of the self. In 1215, *Omnis utriusque sexus*, Canon 21 of the Fourth Lateran Council, commanded every Christian to confess all their sins at least once a year, thus reflecting and also enabling this tendency by imposing self-examination, and furthering the creation of a new discourse of the self.¹¹⁰ However, this new

¹⁰⁸ See Norman Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millennium. Revolutionary Millenarians and Mystical Anarchists of the Middle Ages* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1970); and Roach, *Devil’s World*, 10–33.

¹⁰⁹ See Stock, *Implications of Literacy*, esp. 140–158. For the relationship between passive literacy and the circulation of beliefs in the case of religious dissenters see, especially, Robert I. Moore, “Literacy and the making of heresy, c. 1000–c. 1150,” in Biller and Hudson, *Heresy and Literacy*, 19–37, and Alexander Patchovsky, “The literacy of Waldensianism from Valdes to c. 1400,” in *ibid.*, 112–136. For a discussion of this crucial moment in the history of written texts and the appearance of a new kind of reading as the highest expression of social activity, see Ivan Illich, *In the Vineyard of the Text. A Commentary to Hugh’s Didascalicon* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993).

¹¹⁰ See Thomas N. Tentler, *Sin and Confession on the Eve of the Reformation* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1977), for an overview of the sacrament of penance in the Middle Ages. On the transfer of the confessional

sensibility, well exemplified in literary expressions—with the emergence of the distinct figure of the author and the heroic characters who fought for their personal motivations and interests—and the gradual shift from the *imitatio apostolorum* to the *imitatio Christi* that took place between the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries, did not evolve “at the expense of corporate awareness,” but alongside an increasing concern with the differentiation of groups from each other, with setting the boundaries between different communities, and the interest in the process of belonging.¹¹¹

In this context, the notion of ‘textual community’ seems to fall short to describe the dynamics of the groups of religious dissenters—at least in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries—and needs to be replaced with a more nuanced idea: the ‘interpretive community’. This controversial concept of literary theory, first proposed by Stanley Fish in 1976, is based on the principles of reader-response criticism, and claims that the different readings of a text are in fact a cultural construct that depends on the cultural references of the reader.¹¹² It is necessary to note that, according to Fish’s theoretical concept, it is impossible to escape one’s own interpretive community, and, more importantly, to define its limits, for doing so would imply verbal communication, and thus, a new process of interpretation by another individual. However, in my view, it is possible to describe the ‘community of interpretation’ as a group whose members are active agents who complete the meaning of the text through a specific interpretation, which, in turn, defines the limits of their specific community. Readers, active and passive, engage with the text creating a hierarchy of authority within the community. Thus, the different groups of late medieval spiritual dissenters shared the same textual references but belonged to clearly distinct communities of interpretation, which, at the same time, set them apart from what the Church defined as orthodoxy. The vernacular linguistic diversity was crucial for the appearance of these groups. The proliferation of unofficial translations, lacking the uniformity of Latin, restricted these new texts to very specific communities and, at the same time, fostered the appearance of new concepts and the significance of passive reading for their members, who could now fully engage in the discussion of sacred texts and beliefs.¹¹³

discourse and mental strategies from the sacrament of penance to the narrative discourse, see Jerry Root, “‘Space to Speke’: The Wife of Bath and the Discourse of Confession,” *The Chaucer Review* 28, no. 3 (1994): 252–74.

¹¹¹ Caroline Walker Bynum, “Did the Twelfth Century Discover the Individual?” in *Jesus as Mother: Studies in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages* (London: University of California Press, 1982), 85.

¹¹² Stanley E. Fish, “Interpreting the ‘Variorum’,” *Critical Inquiry* 2, no. 3 (1976): 465–485.

¹¹³ The textual corpus of each dissident network and the vernacular translations they had access to will be further discussed in the following chapters. For a reflection on the dialogue between Latin and vernacular expressions of spirituality and the significance of the latter, see McGinn, *Flowering of Mysticism*, esp. 19–24.

The new relationship established between spiritual groups and sacred texts, unmediated by the Church, reflected the widespread search for new spiritual references and new mediators with the divine, and the response of the Church evolved accordingly. In the thirteenth century the papacy, in the midst of a process of ecclesiastical institutionalisation, resorted to direct violence—the Albigensian Crusade—and set the foundations of the Inquisition, which would result in the formulation and refinement of repression mechanisms over the following two centuries. The old views of the illiterate laity being swayed by the literate outsider that had defined the ways of fighting ‘heresy’ gradually changed between the thirteenth and the fourteenth century. However, establishing causal relationships between the construction of the self and the progressive individuation of the spiritual dissenter shown by ecclesiastical legislation would again mean placing all agency in just one side of the equation. Both processes belong to, and are the result of, the same complex cultural framework, and as such, should be jointly analysed. For instance, the individual engagement that sacramental penance demanded was at the same time a driving force and a by-product of this context, and the same could be said about the ecclesiastical approach to ‘heresy’.¹¹⁴

From the mid-thirteenth century onwards, the legislation issued by provincial councils struggled with the creation of a variety of categories of transgression, and, despite the new more individuated ways of perceiving dissenters, the difference between *fautores* and *credentes*, between supporters and true believers, was still determined on the basis of literacy. As I have noted above, the illiterate were allegedly more gullible and likely to sympathise with ‘heretical’ movements but at the same time they were not capable of fully comprehending their beliefs. Thus, in the 1240s, most deponents were first asked about their practices and the circumstances under which they had come into contact with ‘heretics’, and later classified into the corresponding transgressive categories. The main innovation of this approach was the acknowledgement of a certain degree of agency on the part of the deponent, who was no longer and undifferentiated member of a faceless ignorant mass but an increasingly autonomous subject.¹¹⁵ As the thirteenth century progressed, the aforementioned transgressive categories soon became identities, and, as part of the same evolution, in the early fourteenth century, deponents were already being asked not only about their practices but also about their beliefs and motivations.

¹¹⁴ I will return to the topic of the co-construction of ‘heresy’ and the mechanisms to repress it in the following sections.

¹¹⁵ See Arnold, *Inquisition and Power*, 74–110 for a detailed discussion of the process of individuation of repressing and controlling mechanisms and the construction of the ‘confessing subject’ over the thirteenth century. This point will be further discussed in Section 2.2.

In the 1320s, Bernard Gui devoted most of his *Practica inquisitionis heretice pravitatis* to list the beliefs of the different ‘heretical sects’ of his time.¹¹⁶ These sets of beliefs seemed to form several different creeds the adherence to which would determine the involvement of any given deponent. Gui’s stance reflects the evolution of the concept of belief as seen by inquisitors, and the expansion of the categories of transgression that not only helped classify the implication of individuals within a specific group, but also needed to establish distinctions between the different groups. Gui still maintained some of the prejudices characteristic of the literate elite, for he warned his fellow inquisitors that “some among these Beguins have heard or know most of the aforementioned erroneous articles and errors, while others only know a few, given that some among them are more educated or convinced than others. It is the custom of these people to move towards evil only one step at a time, instead of passing on everything at once.”¹¹⁷ However, his claim was nuanced by his acknowledgement that literacy was not the only reason for the different degrees of belief, for ‘conviction’ also played a part; and, at the same time, he did not deny the capability of any given suspect to eventually—*paulatim*—become a true believer.

The fact is that beliefs are a complex subject. Beliefs changed over time and were constantly tested, but moreover, dissident communities maintained, at the same time, different sets of beliefs that, from the perspective of the inquisitor, were mutually exclusive. In the specific case of this dissertation, beliefs pose a methodological problem, because in order to define the boundaries of the spiritual network, first it is necessary to define the degree of involvement required for a deponent to belong to the network. In other words, as discussed in Section 1.3, acquaintanceship networks are the most immediate result that can be extracted from inquisitorial registers, but, once such network is mapped, does it correspond to the network of beliefs? The following chapters will address this problem in each specific case, for adopting a general approach to it would in a way mirror the solution adopted by inquisitors, creating a system of categories into which the deponents could be neatly classified according to our own views and not their experience. Furthermore, these communities of interpretation were not only based on beliefs, on a specific doctrine, but also, and more importantly, on a series of devotional practices and rituals that allowed them to bond as a community and were in fact the source of their identity and self-awareness as a group.

¹¹⁶ On the date of composition of the *Practica*, see Mollat, *Manuel de l’inquisiteur*, vol. 1, xi–xv.

¹¹⁷ Mollat, *Manuel de l’inquisiteur*, vol. 1, 154: “(...) quod quidam ex ipsis Bequinis plura de predictis articulis erroneis et erroribus didicerunt et sciunt et alii pauciora, sicut magis et minus eruditi seu imbuti sunt in eisdem, ut moris est in talibus semper in pejus proficere successive nec simul omnia tradere seu paulatim.”

The extreme ascetic practices of the *bons omes* and *bonas femnas* regarding food and sex, the material poverty and preachings of the Poor of Lyon, and the adherence to spiritual poverty and apocalyptic expectations of the Beguins of Languedoc, to name but a few, were some of the ways of setting themselves apart from the rest, of defining an identity of their own. This definition was especially important in a context of struggle both between dissenters and the Church and between the different groups, for all of them, in one way or another, staked their claim on apostolic succession and the symbols and conduct of the ‘true Church’.¹¹⁸ These symbols, material—such as forfeiting excesses and embracing a simple life—but also spiritual—displays of piety and devotional practices—were shared by all of them, and as much as the Church tried to impose its authority and legitimacy, the only deviations from orthodoxy that could be presented and fully justified as such were doctrinal. When Peire Garcias confided in his relative Guilhem Garcias—a Franciscan friar who lived in the convent of Toulouse—that there were two Gods, and that John the Baptist was one of the greatest devils ever, the line between the established dogma and his claims was easy to draw;¹¹⁹ and the same could be said of the aforementioned Bernard de Na Jacma’s admission that he had believed that the Church of Rome was the Great Prostitute of the Book of Revelation.¹²⁰ However, it was harder to explain why Bernard Fenàs was wrong to show his respect for two men who he believed were good and led a good life, even if it was by genuflecting before them and asking for their blessing.¹²¹ The practices of these groups became ‘heretical’ only to the extent that their participants were ‘heretics’ themselves, whereas more abstract concepts such as holiness, intimately related to beliefs, remained outside the purview of the ecclesiastical hierarchy for a long time, as will be discussed later.

‘Heretic’ was only one among the many names that were used in the inquisitorial registers to name the Good Men and Women, the Poor of Lyon, and the Beguins of Languedoc, but it is clear that none of these groups ever described themselves as such, and neither did other spiritual dissidents. The identity of the ‘heretic’ is always defined in opposition to a self-granted authority; that is, the ‘heretic’ is always the ‘other,’ even if that ‘other’ is the Church of Rome and the

¹¹⁸ Part of this struggle is the “semiotic warfare” Arnold refers to following Gábor Klaniczay’s concept; see Arnold, *Inquisition and Power*, 63–71.

¹¹⁹ Doat 22, fols. 89r–90v: “Petrus dixit ad requisitionem praedicti fratri Guillelmi quod due die erant.” Ibid., fol. 90v: “Item dixit quod beatus Johannes Baptista erat unum de maioribus diabolis qui unquam fuissent.” It was his relative Guilhem, together with some of Guilhem’s brethren, who denounced Peire and deposed before the inquisitor.

¹²⁰ Pales-Gobilliard, *Le livre des sentences*, 1336: “Item dixit se credidisse quod ecclesia Romana (...) sit illa Babilon, meretrix magna, de qua dicitur in Apocalipsi quod sedebat super bestiam habentem capita VII et cornua X.”

¹²¹ Doat 27, fol. 33r: “visitavit et modo quo supra flexis genibus adoravit dictos hereticos, credit esse bonos homines et tenere bonam vitam.” The implications of the ritual described here, called adoratio by the inquisitors and usually associated with the Good Men will be discussed in Chapter 4.

authority is rooted in a specific interpretation of the Scriptures. For instance, the same Bernard de Na Jacma confessed that he was not sure whether Pope John XXII was simply wrong or was a heretic himself, and Bernard was only one among the many who sustained such opinions.¹²² The communities of interpretation that are the object—and the subject—of this dissertation did believe in their own legitimacy, recognised the central role played by the hierarchy and tried to reform it and even overthrow it. Their commitment to an apostolic way of life that led to salvation, which they felt was lacking in the ecclesiastical elite that was supposed to provide them with spiritual and moral references, was the source of their authority. They were endowed with a “spirit which not only declines to accept as a matter of course the opinions prescribed by established authority but holds that it is entitled, and even obliged, not to do so.”¹²³ In sum, they were communities of dissent, and in order to grasp the structure and performance of the spiritual networks they formed, it is necessary to acknowledge the fact that, in many cases, the only extant evidence of their dissidence are the documents created and codified by the authority that persecuted them. Understanding the discourse of the officium inquisitoris is thus crucial for the validity of any approach to this problem.

2.2 Inquisitors and Inquisitions

Around 1880, the Dominican François Balme discovered in Manuscript 53 of the Biblioteca Universitaria de Madrid the only extant copy of the *Ordo processus Narbonensis*, a collection of inquisitorial materials commissioned by Pope Innocent IV and the archbishop of Narbonne.¹²⁴ Adolphe Tardif first edited the text after Balme’s notes in 1883.¹²⁵ The letters of commission of the inquisitors Guilhem Raimon and Peire Durant, dated 20 October 1244, open the *Ordo processus Narbonensis*, which, in 1900, led Céléstine Douais—who criticised the quality of the edition and claimed that he had not been able to locate the manuscript, probably because he was looking for MS 45 instead of MS 53—to date the production of the text between this date and the death of Pope Innocent IV in 1254. He attributed its composition to these two inquisitors but

¹²² Pales-Gobilliard, *Le livre des sentences*, 1332: “nescit tamen si credidit quod erraret in fide vel quod hereticus esset.”

¹²³ Moore, *Origins of Dissent*, ix.

¹²⁴ The Biblioteca Universitaria de Madrid was dismembered by Royal Order of 6 May 1897 into nine autonomous institutions, and its holdings were transferred to nine different venues, some of which merged over time. Although I am in the process of tracing the whereabouts of the former MS 53, so far its location remains unknown. However, the different scholars that have dealt with the matter have simply passed on its previous location unaware that the aforementioned library no longer exists as such. See Marta Torres Santo Domingo, *La Biblioteca de la Universidad de Madrid, 1898-1939*, Biblioteca Histórica, documento de trabajo 2000, no. 1 (Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 2000).

¹²⁵ Tardif, “Document pour l’histoire du processus.”

also suggested that, although it was unlikely, it could have been the work of Bernard de Caux and Jean de Saint-Pierre.¹²⁶

Antoine Dondaine maintained that Guilhem Raimon and Peire Durant were the authors of the text and dated it to 1244, but soon after, Yves Dossat argued in favour of Bernard de Caux and Jean de Saint-Pierre being the authors and placed the text within a wider historical context, thus providing a slightly later date for its creation.¹²⁷ Indeed, in October 1248, Innocent IV decided that the part of the ecclesiastical province of Narbonne that politically depended on the King of Aragon would also depend on the inquisitors of that kingdom. He instructed the archbishop of Narbonne to commission a text describing the inquisitorial procedure in order to send it to them, as well as to the Dominican Ramon de Penyafort, who had requested it.¹²⁸ Therefore, October 1248 would be the *terminus post quem* for this manual, and its authors would then be Bernard de Caux and Jean de Saint-Pierre, for they were the inquisitors of Toulouse and Carcassonne, respectively, from September 1248 onwards. The text of the *Ordo processus Narbonensis*—also known as *Processus inquisitionis*—was also edited in 1967 by Kurt-Viktor Selge and translated into English by Walter Wakefield in 1974.¹²⁹ Its importance lies in the fact that it is one of the earliest examples of a manual compiling the practices of the inquisitors of Languedoc, and as such, it was written for the use of other inquisitors. Given that a reflection on the nature of the inquisitorial procedure is needed in order to assess the validity of the conclusions drawn from the sources that this procedure generated, inquisitors' manuals thus appear as an invaluable source of information.¹³⁰

¹²⁶ Douais, *Documents*, ccxxxiv–ccxxxv. Bernard de Caux and Jean de Saint-Pierre were in charge of the great inquisition held at the cloister of Saint-Sernin, in Toulouse, between May 1245 and August 1246. The records of this inquisition, which involved more than 5,000 people, have partially survived in Manuscript 609 of the Bibliothèque municipale of Toulouse and have provided the basis, among others, for Pegg, *Corruption of Angels*. This author claims that the *Ordo processus Narbonensis* was based on the practical experience accumulated by Bernard de Caux and Jean de Saint-Pierre during these years.

¹²⁷ Antoine Dondaine, “Le manuel de l’inquisiteur (1230–1330),” *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 17 (1947): 97–101; Yves Dossat, “Le plus ancien manuel de l’inquisition méridionale: le *Processus inquisitionis* (1248–1249),” *Bulletin philologique et historique (jusq’à 1715)* (1952): 33–37; and *Les crises*, 167–168.

¹²⁸ Penyafort was himself the author of a brief inquisitorial treatise, which, coinciding with the celebration of the council of Tarragona, was written in 1242 at the request of the archbishop of Tarragona with the aim of solving several procedural questions. Penyafort's text circulated in the Languedoc and a copy was kept at the inquisitorial archives of Carcassonne, whence it was copied in Doat 36, fols. 226r–241v, and not in Doat 38, as Douais claims; see Douais, *Documents*, ccxxxv.

¹²⁹ Kurt-Viktor Selge, *Texte zur Inquisition* (Gütersloh: Mohn, 1967), 70–76; Walter L. Wakefield, *Heresy, Crusade, and Inquisition in Southern France, 1100–1250* (London: John Allen and Unwin, 1974), 250–257.

¹³⁰ It was precisely Dondaine's article which first drew attention to the need of analysing inquisitors' manuals in order to understand the development of the inquisition; see Dondaine, “Le manuel de l’inquisiteur,” 85–86.

The creation of the special jurisdiction that inquisitorial tribunals were entitled to exercise in order to deal with heresy was the result of a series of stages in the process of searching for the most efficient way to fight it.¹³¹ Throughout the medieval period, law courts gradually shifted from a passive to an increasingly active role. In the Early Middle Ages the traditional form of the legal process, the *accusatio*, involved the figure of an individual accuser who had to prove his or her accusation or else suffer the punishment that would have been imposed on the accused had they been found guilty. Later though, in the twelfth century, the accusatorial procedure could be justified by the *publica fama* of the accused—their public ill fame—without the presence of any individual accuser. By the end of the century, the *inquisitio* was first established to investigate clerical behaviour. This legal process allowed inquisitors to initiate actions against the suspects of committing a crime on the sole basis of public rumours and acting *ex officio*—that is, in virtue of their office—searching for witnesses and evidence, and thus adopting an active prosecutorial role in the development of the legal procedures.¹³²

At the time, as has already been discussed in the previous section, the Church did not have an official coordinated policy against the spread of spiritual dissent, and the lack of success of preaching campaigns led the papacy to devise new approaches to the problem: bishops had to visit suspected parishes, take oaths from their inhabitants, and act against suspects with the aid of local authorities. On 4 November 1184, Pope Lucius III issued *Ad abolendam*, establishing that the action against condemned sects had to be jointly undertaken by both clergy and laity; and in March 1199, drawing on *Ad abolendam*, Pope Innocent III issued the renowned *Vergentis in senium* whereby heresy was instated as a form of lese-majesty and therefore deserving of the death penalty. The result was the formal association of what up until then had been regarded as a spiritual sin with a legal crime. From then onwards, ‘heresy’ had legally regulated consequences, such as the confiscation of properties. However, the attempts to secure the aid of lay noblemen in the persecution of spiritual dissenters were mostly unsuccessful, for they were often perceived as a jurisdictional intrusion.

In the early thirteenth century, the ‘heretical unrest’ in the Languedoc evinced the structural difficulties of ecclesiastical authorities in the prosecution of spiritual dissenters. The sparse legislation and uneven punitive strategies added to the inability of episcopal tribunals to control

¹³¹ This evolution falls within a context of redefinition of the concept of power, which was governed by an increasing aim to unify and control, see James B. Given, “The Inquisitors of Languedoc and the Medieval Technology of Power,” *American Historical Review* 94, no. 2 (1989): 336–59.

¹³² For a comprehensive discussion on the whole inquisitorial procedure and its transformations see, among others, Arnold, *Inquisition and Power*, 29–33; Kolpacoff Deane, *History of Medieval Heresy*, 87–101; Given, “The Inquisitors of Languedoc,” esp. 339–343; and the classic Lea, *History of the Inquisition*.

the spread of spiritual dissent and impede the support these groups received from the population. In 1209, the Albigensian Crusade epitomised the resort to direct violence as the final means to eradicate the ‘heretical threat,’ however, twenty years later, the failure of both episcopal efforts and extreme violence in accomplishing that goal was already evident. In response to this situation, in the early 1230s, Pope Gregory IX laid the foundations for what would later be the Inquisition: for the first time the papacy impinged on episcopal jurisdiction for matters related to heresy, transferring the responsibility to the mendicant orders.¹³³

In 1231, the Pope took the first step by appointing the Dominican prior in Regensburg, Germany, to search for suspected heretics in the area, and soon after, in 1233, the first papal inquisitors, also Dominican friars, were appointed in Languedoc. Eventually, inquisitorial tribunals were established in Toulouse and Carcassonne—although some prelates in the region kept conducting their own inquisitions, especially the bishops of Albi, Pamiers, Carcassonne, and Narbonne. It is important to insist on the fact that, throughout the thirteenth and first half of the fourteenth century, the papal inquisitio was never a fully functioning institution.¹³⁴ The first medieval inquisitions were mostly individual actions carried out by appointed individuals. The massacre of inquisitors at Avignonet, in 1242, and later the murder of a cleric and an inquisitorial courier followed by the burning of the inquisitorial registers at Caunes, in 1247, add to the idea that, in the mid-thirteenth century, the *inquisitio* was perceived not as an institution but as an endeavour that could be brought to an end by eliminating those behind it.¹³⁵ However, the inquisitorial framework of the end of the century could no longer be described in the same way. A more accurate picture would be presented by a network of independently operating tribunals whose inquisitors shared the same views on ‘heretics’, the same motivation, techniques, and procedures, and a common sense of belonging to a group that was in charge of a crucial task, the *officium inquisitionis*.¹³⁶ This sense of belonging was no doubt reinforced by the fact that

¹³³ See Lea, *History of the Inquisition*, vol. I, chap. VII; and Given, *Inquisition and Medieval Society*, 13–22.

¹³⁴ See Richard Kieckhefer, “The Office of Inquisition and Medieval Heresy: The Transition from Personal to Institutional Jurisdiction,” *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 46 (1995): 36–61 for an extensive discussion on the misconceptions about the existence of a medieval Inquisition. See also Henry Ansgar Kelly, “Inquisition and the Prosecution of Heresy: Misconceptions and Abuses,” *Church History* 58 (1989): 439–51.

¹³⁵ The depositions of the people involved in the so-called massacre of Avignonet are extant in Doat 22 and 24; see Bruschi, *Wandering Heretics*, 40–44 for an account of the massacre itself and the analysis of the related testimonies. For a specific study on the assassinations, see Yves Dossat, “Le massacre d’Avignonet,” *Cahiers de Fanjeaux: Le Credo, la morale et l’inquisition en Languedoc au XIIIe siècle* 6 (1971): 343–59. The papal bull ordering the avenging of the murders at Caunes is copied in Doat 31, fols. 105v–107v.

¹³⁶ While acknowledging Kieckhefer’s arguments against an institutional Inquisition, John Arnold warns against the risks of overemphasising the individuality of inquisitors and underestimating the common features that led to the development of a common mindset and a shared strategy and discourse; see Arnold, *Inquisition and Power*, 77–79.

inquisitors were also mendicant friars who were similarly trained within their own orders, especially in the scholastic method of the *quaestio disputata* that they learned both in Paris and at the *studium generale* established in Toulouse in 1229.¹³⁷

Despite the fact that these early tribunals were not part of a fully-fledged institution, they did share a series of common features that distinguished them from the very beginning. The core of the inquisitorial process was conducted in secrecy, thus, the accused did not know the name of their accusers nor the specific charges brought against them; people whose testimony was usually not accepted in secular trials—such as children, convicted felons, accomplices, and ‘heretics’—were accepted as inquisitorial witnesses; and the sentences of inquisitorial tribunals were unappealable. ‘Heresy’ was a special type of sin that could not be absolved by any parish priest, but had to be confessed before a bishop or an inquisitor. Inquisitorial tribunals had special jurisdiction over heresy and depended exclusively upon papal authority, a relationship reinforced by the involvement of the mendicant orders, also dependent on the papacy. It was the Pope who directly appointed the inquisitors who would proceed *ex officio* against suspects. From the 1240s onwards, said suspects were forced to confess against themselves under oath at the risk of being declared impenitent heretics otherwise.¹³⁸

The aforementioned change in the way the Church viewed spiritual dissident movements also prompted a change in the ecclesiastical response to them. Although the prejudices of the literate elite persisted to a certain extent, ‘heretics’ were no longer perceived simply as a gullible mass corrupted by a learned ‘heresiarch’, but as a group actively engaged in spiritual dissent and encompassing a wide variety of levels of transgression. Therefore, eliminating the outside threat was not effective any more and the problem required a more comprehensive approach whose final aim was not only to deter by punishment but also, and mainly, to lead the stray sheep back to the flock by any means necessary.

For the first time, inquisitors resorted to long-term imprisonment as a coercive strategy meant to extract confessions from reluctant deponents, for such self-incriminating statement

¹³⁷ For a discussion of the similarities between the *quaestio disputata* and the *inquisitio* see Dyan Elliott, *Proving woman: Female spirituality and Inquisitional Culture in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton, NJ, Princeton University Press 2004), 233–36. For a comprehensive study of the involvement of Dominican friars in the inquisitions against heresy, see Christine Caldwell Ames, *Righteous Persecution. Inquisition, Dominicans, and Christianity in the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009).

¹³⁸ The legislation concerning the inquisitorial procedure was mainly based on a variety of conciliar statutes. Among them, it was the council of Narbonne, held in 1233, which set out the importance of obtaining the deponents’ confessions even if the last word as to the measure of their transgressions belonged to the inquisitor. See Giovanni Domenico Mansi, ed., *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, vol. 23 (Venice: Antonio Zatta, 1779), cols. 355–366.

was the essential condition for repentance and the healing effects of penance. In the early fourteenth century, Bernard Gui would openly advocate the use of imprisonment in case the accused “persists throughout the deposition and obstinately denies the accusations, as I have seen many times; [the accused] must by no means be released, but imprisoned for several years so that the ordeal enlightens them.”¹³⁹ Furthermore, Gui would add that in order “to extract the truth from these [the accused], it is allowed to coerce them by denying them food, by imprisoning and keeping them in chains.”¹⁴⁰ Confessions, made in the vernacular language of the deponents, were simultaneously translated into Latin and put in writing, thus becoming the heart of inquisitorial registers.¹⁴¹ In 1232, the provincial council of Béziers fostered the use of written records to monitor the evolution of ‘heretical’ movements, and this, in turn, transformed the inquisitorial machinery into a de facto ‘textual mechanism.’¹⁴²

From the beginning, inquisitors based their enquiries on in-depth questionings and evidence, and this seemingly logical and reasoned approach, far removed from the early medieval ordeal, has led scholars to praise the rationality of their methods even if noting its faults and despising the premise behind their actions. However, in the effort to dispel the notion that the only aim of inquisitorial tribunals was to punish as many ‘heretics’ as possible by sending them to the stake in large numbers—which could not be farther from the truth, as the statistics show—it is necessary to avoid going too far. As many authors have already pointed out, the sources left behind by the inquisitorial procedure are ultimately textual sources, and must be treated as such, and analysed within their specific context and not as clinically detached reports meant only to provide historians with information.¹⁴³ When, in November 1325, a woman from Montpellier

¹³⁹ Mollat, *Manuel de l'inquisiteur*, vol. 2, 56: “talis obstinatus sit ad confitendum et persistat in negando, sicut pluries vidi plures huiusmodi esse tales, non est aliquantulum relaxandus, set detinendus per annos plurimos ut vexatio det intellectum.”

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., vol. 1, 182: “talis artari seu restringi poterit in dieta vel alias in carcere seu vinculis (...) ut veritas eruatur.” On the innovative use of imprisonment by inquisitors as a coercive technique see Given, “The Inquisitors of Languedoc,” 343–47, and *Inquisition and Medieval Society*, 52–65.

¹⁴¹ For a discussion of the implications of turning oral confessions into written text see Pegg, *Corruption of Angels*, 57–62, and Walter Ong, “Orality, Literacy and Medieval Textualization,” *New Literary History* 16 (1984): 1–12.

¹⁴² I am borrowing this expression from Arnold, *Inquisition and Power*, 37 et seq. See Given *Inquisition and Medieval Society*, 25–51 for the extensive and innovative use inquisitors made of documentation.

¹⁴³ For a discussion on the comparison between modern historians and inquisitors see, among others, 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), 81–110; Arnold, *Inquisition and Power*, 107–10; Carlo Ginzburg, “The Inquisitor as Anthropologist,” in *Clues, Myths, and the Historical Method*, trans. J. and A. Tedeschi (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989), 141–48; Edward Muir and Guido Ruggiero, “The Crime of History,” in *History from Crime*, ed. Edward Muir and Guido Ruggiero, trans. Corrada Biazio Curry, Margaret A. Gallucci, and Mary M. Gallucci (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994), vii–xviii.

named Alisseta Boneta, having spent “a long time in prison,” confessed and recanted her errors “freely and spontaneously” before the Dominican inquisitors Henri de Chamayou and Pierre Brun, she was not merely conveying a piece of her own reality but ultimately answering a hostile interrogation.¹⁴⁴ The inquisitors’ questions provided the basic script for the confessions that were to be extracted from the deponents, and different interrogation techniques produced vividly different results, as will be discussed in the following section. In medieval society, where the sense of belonging to a group strongly affected all areas of everyday life, including—especially—religion, inquisitors operated a sort of ‘judicial dissection’ by tearing people away from their comfort zone and forcing them to reflect on their own sins while paying a very dear price for them.¹⁴⁵

The *Ordo processus Narbonensis* was the first official document to address the whole procedure of an inquisition and include a list of questions. A rather brief text, it comprises letters of commission, a description of the procedure, a question list, formulae for citation, abjuration, and imposition of penances and punishments, and an example of a penitential letter.¹⁴⁶ The usual course of action when the suspicion of heresy aroused in a specific area was conducting an inquest. During a *predicatio generalis*, delivered before the local clergy and an assembly of other people, inquisitors publicly announced the purpose of the *inquisitio* and read out loud the letters of commission from the Pope and the provincial prior. A period of grace was established during which all who came forward and revealed everything they knew about ‘heretics’ and their supporters were granted a relative leniency, even if they incriminated themselves in the process.¹⁴⁷ At the same time, a general summons was issued for all men older than fourteen and all women older than twelve to appear before the inquisitors and answer their questions.¹⁴⁸ These inquests were massive throughout the mid-thirteenth century, but, by the end of the century, they became less frequent and the number of people involved less numerous.¹⁴⁹ Although this

¹⁴⁴ Doat 27, fol. 29v: “in dicto carcere longo tempore perstitisset, gratis et sponte (...) dixit se paenitere de praedictis.” On the subject of “spontaneity” and inquisitorial confessions see Arnold, *Inquisition and Power*, 93–98.

¹⁴⁵ See Bruschi, *Wandering Heretics*, 186.

¹⁴⁶ See Tardif, “Document pour l’histoire du *processus*”: “(...) littere commisionis; processus inquisitionis; modus citandi; modus abjurandi et forma jurandi; formula interrogatorii; modus singulos citandi; modus et forma reconciliandi et puniendi redeuntes ad ecclesiasticam unitatem; littere de penitentiis faciendiis; forma sententie relinquiendi brachio seculari; and forma sententie contra eos qui heretici decesserint.”

¹⁴⁷ This period of indulgence, officially codified by the council held in Béziers in 1246, could only be received once and only if the individual was not specifically summoned by name; see Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum*, vol. 23, 690–703.

¹⁴⁸ The councils of Toulouse (1229), Béziers (1244), and Albi (1254) had established the age limits for inquisitorial summons matching the accepted ages of discretion, that is, the age at which a person was considered to have sufficient knowledge to be held responsible for engaging in new relations; see Lea, *History of the Inquisition*, vol I, 402–03.

¹⁴⁹ The Great Inquisition of 1245–1246 summoned more than 5,000 people from the Lauragais because the whole region was thought to be infected with ‘heresy’; see Pegg, *Corruption of Angels*, 35–44.

procedure remained much the same over time, its logistics changed in the second half of the thirteenth century. Before the massacre of Avignonet, inquisitors and their registers moved around, thus forming itinerant tribunals that questioned individuals in familiar spaces close to their homes. However, in the 1240s, first the council of Béziers (1246) and later Pope Innocent IV (1247) established permanent tribunals, which were undoubtedly safer for the officials but also provided an even less welcoming environment for the deponents who had to travel from their place of residence to the unfamiliar and hostile venue where the *inquisitio* was held.

The inquisitorial definition of the different degrees of heretical transgression can be gleaned from the questions of the inquisitors, and, as befits the mid-thirteenth century—according to the evolution discussed in Section 2.1—the question list in the *Ordo processus Narbonensis* focuses on the actions and not the beliefs of the deponents: did you see heretics or Waldensians;¹⁵⁰ if so, when, where, how many, and who were they with; did you hear them preaching and received them; did you accompany them from one place to another; did you eat and drink with them or had bread blessed by them; did you give or send them anything; did you carry out tasks for them; did you accept peace from them, and where; did you adore them, bow your head, bend your knee or ask for their blessing; did you attend their rituals; did you confess to Waldensians or accept penance from them; were you associated with heretics or Waldensians; were you involved in a pact to conceal the truth—and, finally, the only question explicitly related to beliefs—did you believe in heretics or Waldensians and their errors.¹⁵¹

This question list conveys the inquisitors' concern with the supporters of 'heretics' and not so much with the 'heretics' themselves.¹⁵² Its aim seems to be uprooting the social support of 'heretical' groups, that is, attacking the problem from the base by dismantling its support network. The most immediate by-product of the study of the documents left by such a line of questioning is an acquaintanceship network which, at least in part, would overlap the spiritual network of the deponent, thus turning these records into an a priori quite convenient source for the application of Social Network Analysis methods. Although the authors of the *Ordo processus Narbonensis* acknowledge that they "do much more but do not know how to put it in writing," the text suggests that the inquisitorial procedure did not enquire further into who the 'heretics'

¹⁵⁰ Here we see the same formula I referred to at the beginning of Section 2.1.

¹⁵¹ Tardif, "Document pour l'histoire du *processus*," 672.

¹⁵² Sackville describes it as a list of markers of guilt attached to a 'somewhat disembodied heretic'; see Sackville, *Heresy and Heretics*, 142. It is also worth recalling here Duvernoy's hypothesis about the term 'hereticus' being used to refer to the learned priestlike elite of the 'Cathars', also known as *perfecti*. See Duvernoy, "L'acception: 'haereticus' (iretge) = 'parfait cathare'."

were, or what were their beliefs.¹⁵³ This is probably related to the nature of the document itself. Its authors were providing guidelines on how to conduct an inquisition from beginning to end, and were confident that whatever inquisitor had access to them would also be versed on the particularities of each ‘heretical sect’, which were described in detail in other treatises, such as the *Summa de Catharis et Pauperibus de Lugduno*, the most popular treatise of its kind—written in 1250 by Raniero Sacconi, a Dominican friar and former ‘Cathar’ himself—and *De inquisitione hereticorum*, mistakenly attributed to the Franciscan David of Augsburg—written in the late thirteenth century, at least after 1261.¹⁵⁴

Inquisitorial treatises on heresy also placed under suspicion all those who visited heretics when captured, brought them victuals, lamented their capture or death, excused them or manifested that they had been unjustly condemned, and those who kept their bones as relics. While *fautores*, *receptatores*, and *defensores* were distinguishable through their actions, *credentes* posed the difficult question of beliefs. These degrees of involvement would still be functioning in the early fourteenth century—as both Gui’s *Practica inquisitionis heretice pravitatis* and the depositions from this period in Doat 27 and 28 show—however, Gui significantly turned to what the accused believed instead of what they did. For instance, in the formula for the interrogation of Waldensians, he states: “Asked about their faith and beliefs, their answer was (...); enquired about what they consider a good Christian, they answer (...); asked about the articles they believe in (...)”¹⁵⁵ This shift in the line of questioning has been attributed to a need for an abstraction of practices that were no longer in existence.¹⁵⁶ Thus, according to most authors, Gui’s *Practica* would not be a reaction to an increasing ‘heretical threat,’ for in his time ‘Catharism’ was experiencing a significant decline in numbers, but was due to the inquisitors’ internal momentum.¹⁵⁷

The change from actions to beliefs has also been interpreted as the lack of necessity of reminding later inquisitors of the basics, for they were already well versed in them. However,

¹⁵³ Tardif, “Document pour l’histoire du *processus*,” 677: “Plura quidem et alia facimus in processu et aliis, que script facile non possent comprehendere.” Among other things, questionings began with a formula of abjuration of heresy so that the deponents went on record and this statement could be later called on if necessary.

¹⁵⁴ See Dondaine, “Le manuel de l’inquisiteur,” and Sackville, *Heresy and Heretics*, 135–53 for detailed discussions on these manuals and their manuscript tradition. See Arnold, *Inquisition and Power*, 51–53 for an outline of the development of the confessing subject gleaned from the evolution of inquisitors’ manuals. See Given, *Inquisition and Medieval Society*, 44–49 for an overview of interrogation techniques based on inquisitors’ manuals and their relation to confessor’s manuals after the Fourth Lateran Council (1215).

¹⁵⁵ Mollat, *Manuel de l’inquisiteur*, vol. 2, 65: “Interrogatus de fide quam tenet et credit, respondet (...); examinatus veto quem reputat bonum christianum, responder (...); interrogatus de articulis quod apse credit (...).”

¹⁵⁶ Pegg, *Corruption of Angels*, 45–47.

¹⁵⁷ Arnold, *Inquisition and Power*, 53. This last argument merits some thought because although the number of *bons omes* was significantly lower than eighty years earlier, other dissident spiritual movements were at the height of their activity.

the large section of the *Practica* devoted to the beliefs and practices of each spiritual group seems to disprove this assumption. According to Arnold, inquisitorial power created confessing subjects that progressively expressed more beliefs, opinions, and doubts, which, in turn, forced inquisitors to keep conducting their procedures for the threat these new subjects posed could not be ignored.¹⁵⁸ Inquisitors' manuals evidence the individuation of inquisitorial discourse. The interest of the *inquisitio* no longer lay just in events, but the process was progressively endowed with sacramental value. Therefore, inquisitors and inquisitions, fully immersed in the context of thirteenth-century religiosity, also contributed to the process of interiorized reflection discussed in Section 2.1 and the causal relationship between inquisitorial procedure and spiritual dissidence was clearly bidirectional.

The concept of 'heresy' involved a wider variety of cases for Gui than for Bernard de Caux and Jean de Saint-Pierre. While the main concern of the latter were the Good Men and Women—as well as the relatively minor threat of Waldensianism—Gui's manual involved not only Waldensians, but also Beguins and Pseudo-Apostles, among others; hence the need for more varied formulas to properly interrogate the suspected members of each group and ascribe them to the most suitable category of transgression. The *Practica inquisitionis heretice pravitatis*, drawing on previous manuals and treatises, represents the peak of classification and codification of spiritual dissent. Gui establishes a gradation of guilt based on belief, practices, and actions that he applies to the members and supporters of the different groups. These categories had originally been developed in relation to the *bons omes* and the Poor of Lyon, and were later applied to other expressions of 'heresy'.

It is useful to question to what extent the prosecution of 'Catharism' influenced the inquisitorial practice of the following century, but Gui's expertise was also based on his own work as inquisitor between 1307 and 1323.¹⁵⁹ Thus, the evolution of inquisitorial question lists was the result of both a diversification of evidence between the mid-thirteenth and the early fourteenth century and the consolidation of the inquisitorial practice and discourse that affected the way in which spiritual dissent was prosecuted, rather more efficiently.¹⁶⁰ According to Ormerod and Roach, by the 1320s the century long experience of the *officium inquisitoris* had helped inquisitors understand how heretical communities worked. Thus, eliminating the most important individuals in a group—which, according to these authors were the most connected

¹⁵⁸ See Arnold, *Inquisition and Power*, 98–102.

¹⁵⁹ Bernard Gui's inquisitorial career will be mentioned and referenced in sub-Section 2.3.2.

¹⁶⁰ On the open question of the relationship between the eradication of spiritual dissent and the persecuting machinery cf. Bruschi, *Wandering Heretics*, 195–96; and Roach, *Devil's World*, 132–58.

people—seemed a reasonable repressing response.¹⁶¹ Despite agreeing with them on the fact that the accumulated expertise of inquisitors played a role in the evolution of their performance, in my opinion, this specific practice of trying to remove the most connected individual was not so much motivated by a newly acquired knowledge about the inner workings of these communities but on lingering prejudices related to the view of spiritual dissenters as groups of gullible people who let themselves get carried away under the influence of a heresiarch. The following chapters will offer many opportunities for reflection on this point.

To conclude this overview of the inquisitorial process and its implications, it is necessary to turn to its last most harrowing act. Once the proper *inquisitio* was completed, and after the consultation with legal and religious experts, inquisitors summoned the population for the celebration of the *sermo generalis*, the general sermon.¹⁶² Months and even years could go by between the first depositions and the pronouncement of sentences at the general sermon, and the accused often spent that time in prison. Besides confessions, the most important part of the extant inquisitorial sources are precisely the records of general sermons. The secrecy that surrounded most of the inquisitorial procedure turned this event, on the occasion of which punishments and sentences were delivered, into the main public display of inquisitorial power, aimed at both delimiting orthodoxy and creating transgressive identities. Inquisitors, bishops, ecclesiastical officers and outstanding citizens gathered—usually at the cemetery of a church outside the city walls or in a market square—and the accused were also present, as was the rest of the population, who were granted indulgence for attending the act. The accusations were then repeated, and the *culpae* were read out loud. These were more or less brief *extractiones culparum* (extracts of guilt) that were composed on the basis of the whole depositions and then recorded in the register. Finally, sentences were pronounced, previous sentences were commuted, and, at the end, relapsers and impenitent heretics were handed over to the secular arm and burned on the spot.

Penances and punishments, publicly administered, became a part of the process of individuation of spiritual dissenters. The ritual of penance firmly established the newly created

¹⁶¹ See Ormerod and Roach, “Medieval Inquisition.”

¹⁶² Before publicly pronouncing sentences, inquisitors had to obtain—at least in theory—the approval of the bishop and consult with a certain number of ecclesiastical and lay experts. This formula, known as *communicato bonorum virorum consilio* evolved over time, shifting from a mere formality to an actual discussion that affected the outcome of the process. Examples can be found in Doat 27 and 28, as will be discussed in the following section. On this topic, see Célestin Douais, *La formule communicato bonorum virorum consilio des sentences inquisitoriales* (Paris: Bouillon, 1898), and Dossat, *Les crises*, 208–11. On the concept of the general sermon as an instrument of inquisitorial propaganda, see Given, *Inquisition and Medieval Society*, 71–78; and Grado G. Merlo, “Il *sermo generalis* dell’inquisitore. Una sacra rappresentazione anomala,” in *Vite di eretici e storie di frati*, ed. Marina Benedetti, Grado G. Merlo and Andrea Piazza (Milan: Edizioni Biblioteca Francescana, 1998), 203–20.

identity of the ‘heretic’. Forever branded as such, together with their offspring, convicted heretics were forbidden from occupying public offices, sometimes had their properties confiscated, and in any case were partially removed from the social fabric they belonged to and condemned to look at it from the outside. The penitential letters they were to carry with them forced penitents to make themselves known over a wide geographic area thus turning the symbols that marked the ‘heretic’ into a system of representation of transgressive categories. In the background, the inquisitorial register was meticulously kept and served, among other things, to maintain a true psychological control over this newly created marginal social group. Ultimately, the ensemble of inquisitorial sources acted as a sort of textual collective memory for the members of the *officium inquisitoris* and it is necessary to bear that in mind when addressing their analysis.

2.3 Inquisitorial Sources and the Relational Approach

Up until the early twentieth century, the history of spiritual dissent was mainly based on the study of the sources produced by those who aimed to repress it. Although it is now widely accepted that polemical sources, sermons, and inquisitorial registers and treatises portray a constructed image of the beliefs and practices of the different groups that were accused of heresy, such image was taken at face value for centuries, shaping scholarly views and fostering the classification of medieval spiritual dissenters into neatly defined categories.¹⁶³ Furthermore, the history of these movements was for long subordinated to the history of the mechanisms set in motion in order to bring them down.¹⁶⁴ It was not until 1935 and the publication of Jean Guiraud’s work, precisely on the history of the Inquisition, that the possibilities offered by the texts produced within spiritual dissident communities were brought to light.¹⁶⁵ Guiraud provided a picture of the social background of the spirituality of the *bons omes* using not only inquisitorial sources but also, for the first time, the ‘Cathar’ ritual appended to the Occitan New Testament in Manuscript Palais des Arts 36 of the Bibliothèque municipale de Lyon (fols. 325v–241v).¹⁶⁶

¹⁶³ For a thorough analysis of the representation of heresy in Catholic texts based on a wide range of sources see Sackville, *Heresy and Heretics*. On the image of heretics in the exegetical and theological works of Jacques Fournier, see Irene Bueno, *Defining Heresy: Inquisition, Theology, and Papal Policy in the Time of Jacques Fournier* (Leiden: Brill, 2015).

¹⁶⁴ This classic approach can be found, for instance, in Lea, *History of the Inquisition*.

¹⁶⁵ Jean Guiraud, *Histoire de l’Inquisition au Moyen Âge, I. Origines de l’Inquisition dans le Midi de la France: Cathares et Vaudois* (Paris: Auguste Picard, 1935).

¹⁶⁶ The Lyon manuscript was probably copied in northern Italy around the first half of the fourteenth century and was first published in Léon Clédât, *Le Nouveau Testament, traduit au XIIIe siècle en langue provençale, suivi d’un rituel cathare* (Paris: Ernest Leroux Éditeur, 1887). For more recent approaches to this text, including the discussion about the possible Waldensian influence on the Occitan translation, see Stuart Westley, “Quelques observations sur les variants présentées par le Nouveau Testament cathare occitan, le Ms. de Lyon (PA 36),”

The analysis of the texts of ‘heretical’ origin evolved much over the second half of the last century; especially as the interest in the literacy of these communities—already discussed in section 1.2—consolidated and the groups of religious dissenters started to be regarded as ‘textual communities’. Despite the doubts about the authenticity of some of these sources, which has generated much debate, it is nowadays undeniable that their study is essential for an accurate account of spiritual dissent in the Middle Ages.¹⁶⁷ These texts present mostly contemporary depictions of the workings of the communities of interpretation that produced them, as well as of their view of themselves as a group with a distinct spiritual identity. Beliefs, rituals, devotional practices and performances are present in these sources, which are nonetheless far from unbiased. Just as inquisitorial materials, these are textual sources with their own background and purpose that need to be conveniently placed within their own context. Spiritual dissent stems from the emergence of beliefs and practices that at some point oppose the established orthodoxy, but orthodoxy and dissent share the same references and are equally significant expressions of medieval Christianity. It is only by analysing and contrasting the texts from both sides of the spiritual spectrum—dissidents and repressors—that a descriptive history of the beliefs and community life of these groups can be fully reconstructed. However, the study of spiritual dissent involves not only the definition of such beliefs and practices but also analysing both the extent to which individuals adhered to them, and the spiritual links that bound people together as part of a dissident group.

The aim of the present dissertation is precisely the analysis of the relations established between the men and women who belonged to the same spiritual communities of interpretation. As in any project of historical research, selecting the sources accordingly is of the utmost importance and, in that regard, although dissident texts are crucial to reconstruct the ideational

Heresis 26–27 (1996): 7–21; and Marvyn Roy Harris, “The Occitan New Testament in ms. Bibl. Mun. de Lyon, PA 36: A Cathar or Waldensian Translation?” *Heresis* 44–45 (2006): 163–86.

¹⁶⁷ One of the most controversial dissident sources is the document known as Charter of Niquinta, the only evidence of the council of *bons omes* held in Saint-Félix-de-Caraman in 1167. Its only extant copy is the transcription included in Guillaume Besse, *Histoire des ducs, marquis et comtes de Narbonne, autrement appelez princes des Goths, ducs de Septimanie et marquis de Gothie* (Paris: A. de Sommaville, 1660), 483–86. Most scholars now agree on the fact that it was written in the 1220s at the behest of Peire Isarn, a dissident leader from the Carcassès, but the debate about its authenticity and implications has been going on for decades. In favour of this approach see, among others, Pilar Jiménez, “Relire la Charte de Niquinta (I): Origine et problématique de la Charte,” *Heresis* 22 (1994): 1–26, and David Zbiral, “La Charte de Niquinta et les récits sur les commencements des églises cathares en Italie et dans le Midi,” *Heresis* 44–45 (2006): 135–162. For an overview of the arguments against its authenticity see Monique Zerner, ed., *L’histoire du catharisme en discussion: Le “concile” de Saint-Félix (1167)* (Nice: Centre d’Études Médiévales – Université de Nice – Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 2001). For a recent critical edition of the document see David Zbiral, “Édition critique de la Charte de Niquinta selon les trois versions connues”, in *1209–2009: Cathares: Une histoire à pacifier?*, ed. Anne Brenon (Portet-sur-Garonne: Loubatières 2010), 45–52; see also the analysis of the document and its Spanish translation in Sergi Grau Torras, *Cátaros e Inquisición en los reinos hispánicos (siglos XII–XIV)* (Madrid: Cátedra, 2012), 137–47.

and devotional basis of these communities of dissent, they are not always the best suited to provide insight into the actual people that formed them. With a few exceptions, these sources tend to focus on the message they aim to convey, on the description of the proper liturgy, in sum, on that which defines the specific spiritual identity binding them.¹⁶⁸ Spiritual dissent is based on a system of beliefs, but personal connections, the practice of everyday life, and daily contacts and acquaintances are what truly holds these groups together. The most suitable source to study such reality would be one that, enquiring into it, was not so much moved by a theoretical interest as by an interest in factual data; a source that provides as much information as possible into such connections and the people they involve. For that reason, the present study is mainly based on inquisitorial sources and, specifically, on inquisitorial records.

Inquisitorial records have proved to be a valuable resource in different areas of historical research. Juridical in nature, the wealth of data they compile and their confessional character convey a twofold purpose. On the one hand, as mentioned in the previous section, inquisitorial registers, together with other types of inquisitorial texts, acted as a sort of collective textual memory for inquisitors, they reflect a common discourse on heresy and heretics and establish a classification of the different categories of transgression in a practical way.¹⁶⁹ On the other hand, the ultimate specific function of registers, that is, the detailed record of events and the people involved in them, had a distinct coercive goal. Registers were created with the intention of being consulted at some point.¹⁷⁰ The people whose names were recorded in them and somehow associated with the crime of heresy were forever placed under suspicion, for the register granted a certain degree of timelessness to their implication. For instance, on 30 November 1243, the widow Bernarda Targueira confessed that thirty years before she had been a vested heretic for three years and a half;¹⁷¹ and in February 1324, Peire Astruc, an inhabitant from Albi, testified about his contact with two Good Men, which also took place thirty years earlier.¹⁷² The register

¹⁶⁸ The aforementioned ‘Cathar’ ritual and the various Occitan translations of the Gospels and other sacred and patristic texts are good examples of this formula. In contrast, the Charter of Niquinta and the Beguin Martyrology in Burnham, *So Great a Light*, 189–93—despite their very different purposes—are quite exceptional in providing detailed lists of individuals who belonged to dissident groups.

¹⁶⁹ The different categories of transgression—*fautores*, *receptatores*, *defensores*, and *credentes*, among others—that were first developed through conciliar legislation and later incorporated into the different inquisitors’ manuals, were implemented in the practice of the *officium inquisitionis* whose most direct textual result were precisely inquisitorial records. See Arnold, *Inquisition and Power*, 37–47 for a detailed overview of the development of such categories.

¹⁷⁰ The provincial council held in Béziers in 1232 set forth the idea of using the record of past transgressions as a means to monitor the spiritual performance of a community.

¹⁷¹ Doat 22, fol. 2r: “Anno domini millesimo ducentesimo quadagesimo tertio, pridie kalendas decembris, Bernarda Targueira, uxor quondam Poncii Gran, testis iurata dixit quod fuit haeretica induta per tres annos et dimidium, et sunt triginta anni.”

¹⁷² Doat 27, fols. 33v–34r: “Petrus Astruc civis Albiensis, sicut per ipsius confessionem factam sub anno domini millesimo trecentesimo vigesimo quarto mense februarii in iudicio legitime constat, viginti octo anni vel triginta

was meant to deter from further involvement, for a previous recorded abjuration and sentence would put the accused in the difficult position of being condemned as a relapser and handed over to the secular arm. Furthermore, a conviction for heresy also affected the descendants of the accused, who often found themselves dispossessed.¹⁷³ All in all, registers were instruments of repression in their own right, for they put in writing the creation of the new social group of convicted heretics.

The process of individuation that affected all areas of culture and society in the Late Middle Ages can also be perceived in the development of the inquisitorial procedure, and therefore, in the evolution of inquisitorial sources. As noted in Section 2.2, inquisitors progressively viewed dissident movements as an ever-growing menace to Christianity; virtually all Christians were liable to fall into the ways of the ‘heretics’. However, over the second half of the thirteenth century, despite the increasing concern of inquisitors with personal adherence to beliefs and practices, opinions, and doubts, the concept of ‘individual identity’ was inextricably intertwined with the development of spiritual group identities.¹⁷⁴ Therefore, these individuals were only persons of interest in as much as they were related to other persons of interest, that is, only to the extent that they belonged to a specific group. Even the *Ordo processus Narbonnensis*, which is clearly a mere outline in comparison to the most advanced and thorough inquisitors’ manuals of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century, betrayed that concern about the connections of individuals with suspected heretics. In a way, it is as if inquisitors acted already knowing who those ‘heretics’ were and then turned to their support network in order to dismantle it. It is this relational nature of inquisitorial records, which, despite the difficulties their analysis entails, makes them the ideal source for the study of personal connections and the application of the methods of social network analysis.

Inquisitorial registers appear as written records of oral evidence, and as such they are unique among medieval sources. Their nature is mainly juridical but this however has not prevented their use for the study of social history and the history of mentalities. Inquisitorial records resemble, in the words of Carlo Ginzburg, an “unexplored gold mine,” for they seem to showcase snippets of reality that have remained frozen in time for historians to unveil.¹⁷⁵ It is in this sense that the work of historians, who “eavesdrop on the dead,” has been compared to that of

potuerunt esse vel circa tempore confessionis factae per eum de infrascriptis, duo homines de Albia quos nominat venerunt ad operatorium suum.”

¹⁷³ See Doat 21, fols. 52r–58r for the papal constitutions issued by Pope Alexander IV (d. 1261) banning convicted heretics from holding public offices until the second generation.

¹⁷⁴ See Section 2.1, n. 111 above.

¹⁷⁵ Ginzburg, “The Inquisitor as Anthropologist,” 157.

the inquisitors themselves and, perhaps more accurately—as Arnold claims drawing on Steven Justice—to the task of the scribes of the inquisitorial tribunal.¹⁷⁶ Whereas other inquisitorial and ecclesiastic materials allow us to reconstruct beliefs—albeit from the point of view of their repressors—as well as the study of Church history and the persecution of dissident religious movements, inquisitorial records allow a shift of focus towards the target of such persecution, the individual members of those movements. Treatises and inquisitors’ manuals often drew on the personal fieldwork experience of inquisitors.¹⁷⁷ However, the purpose of those texts was to present other churchmen with clear guidelines on how to proceed and what to expect and, accordingly, personal information about individuals and their connections was weeded out in favour of a more theoretical approach. Thus, the different kinds of inquisitorial materials respond to the specific contexts in which they were created and correspond to the different parts of the inquisitorial procedure discussed in the previous section.¹⁷⁸

The ‘confessing subject’ was constructed within a specific discourse that severely limits the capability of historians to piece together any kind of individuality. In other words, inquisitors shaped and intervened in the discourse of the deponents in such a profound way that it largely became a construct. However, the central point of any discussion on inquisitorial records should not be the measure of ‘truth’ behind the depositions, but their suitability as sources for each specific analysis. This suitability ultimately depends on posing the right questions and being aware of the limitations of the sources to provide answers to them. In sum, the true issue is whether the presence of inquisitors obtrudes the validity of our results and their interpretation. In my view, the questions of the inquisitors are not a veil that needs to be torn down, but they do form a pattern, and it is both the text that escapes such pattern and the pattern itself what constitute invaluable sources of information. Furthermore, the inquisitors’ questions present different patterns over time. As discussed in Section 2.2, early records show a more factual interest—maybe based on the remnants of the alleged gullibility of the illiterate—whereas later sources evidence a shift in focus.¹⁷⁹ The overall result is a sort of transition from the

¹⁷⁶ For an example of the analogy between the task of historians and the work of inquisitors see Bruschi, *Wandering Heretics*, 1–2. For Arnold’s analogy and his reflection on the task, stance, and responsibility of historians facing inquisitorial records, see Arnold, *Inquisition and Power*, 1–15; Arnold quotes from Steven Justice, “Inquisition, Speech, and Writing: A Case from Late-Medieval Norwich,” *Representations* 48 (1994): 25–26.

¹⁷⁷ As mentioned in the previous section, the *Ordo processus Narbonnensis* was probably based on the experience of Bernard de Caux and Jean de Saint-Pierre during the inquisition held at Saint-Sernin, and it is unquestionable that Gui’s *Practica* aimed to convey the information he gathered as inquisitor in the years between 1308 and 1323.

¹⁷⁸ Ginzburg’s claim that “the elusive evidence that inquisitors were trying to elicit from defendants was not so different, after all, from our own objectives,” (Ginzburg, “The Inquisitor as Anthropologist,” 158) must be nuanced bearing in mind the different purpose of the different types of inquisitorial sources.

¹⁷⁹ It is interesting to note how even in the *inquisitios* held during similar timeframes against the same dissident groups, the different inquisitors followed different questioning patterns. This is the case, for instance, when

mere enumeration of the main events—which has often led to rather positivistic historical approaches—to a more elaborate account that also provides information about motivation, personal decisions and opinions, as well as many other subjective details.

The different tools used to analyse the sources on which this dissertation is based will be discussed in detail in the pages that follow, but the particularities of inquisitorial records raise the need for a few generic methodological remarks that consider the problems presented by their nature; knowing them is crucial in order to devise adequate strategies to approach each deposition. It is necessary to bear in mind the fact that testimonies underwent several successive alterations before ending up as written evidence.¹⁸⁰ The deponents, inquisitors, notaries, and scribes selected what they said and what they wrote down according to their own criteria and constraints. This selection was carried out by individuals that exercised their—sometimes quite restricted—agency, but adding to it, the characteristics of inquisitorial records inherently contained a fundamental mechanism of alteration that was not devoid of its own subjective bias, that is, depositions were built on a delayed dialogue that was simultaneously maintained in two different languages.¹⁸¹ Questions were posed and answered in the vernacular, and the essential parts of the answers were translated into Latin while mostly changing the first person into the third (with the only exception of some reported dialogues). These summarised versions of the depositions were then orally translated back into the vernacular and read out loud to the deponents so that they could verify them, and finally the verified deposition was again rendered in Latin and became public instrument.¹⁸² Even in the best-case scenario, this process resulted in an undeniable gap in both form and substance between the original oral testimony and the recorded evidence.

The formal differences between the actual depositions and the documents that have become our sources are not only due to the formulaic nature of the questions and, consequently,

comparing the depositions of Beguins and their supporters carried out by Bernard Gui and recorded in the *Liber Sententiarum* with the depositions of the same group contained in Doat 27 and 28.

¹⁸⁰ See Bruschi, ‘Magna diligentia’, 84–93 and Bruschi, *Wandering Heretics*, 14–26, for a detailed analysis of what the author calls the ‘filters’ that overlap the records of inquisitorial trials.

¹⁸¹ I am purposefully foregoing here the debate on the accuracy of the word ‘dialogue’ to describe the interaction between inquisitors and deponents. The inequality in terms of power between ones and the others has led some authors to consider the records as fundamentally monologic in nature, that is, as if the deponents merely echoed the words of the inquisitors. See Ginzburg, ‘The Inquisitor as Anthropologist,’ 158 and Arnold, *Inquisition and Power*, 8–13. As the present section conveys, in my view, despite the undeniable aforementioned inequality, there is still a dialogic component that allows historians to discern the voices of the deponents even if muffled and somewhat distorted.

¹⁸² See the discussion in Pegg, *Corruption of Angels*, 57–62 on whether the deponents did recognise their own words in the summarised versions that often used a different linguistic register.

the answers—for it is logical to assume that deponents to some extent echoed the expressions used to question them—but also to the recording itself, which was carried out by scribes and notaries that shared the legal background, language, and vocabulary of inquisitors. Thus, it is only in the brief passages kept in the original language that we can be fairly certain about the deponents' own words.¹⁸³ As for the alterations in content undergone by the original testimonies, it is important to distinguish between the different types of inquisitorial sources. The parts of the inquisitorial procedure discussed in the previous section generated different types of documents, a whole inquisitorial textual corpus. As we have seen, sentences were made public during the general sermon, and these sentences were recorded separately from the detailed account of the proceedings that formed the actual register. Even the latter, much more detailed—given that the recorded sermons only included the abridged *culpae* of the accused—had little to do with the ever-present figure of the stenographer in modern courtrooms.

The record was not literal or comprehensive, not all questions were recorded, and neither were the complete answers. Sometimes it was the huge number of deponents what imposed this need for brevity, but other circumstances could also factor in, such as the experience of the inquisitor, the specific relevance of the case, and the information that had already come to light in previous depositions. Bernard Gui in his *Practica* advises his fellow inquisitors not to record all the questions and answers, but only those relevant to the truth they are seeking: “granted that such a great number of questions are made—and whenever others are posed according to the diversity of people and facts—in order to extract and extort the whole truth, it is not however expedient to record the whole interrogation but only the part that most resembles the substance and nature of the facts and that seems to be closer to the truth.”¹⁸⁴ The Dominican inquisitor also shows a concern for achieving some degree of homogeneity among the different recorded questionings, for “if a multitude of questions can be found in a certain deposition, another

¹⁸³ See, for instance, the phrase “a tort et a peccat” included in several depositions to signify the opinion of the witnesses as to the unjust sentences passed by inquisitors, Doat 28, fols. 205v–206r: “Quod dicti begguini fuerant homines bone vite et sancte, et erant lumen sancte fidei catholice, et quod a tort et a peccat fuerant condemnati, et quod erant salvi et sancti martires in paradiso.” Among many other examples of longer original expressions that can also be found in the records, see the deposition of a certain Peire Esperendiu, a weaver from Narbonne, in August 1325 according to which someone had lamented the condemnation of four Franciscans in Marseille arguing that they should have “let them go, for they have been executed and killed with great injustice,” Doat 28, fols. 250r–250v: “Lassas les anar, car a grant tort sont justifiats (sic) et morts.” On this topic see also Annie Cazenave, “De la parole au texte: les termes de Langue d’Oc dans les actes latins,” *Bulletin philologique et historique* (1979): 77–98.

¹⁸⁴ Mollat, *Manuel de l’inquisiteur*, vol. 1, 32: “licet fiant tot interrogationes et quandoque alie secundum diversitatem personarum et factorum ad eruendum et extorquendum plenius veritatem, non tamen expedit quod omnes interrogationes scribantur, set tantum ille que magis verisimiliter tangunt substantiam vel naturam facti et que magis videntur exprimere veritatem.”

more succinct deposition might seem diminished, and with such a great number of questions transcribed during the process, only with great effort could the depositions of the witnesses be harmoniously arranged, which should be considered and avoided.”¹⁸⁵

These alterations distort the perspective of historians, enhancing the importance of some parts and disregarding others. Thus, historians see through the eyes of inquisitors, notaries, and scribes, which, nevertheless, should not hinder research; at least not any more than the average, for this is a rather common problem for historical sources in general. It is in this sense that inquisitorial records are first and foremost documents and should be placed within their own context and treated according to the discourse they belonged to, and the purpose they were created for. Why are certain formulas constantly repeated and names that could be easily mentioned are left out and replaced by uninformative expressions such as “quem nominat” (whom he/she names)? What motivates the exceptions to this rule? These issues respond to the purposes, and needs of inquisitors, to the information they deem relevant, and to their way of extracting it from the deponents, but mostly to the purpose of the recording itself, which is different in the case of the *libri sententiarum* and the registers, much more detailed and helpful to establish the procedural aspects of inquisitorial proceedings.

The vicissitudes of time have left behind only a fraction of the vast inquisition archives of Carcassonne and Toulouse, to the point that most records of thirteenth-century inquisitions have only survived in seventeenth century copies, and a handful were preserved by chance in the bindings of later volumes.¹⁸⁶ Although the fortune of fourteenth-century inquisitorial records was better, the extant sources are but a very small part of what they originally were. Therefore, it is crucial to bear in mind that any research on inquisitorial sources builds on partial evidence.¹⁸⁷ Not only because of the limitations already mentioned, or the uneven preservation of inquisitorial documents over time, but also because it stands to reason that inquisitors were not that efficient and that many of the people involved in dissident groups were able to

¹⁸⁵ Ibid.: “Si enim in aliqua depositione inveniretur tanta interrogationum multitudo, alia depositio pauciores continens posset diminuta videri, et etiam cum tot interrogationibus conscriptis in processu vix posset concordia in depositionibus testium inveniri, quod considerandum est et precavendum.”

¹⁸⁶ See Dossat, *Les crises*, 29–55 on the original location of these archives in the domus inquisitionis of each city, and for a reconstruction of their holdings. See Pegg, *Corruption of angels*, 152, n. 3, for some examples of thirteenth-century registers used to bind seventeenth-century works.

¹⁸⁷ See Pegg’s well-referenced reflection on the subject in Pegg, *Corruption of Angels*, 20–27. This discussion is especially important in his case for he works on MS 609 of the Bibliothèque municipale of Toulouse which “appears to be only two books out of an estimated ten that Bernart de Caux and Jean de Saint-Pierre originally compiled” (ibid., 22). Pegg rightfully ponders the validity of conclusions on the participation of women in dissident movements that draw on incomplete registers.

maintain a low profile and thus remained undetected. Assuming otherwise would both create fairly unrealistic expectations as far as historical research goes—leading us to believe that all dissidents were accounted for—and present an image of an all-controlling inquisitorial apparatus that could not provide a satisfactory explanation for the long-standing endurance of dissident groups. The partialness of evidence, however, has never deterred historians from pursuing a deeper understanding of the reality they seek to reconstruct. Ultimately, statistics are rarely obtained from a complete set of data but rather from partial significant samples. It is true that the validity of such an analysis depends heavily on the size of said dataset, which usually poses a problem in the case of medieval studies—for statistical analyses based on samples of a few data hardly bear any significance—but a well-selected sample can help define guidelines that direct and refine research questions.¹⁸⁸

In the case of the social network approach used in the present work, it is especially important to insist on the fact that my aim is not to reconstruct a complete network, which would be an unattainable endeavour in most historical cases given the aforementioned partialness of evidence. The purpose of this project is to present the dissident networks—whatever their size and however partial they may be—that can be gleaned from inquisitorial records in order to search for network effects and overlooked structures, and to reassess the roles of individuals with respect to the spiritual groups they belonged to.¹⁸⁹

Identifying individuals and placing them within the proper group is therefore one of the first obstacles that need to be addressed. For instance, the *libri sententiarum* and their account of general sermons usually list the names of individuals accused and sentenced in previous trials that see their sentence modified. These are only mentioned by name and origin, and need to be located in the documents related to the original inquisition—their depositions and those of others—in order to be added to the network. This identification is often made more difficult by the fact that different birth names, last names, and even nicknames (including different spellings) are sometimes used to designate the same individual. It is necessary to insist here on

¹⁸⁸ The sampling methods of inquisitors that underlie the sources used in this dissertation will be discussed in the chapters below.

¹⁸⁹ As discussed above, all social networks are partial by their very nature, for their analysis implies the selection of a concrete dataset and, moreover, of the kind of relations that we choose to consider. In other words, all historical network studies choose to focus on a specific set of actors and some of the links established between them, disregarding the rest. It is not that the information set aside has no interest, but that on selecting the research questions we aim to respond, we inherently establish what is relevant to our object of study. I will return to this so-called “boundary specification problem” in the chapters below, see Edward O. Laumann, Peter V. Marsden, and David Prensky, “The boundary specification problem in network analysis,” in *Applied Network Analysis: A Methodological Introduction*, ed. Ronald S. Burt and Michael J. Minor (Los Angeles, CA: SAGE, 1983), 18–34.

the importance of minimising assumptions when reconstructing the different networks studied in the following chapters. Thus, when there is doubt on whether two people bearing the same name are the same person, I have preferred to see them as separate individuals in order not to infer connections that would distort the general outline of the networks they belong to.

Finally, a major feature of inquisitorial sources that must be taken into account when trying to outline the bigger picture is the very specific process of information transmission at work in them. The previous paragraphs have already noted the part played by the receivers of these oral testimonies—that is, inquisitors, notaries, and scribes—in the process of comprehension. Understanding their perspective is especially important because their ‘selective perception’ underlies the whole process of creation of inquisitorial documents.¹⁹⁰ However, two other components of the so-called ‘extended functional communication triad’, that is, the sender and the context in which the information exchange takes places, need be considered in order to take stock of the possibilities offered by said information.¹⁹¹

Thus, in the context of inquisitorial questionings, deponents did not give their testimony freely but were forced to do so under stressful circumstances, especially given that their own fate often depended on it. First, fear played a major role in the deponents’ construction of their own discourse, most likely leading them to hide as much of the truth as they could or to present it in the most favourable light they could manage to try and lessen their involvement. But other kinds of fear were also at play and many of these deponents were prepared to stay true to their faith whatever the cost, for the fear of the stake weighed little against risking the eternal condemnation of their souls.¹⁹²

Additionally, inquisitors were well aware of the possibility of untruthful or incomplete and vague statements, as can be seen in Bernard Gui’s *Practica*, where Gui acknowledges the painstaking efforts the inquisitors must make to unveil the truth: “leading heretics to reveal themselves is truly burdensome when instead of openly confessing to their errors, they hide

¹⁹⁰ On the concept of selective perception and the predisposition to notice that which supports the information we already believe while neglecting all evidence that seems to counter it, see Mark Burgin, *Theory of Information. Fundamentality, Diversity and Unification* (Singapore: World Scientific Publishing, 2010), 143–44.

¹⁹¹ According to the modern theory of information, the functional communication triad is formed by sender-message-receiver, whereas the extended triad adds the concept of context; see *ibid.*, 258–259.

¹⁹² The history of fear has its seminal work in Jean Delumeau, *La Peur en Occident: Une cité assiégée (XIV^{ème}-XVII^{ème} siècle)* (Paris: Fayard, 1978). The anthropological studies that are especially relevant for the study of fear in connection with inquisitorial depositions include Mary Douglas, *Risk Acceptability According to the Social Sciences* (New York, NY: Russell Sage Foundation, 1986), and David L. Scruton, “The anthropology of an emotion,” in *Sociophobics: The Anthropology of Fear*, ed. David L. Scruton (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1986), 7–49. See Bruschi’s application of Douglas’s theory to Doat 21 to 26 in Bruschi, *Wandering Heretics*, 142–89.

these or there are no reliable and sufficient testimonies against them. In this case, difficulties arise everywhere for the inquisitor. On the one hand, his conscience torments him if he condemns without a confession or not entirely convinced of the guilt of the accused; on the other, informed on the falsehood, the cunning, and the wickedness of such people, his spirit is further distressed that they may avoid punishment thanks to their guileful astuteness, and this to the detriment of the faith because they then multiply and become reinforced, and more cunning.”¹⁹³ He goes on to provide specific strategies to reveal lies and probe further into the memories of the deponents suspected of belonging to the different dissident groups, even when they claim not to remember. For instance, he includes a detailed description of the method to question Waldensians that he introduces with the following warning: “It should be noted that it is very hard to interrogate and examine Waldensians, and to extract the truth about their errors, due to the falsehood and duplicity of the words with which they respond in order to avoid being captured.”¹⁹⁴

Registers are especially useful as to the active use of strategies to catch the deponents in a lie, such as repeated questionings on the same issue, or contrasting the depositions of different suspects and then asking them about the discrepancies over and over again—without revealing the reasons behind the whole process. The register of the bishop of Pamiers, Jacques Fournier, provides several examples of this inquisitorial system. For instance, a man named Raimon de Santa Fe, and a certain Agnès, a widow who had been his wet-nurse, were arrested in August 1319 among several other suspects of belonging to the group of the Poor of Lyon. Over the following two years, Fournier questioned Raimon on more than twenty occasions and Agnès six times, actively using the information provided by the latter to interrogate Raimon and ascertain his presence in what the bishop knew were hotbeds of Waldensianism in the area.¹⁹⁵ As will be discussed in the following pages, inquisitorial sources show many examples of deponents who

¹⁹³ Mollat, *Manuel de l'inquisiteur*, vol.1, 6: “Nimis enim est grave hereticos deprehendere ubi ipsi non aperte confitentur errorem set occultant vel ubi non habentur certa et sufficientia testimonia contra ipsos. In quo casu concurrunt undique angustie inquirenti. Angit enim conscientia, ex una parte, si non confessus nec convictus puniatur; ex altera vero parte, angit amplius animum inquirentis informatum de falsitate et calliditate et malitia talium per experientiam frequentem, si evadant per suam vulpinam astutiam in fidei nocumentum, quia ex hoc ipsi amplius roborantur et multiplicantur et callidiores efficiuntur.”

¹⁹⁴ Ibid., 64: “Notandum est autem quod Valdenses sunt valde difficiles ad examinandum et inquirendum et ad habendum veritatem ab eis de erroribus suis propter fallacias et dupplicitates verborum quibus se contegunt in responsionibus suis ne deprehendantur.”

¹⁹⁵ Fournier’s questioning strategies were analysed in detail for the case of the Clergue family by Danielle Laurendeau in her doctoral thesis “*Cet évêque fait sortir la vérité, même si cela ne plaît pas à ceux qui la disent. Faire parler et savoir taire au tribunal d’inquisition de Pamiers (1308–1325)*” (PhD. diss., Université du Québec à Montréal–Université de Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne, 2008). Some of her results were published in Danielle Laurendeau, “Le village et l’inquisiteur. Faire parler et savoir taire au tribunal d’Inquisition de Pamiers (1320–1325),” *Histoire & Sociétés Rurales* 34, no. 2 (2010): 13–52. More recently, Irene Bueno has published her work on Fournier’s contribution to the methods and practices used in the repression of spiritual dissent; see Bueno, *Defining Heresy*, 45–87.

lied or concealed evidence, and their reasons for doing so were manifold, from conspiracies of silence, to plain fear and lapses of memory—let us recall that suspects were often questioned many years, even decades, after the fact. Therefore, ultimately, deponents modified their statements not only influenced by the formulaic imposition of the interrogation process but also according to their own circumstances and purposes.¹⁹⁶

The pages that follow will offer an overview of the main sources used to reconstruct the dissident networks presented in this dissertation as well as functional maps to further contextualise the inquisitorial activity these sources record. This detailed description includes the inquisitorial sources from which I have directly extracted information for the analysis of the members that formed dissident networks and the relationships between them as well as other complementary sources have been used to provide further details that helped identify individuals and place them within their context.

2.3.1 Inquisitorial sources in the Collection Doat

In 1663, at the behest of Jean-Baptiste Colbert (1619–1683)—the Minister of Finances of King Louis XIV—Jean de Doat, who had been appointed First President of the *Chambre des comptes* of Nérac in 1646, started, along with eight copyists, a task that would take them seven years to complete.¹⁹⁷ The goal was to compile all the documents of interest to the king that were housed in municipal and ecclesiastical archives all over southern France.¹⁹⁸ The result of the Doat mission was a collection of 258 paper manuscripts bound in red morocco and bearing the arms of Colbert.¹⁹⁹ Currently kept in the Bibliothèque nationale de France—the former Bibliothèque

¹⁹⁶ For instance, according to the deposition of Na Prous Boneta, a Beguine from Languedoc who testified in November 1325, most of her community did not believe her when she claimed to be the incarnation of the Holy Spirit, however, the testimonies of other witnesses seem to tell a different story. Her influence on the community of Beguins of Languedoc was analysed in Louisa A. Burnham, “The Visionary Authority of na Prous Boneta,” in *Pierre de Jean Olivi (1248–1298). Pensée scolastique, dissidence spirituelle et société*, ed. Alain Boureau and Sylvain Piron (Paris: Vrin, 1999), 319–339. Na Prous’s case will be discussed at length in the following chapter.

¹⁹⁷ In April 1624, during the reign of Louis XIII, the *Chambre des Comptes de Nérac* and the *Chambre des Comptes de Pau*—both of them created in 1527 during the reign of Henry II of Navarre—merged into the *Chambre des Comptes de Navarre*. Jean de Doat is listed among the *Présidents* of the *Chambre des Comptes de Nérac* in Nicolas Viton de Saint-Allais, *La France législative, ministérielle, judiciaire et administrative, sous les quatre dynasties* (Paris: P. Didot de l’Aîné, 1813), vol. 3: 282.

¹⁹⁸ On the Doat commission, see Henri Omont, “La collection Doat à la Bibliothèque nationale. Documents sur les recherches de Doat dans les archives du sudouest de la France de 1663 à 1670,” *Bibliothèque de l’école des chartes* 77 (1916): 286–96; and Biller, Bruschi, and Sneddon, *Inquisitors and Heretics*, 20–26.

¹⁹⁹ According to Biller, Bruschi, and Sneddon, *Inquisitors and Heretics*, 3, the collection was simply rebound at some point in the nineteenth century. Given Omont’s claim that “most of them are bound in red morocco bearing

Royale—the volumes of the Collection Doat contain copies of documents from the territories of Béarn, Foix, Guyenne, and especially Languedoc, most of which are no longer extant.

Despite the lack of a formal catalogue, the inventory of the manuscript collection of the library produced by Philippe Lauer in the early twentieth century includes a description of the contents of the Collection Doat.²⁰⁰ Seventeen out of the total 258 volumes—namely, volumes 21 to 37—are devoted to inquisitorial activity and religious dissent in southern France. Thus, the copies carried out under the supervision of Jean de Doat have allowed the survival of part of the vast inquisitorial archives of Toulouse and Carcassonne, where, among other things, the fires of the French Revolution burned bright. Whereas the Doat commission extended over a period of seven years, from 1663 to 1670, the copies from inquisitorial archives were produced in only two years—from 1667 to 1669—as indicated both in Lauer’s catalogue and in the notes added by seventeenth-century copyists that can be found scattered throughout this sub-set of manuscripts.²⁰¹

Among other sources, the present work is mainly based on the consultation of the digitised and microfilmed copies of the original manuscripts 21 to 37 of the Collection Doat. At the time of writing this dissertation, most of said volumes are still unpublished, although some recent studies have provided quality editions and translations, and there is an ongoing project—funded by the British Arts and Humanities Research Council and based at the University of York—that is aimed at producing editions and English translations for volumes 21 to 24.²⁰² The extensive work of Jean Duvernoy deserves special mention. Along with his renowned

the arms of Colbert” (Omont, *La collection Doat*, 286: “la plupart reliés en maroquin rouge aux armes de Colbert”) it seems likely that only part of the collection was rebound prior to 1916.

²⁰⁰ Philippe Lauer, *Inventaire des collections manuscrites sur l’histoire des provinces de France* (Paris: Ernest Leroux Éditeur, 1905). The information related to the Collection Doat can be found in Chapter IV, “Collection de Languedoc (Doat)”, 156–92. An earlier contribution by Charles Molinier focused on the description of the Doat volumes concerning the history of inquisition; see Charles Molinier, *L’Inquisition dans le Midi de la France au XIIIe et au XIVe siècle: Étude sur les sources de son histoire* (Paris: Librairie Sandoz et Fischbacher, 1880), 34–40.

²⁰¹ See Lauer, *Inventaire des collections manuscrites*, 160: “Copies exécutées de 1667 à 1669 dans les “trésors des chartes du roi” à Carcassonne, Rodez, Narbonne, Foix, et dans les archives de l’Inquisition de Carcassonne, des Dominicains de Toulouse et de Narbonne, de l’évêché et du chapitre de l’église cathédrale d’Albi, des Grands-Carmes de Toulouse, de l’abbaye cistercienne de Bolbonne et du collège des Jésuites de Toulouse.” See also, among many other similar references, Doat 21, fol. 50r: “fait a Carcassonne le vingt huitième (sic.) Juillet mil six cents soixante huit; and *ibid.*, fol. 323v: “fait a Albi le dix-septième Octobre mil six cent soixante neuf (sic.)”

²⁰² The whole volume 25 and part of volume 26 have been published in Biller, Bruschi, and Sneddon, *Inquisitors and Heretics*. Jörg Feuchter, *Ketzer, Konsuln und Büßer: Die städtischen Eliten von Montauban vor dem Inquisitor Petrus Cellani (1236–1241)* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007) is devoted to volume 21, especially to the inquisition carried out by the inquisitor Peire Sellan in Montauban. The progress of the project ‘The Genesis of Inquisition Procedures and the Truth-Claims of Inquisition Records: The Inquisition Registers of Languedoc, 1235-1244’ led by Professor Peter Biller, Dr Lucy Sackville, and Dr Shelagh Sneddon at the Department of History of the University of York can be followed at <https://www.york.ac.uk/res/doat/>, last accessed 27 September 2018.

transcription and translation of the Fournier Register, he transcribed excerpts from several volumes of the Collection Doat, edited the sentences of Peire Sellan in volume 21, and offered on-line versions of complete Doat volumes on his own website, along with other sources related to inquisitorial activity and religious dissidence in southern France.²⁰³ Despite the fact that said transcriptions contain many errors, his major contribution to the edition of inquisitorial sources must nevertheless be acknowledged.

In general, each Doat volume is composed of a collection of texts that have undergone successive selection processes and the rearrangement of information. Although the following chapters will provide information about the content of the different volumes specifically used in each case, here I will briefly describe the basic framework of volumes 21 to 37.

Doat 21 is formed by 324 folios and comprises copies of original documents from both the inquisitorial archives of Carcassonne and the Dominican convent of Toulouse.²⁰⁴ Along with official documents, such as the oath taken by Count Ramon VI of Toulouse in 1209 at the beginning of the Albigensian Crusade, several charters issued by King Louis IX of France, and conciliar legislation, Doat 21 includes sentences pronounced by the inquisitors Guilhem Arnaut, Esteve de Saint-Thibéry—both of them assassinated in Avignonet in 1242—Friar Ferrer, Peire Sellan, and Guilhem Raimon that were the result of several inquisitions carried out in the region of Quercy.²⁰⁵

Doat 22 includes 296 folios containing copies of documents originally kept in the Dominican convent of Toulouse (fols. 1r–106v) and the inquisitorial archives of Carcassonne dating between 1243 and 1247. The first part was copied from “twenty bound parchment quires” and contains several inquisitions carried out by Bernard de Caux and Jean de Saint-Pierre in Quercy and

²⁰³ Duvernoy’s original transcripts were available at the Centre d’Études Cathares of Carcassonne, which was founded in 1981 by Duvernoy himself and René Nelli and disappeared in 2011 due to budget cuts. Its task was taken over by the Collectif International de Recherche sur le Catharisme et les Dissidences – CIRCAED, founded by Pilar Jiménez-Sánchez and Anne Brennon, the last directors of the Centre d’Études. Although Jean Duvernoy passed away in 2010, his transcriptions can still be found at <http://jean.duvernoy.free.fr/sources/sinquisit.htm>, accessed 3 September 2016.

²⁰⁴ The inquisition archives of Toulouse, originally kept in the *domus inquisitionis* near the Palais Narbonnais, were transferred to the Dominican convent at some point between the late sixteenth century and the first half of the seventeenth; see Dossat, *Les crises*, 30–31.

²⁰⁵ For a chronological list of inquisitors from 1230 to 1349, a detailed account of their respective periods of activity, and the extant sources that refer to it, see Douais, *Documents*, cxxix–ccix. On the inquisitorial activity of Guilhem Arnaut and Esteve de Saint-Thibéry, see Dossat, *Les crises*, 217–222. On Friar Ferrer, see Section 2.1, n. 5. On Peire Sellan, see Jean Duvernoy, *L’inquisition en Quercy: le registre des pénitences de Pierre Cellan, 1241–1242* (Cahors: L’Hydre, 2001); for a more recent and comprehensive approach to this figure, see also Feuchter, *Ketzer, Konsuln und Büßer*, 257–306.

Toulouse between 1243 and 1247.²⁰⁶ The second part of Doat 22 includes inquisitions conducted by Friar Ferrer and Peire Durand in the area of Mirepoix, some of them related to the siege of Montségur.²⁰⁷

Doat 23 is formed by 346 folios containing the copies of documents from the inquisitorial archives of Carcassonne and dating between 1238 and 1244. The originals were the records of several inquisitions conducted in Quercy and in the Lauragais by the inquisitors Friar Ferrer—accompanied on some occasions by Peire Durand or Pons Garí—Bernard de Caux, and Jean de Saint-Pierre. Some of the deponents also provide information about previous inquisitions carried out by Guilhem Arnaut and Esteve de Saint-Thibéry over a decade before.

Doat 24 consists of 286 folios and includes copies of two sets of documents originally kept in the inquisitorial archives of Carcassonne that date between 1237 and 1246. The first part of the volume (fols. 1r–238r) corresponds to different inquisitions—some of which involved the affairs of Montségur—carried out in the Lauragais and the county of Foix by Friar Ferrer with the occasional assistance of Peire Durand, Pons Garí, and Guilhem Raimon, and a few cases investigated by Bernard de Caux and Jean de Saint-Pierre. The second part (fols. 239r–286v) records the inquisitions conducted in the area of Pamiers by Bernard de Caux and Jean de Saint-Pierre after the inquisition of Saint-Sernin.²⁰⁸

Doat 25 includes 332 folios—331 numbered folios plus fol. 55 bis—copied from Toulouse and dating between 1273 and 1278. The documents record the questioning of over sixty people from Quercy, the Lauragais, and the area surrounding Toulouse. These inquisitions took place in the Dominican convent of the city and were mostly conducted by the inquisitors Ranulf de Plassac and Pons de Parnac, but also by Huc de Boniols, Huc Amiel, Peire Arsieu, and Johan Galand.²⁰⁹

²⁰⁶ Doat 22, fol. 106v: “vingt cayers de parchemin atachés ensemble.” These inquisitors were the authors of the *Ordo processus Narbonensis* and were introduced above. For more information on their activity see Dossat, *Les crises*, 154–157, and 226–243; and “Une figure d’inquisiteur: Bernard de Caux,” *Cahiers de Fanjeaux: Le Credo, la morale et l’inquisition en Languedoc au XIIIe siècle* 6 (1971): 253–72.

²⁰⁷ On the case of Montségur, see Yves Dossat, “Le ‘bûcher de Montségur’ et les bûchers de l’inquisition,” *Cahiers de Fanjeaux: Le Credo, la morale et l’inquisition en Languedoc au XIIIe siècle* 6 (1971): 361–78.

²⁰⁸ See an edition of this section in Jean Duvernoy “Le registre de l’inquisiteur Bernard de Caux, Pamiers, 1246–1247,” *Bulletin de la Société Ariégeoise des Sciences, Lettres et Arts* 45 (1990): 5–108.

²⁰⁹ For an account of the questionings in Doat 25 carried out by Ranulf de Plassac and Pons de Parnac, see Douais, *Documents*, clxxii–clxxx. On the methods and context of the inquisitors represented in Doat 25 and 26, see also Biller, Bruschi, and Sneddon, *Inquisitors and Heretics*, 48–63. On the inquisitorial career of Johan Galand see Douais, *Documents*, clxxxii–cxc; and Jean-Marie Vidal, *Un Inquisiteur jugé par ses ‘victimes’: Jean Galand et les Carcassonnais (1285-1286)* (Paris: A. Picard, 1903).

Doat 26 contains 316 folios copying documents dating from 1278 to 1293. The first part (fols. 1r–78v) is a continuation of the copies of the inquisition records compiled in Doat 25, which presumably generated too large a volume and were thus split in two.²¹⁰ The second part of the volume (fols. 79r–316v) corresponds to the copies of documents found in the inquisition archives of Carcassonne that record the enquiries carried out by Johan Galand and Guilhem de Saint-Seine in the same region between 1284 and 1289.²¹¹

Doat 27 is formed by 259 folios and consists of the copies of ten parchment quires bound together and originally kept in the inquisitorial archives of Carcassonne.²¹² Unlike previous volumes, Doat 27 contains the records of several complete general sermons held in Carcassonne, Prouille, Narbonne, Pamiers, and Béziers between November 1328 and September 1329, and carried out by the Dominican inquisitors Henri de Chamayou, and Peire Brun—also involving Johan de Prat on occasion. Together with Doat 28, these are the only sources that include the consultations with *bonorum virorum* as part of the process.²¹³

Doat 28 is composed of 252 folios and compiles the copies of eight parchment quires from the inquisition archives of Carcassonne.²¹⁴ Like Doat 27, this volume is also exceptional in providing a detailed step-by-step account of the different parts of the general sermon, including the previous consultation with experts. In this case in particular, the original documents recorded general sermons held in Lodève, Pamiers, and Carcassonne between July 1323 and March 1327, which were conducted by the inquisitors Jean de Beaune, Johan du Prat, and Peire Brun, and the bishop Jacques Fournier.²¹⁵

Doat 29 consists of 318 folios and reproduces part of a compilation of inquisitorial texts originally kept in the inquisition archives of Carcassonne that was split in two by Doat copyists.

²¹⁰ See Doat 26, fol. 78v: “Extrait et collationné d’un livre en parchemin dont la première feuille est marquée par le nombre IIII et la dernière II^c XLIII.”

²¹¹ The original documents were compiled in a single book bound in sheepskin over wood, see Doat 26, fol. 326r: “Extrait et collationne d’un livre en parchemin couvert de bois et d’un basanne par dessus.”

²¹² See Doat 27, fol. 250r: “Extrait et collationné de dix cayers en parchemin attachés ensemble dont la première feuille est marquée du nombre CXVIII et au haut de laquelle est escrit *ad gratiam de crucibus deponendis* et la dernière II^c XII.”

²¹³ See Section 2.2, n. 162 above.

²¹⁴ See Doat 28, fol. 250v: “Extrait et collationné de huit cayers de parchemin dont la première feuille est marquée du nombre I et au haut est escrit *consilium habitum Lodova anno domini M III^c XXIII.*”

²¹⁵ On the figure of Jean de Beaune, see Jean Bondineau, “Un inquisiteur bourguignon (Jean de Beaune) en pays cathare au début du XIV^e siècle,” *Société d’archéologie de Beaune, histoire, lettres, sciences et arts: mémoires* 57 (1974): 186–189.

Thus, the first three parts of Bernard Gui's *Practica inquisitionis heretice pravitatis* are copied in full in fols. 2r–289v, and are followed by a section of the fourth part that carries on until the end of the volume.²¹⁶ The manuscript ends with the words “per duos viros ydoneos loco notarii depositiones conscribantur,” and the catchword “sexto” at the bottom of the page matches the beginning of Doat 30.²¹⁷

Doat 30 is made up of 305 folios and contains the copies of the second portion of the aforementioned inquisitorial compilation kept in Carcassonne, which the Doat copyist describes as a parchment book of inquisitorial formulas bound in sheepskin over cardboard.²¹⁸ The volume begins with the continuation of the fourth part of Gui's treatise (fols. 1r–90r), followed by a supplication to the Pope made by the inquisitors of Toulouse and Carcassonne (90r–91v) against the slanders of the citizens of Carcassonne. The following section (fols. 92r–132v) contains a copy of a text entitled *De hereticis Clemens V in consilio viennii*, which is none other than the constitution known as *Multorum querela*—issued by Pope Clement V during the Council of Vienne (1311–1312)—which tried to satisfy some of the complaints that had been made against inquisitors by creating mixed tribunals that also involved bishops. This bull forced inquisitors to collaborate with bishops in order to prosecute and sentence suspects of heresy, and many inquisitors, among them Bernard Gui and Geoffroi d'Ablis, contested it as can be seen in the copy included in this volume.²¹⁹ Finally, Doat 30 turns again to Gui's *Practica*, in particular reproducing a version of its fifth part that places the section devoted to the pseudo-apostles at the beginning instead of at the end (fols. 132v–305v).²²⁰

Doat 31 is composed of 333 folios and is mostly devoted to copies of different documents related to inquisitorial legislation that were bound together and kept in the inquisition archives of Carcassonne. The copyist added the same note at the end of many of these documents, which

²¹⁶ Gui divided his *Practica* into five parts: (1) formulas for the citation (and capture) of heretics and witnesses; (2) formulas for the concession of grace and the commutation of penances to be pronounced during general sermons; (3) formulas for sentences; (4) a brief treatise on the powers of inquisitors; and finally (5) a compilation of methods for the questioning of the different groups of ‘heretics.’ See Mollat, *Manuel de l'inquisiteur*, vol. 1, vii–xi for a discussion on the organisation of the *Practica*.

²¹⁷ See Doat 29, fol. 318v.

²¹⁸ See Doat 30, fols. 305r–v: “Extrait et collationné d'un livre des formules de l'Inquisition couvert de carton et d'une basanne, escrit en parchemin.”

²¹⁹ On the effects of the *Multorum querela* see Jean-Marie Vidal, *Le tribunal d'Inquisition de Pamiers* (Toulouse: Privat, 1906), 5; Carl J. Hefele, “*Multorum querela*,” *Histoire des conciles* 6, no. 2 (1915): 691–93; Jean-Louis Biget, “Le Livre des sentences de l'inquisiteur Bernard Gui. À propos d'une édition récente,” *Le Moyen Age* CXI, no. 3 (2005): 608; and Grau Torras, *Cátaros e inquisición*, 400.

²²⁰ According to Mollat, this version of the *Practica* belongs to what he calls the “third family” of manuscripts that group together the six extant copies of Gui's treatise.

points to their common origin, that is, a certain parchment book of 247 folios.²²¹ The contents include papal bulls issued by Innocent IV (d. 1254), Alexander IV, Urban IV (d. 1264), and Clement IV (d. 1268). All of them are related to the powers of inquisitors, to some specific cases of wrongfully condemned individuals, and, in general, to inquisitorial activity in southern France and the region of Lombardy. Some of these involve quite renowned episodes of violence against inquisitors, such as the assassination of inquisitorial personnel and the burning of the registers in Caunes, in 1247—already mentioned in Section 2.2—and the murder of Pietro da Verona, killed in 1252 and canonised as Saint Peter Martyr already in 1253.²²² Doat 30 also includes charters dictated by Alphonse of Poitiers, Count of Toulouse, and Kings Louis IX (d. 1270), and Philip III (d. 1285) of France referring to the support of the secular authorities to inquisitors, and the restitution of confiscated properties.

Doat 32 is a volume of 324 folios that contains a miscellany of copies coming from different archives, such as the inquisition archives of Carcassonne, the cathedral archives of Saint Cécile of Albi, and the diocesan archives of Albi.²²³ Among these documents we find papal bulls intervening in inquisitorial affairs and concerning different regions: Lombardy, Provence, Burgundy, and even the kingdom of Aragon.²²⁴ Some of them deserve special mention, as Clement IV's attempt to pacify the disputes between Franciscans and Dominicans in Marseille in 1267 (fols. 16v–24r, and 24r–26v), and his exhortation to the archbishop of Narbonne to retract from his heretical opinions on the transubstantiation (fols. 44r–45v, also dated 1267). Doat 32 also includes papal bulls issued by Gregory X (d. 1276), Nicholas III (d. 1280), Honorius IV (d. 1287), Nicholas IV (d. 1292), and Boniface VIII (d. 1303), as well as royal and seigneurial charters dictated by Alphonse of Poitiers, King Philip III, and King Philip IV (d. 1314)—both as the heir to the throne and as king of France—concerning the distribution of properties confiscated from convicted heretics, and supporting inquisitors. One of the most remarkable features of this volume is the presence of several sets of extracts of guilt originally recorded between 1279 and 1290 that were copied in the fourteenth century by order of the inquisitors and even the Pope. The inquisitorial activity in Doat 32 involves Henri de Chamayou, Johan Galand, Geoffroi d'Ablis, Guilhem de Saint-Seine, and Nicolau d'Abbeville.²²⁵

²²¹ See Doat 31, fol. 59r: “Extrait et collationné d'un livre en parchemin continent deux cent quarante sept feuilles trouvé aux archives de l'Inquisition de la cité de Carcassonne.” According to Dossat, *Les crises*, 50–51, copies of fragments of this lost manuscript can be found in ten different Doat volumes.

²²² On the career, death, and canonisation of Peter Martyr, see Caldwell Ames, *Righteous Persecution*, 28–34 passim.

²²³ See, for instance, Doat 32, fol. 324v: “Extrait et collationné des copies escrites en parchemin l'une en suite de l'autre trouvés aux archives de l'Evesché d'Albi.”

²²⁴ See Doat 32, fols. 7r–14v.

²²⁵ On the careers of Guilhem de Saint-Seine and Nicolau d'Abbeville see Douais, *Documents*, cxc–cxviii; on Geoffroi d'Ablis, see *ibid.*, cxviii–cciii.

Doat 33 is formed by 273 folios that contain copies of documents from the inquisition archives of Carcassonne and the archives of the diocese of Albi. The documentation related to the case of Peire, viscount of Fenolhet, originally carried out by the inquisitor Pons de Pouget and contested by Peire's heirs before Pope Boniface VIII, extends over the first 188 folios of this volume and was copied from a large parchment roll kept in Carcassonne.²²⁶ One papal bull by Boniface VIII that also belonged to the parchment book of 247 folios kept in the archives of Carcassonne—mentioned in the description of Doat 31 above—is copied in fols. 198r–203v.²²⁷ The rest of the copies correspond to documents from archives in the region of Albi and mostly record economic transactions related to the confiscation of properties from convicted heretics. The last part of Doat 33 (fols. 207r–273v) contains a copy of a paper book bound in parchment that listed the fines and payments made to P. Radulf, the royal procurator for Carcassonne, by individuals convicted of heresy in the region of Albi between 1302 and 1305.²²⁸

Doat 34 comprises 235 folios copied from the inquisition archives of Carcassonne and the archives of the diocese of Albi.²²⁹ This volume contains royal charters dictated by kings Philip IV, and Charles IV (d. 1328) supporting inquisitors, and papal bulls issued by Boniface VIII, Benedict XI (d. 1304), Clement V, and John XXII (d. 1334). Benedict XI's order of arrest of the Franciscan friar Bernard Délicieux (fols. 14r–15v) and his decree of excommunication against Guillem de Nogaret and other individuals involved in the assault on Boniface VIII at Anagni (fols. 16r–20r) are especially remarkable.²³⁰ John XXII's 1317 letter to the inquisitor of Provence, Michel le Moine, instructing him to proceed against the rebel Franciscans of the convents of Narbonne, Béziers, and Montpellier can be found in fols. 143r–146v.²³¹ Doat 34 also includes

²²⁶ See Doat 33, fol. 188v: "Extrait et collationné d'un grand rouleau en parchemin trouvé aux archives de l'Inquisition de la cité de Carcassonne." This parchment roll is not included in Dossat's otherwise detailed reconstruction of the contents of the inquisition archives of Carcassonne, see Dossat, *Les crises*, 42–55.

²²⁷ See Doat 33, fol. 203v.

²²⁸ See Doat 33, fol. 273r: "Extrait et collationné d'un livre en papier couvert de parchemin trouvé aux archives de l'Evesché d'Albi."

²²⁹ Many of the documents copied in Carcassonne that appear in Doat 34 were originally gathered in a paper and parchment book bound in parchment whose copies were distributed over eight different Doat volumes according to Dossat, *Les crises*, 52–53. See, among others, Doat 34, fol. 15v: "Extrait et collationné d'un livre composé de divers cayers et pièces singulières partie en parchemin et partie en papier le tout couvert de parchemin, et coté de letres CCC." Some others were copied from the 247-folio parchment book already mentioned, see *ibid.*, fol. 103r.

²³⁰ On the figure of Bernard Délicieux, see Alan Friedlander, *The Hammer of Inquisitors: Brother Bernard Délicieux and the Struggle against the Inquisition in Fourteenth-Century France* (Leiden: Brill, 2000); for an analysis of the ramifications of the episode of Anagni, see Agostino Paravicini Bagliani, *Boniface VIII: Un pape hérétique?* (Paris: Payot, 2003), 299–391.

²³¹ The most 'recent' edition of this letter is included in Jean-Marie Vidal, *Bullaire de l'inquisition française au XIV^e siècle et jusqu'à la fin du grand schisme* (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1913), 35–37. I will return to this matter in the next chapter.

documents related to the inquisitorial activity of Geoffroi d'Ablis, Nicolau d'Abbeville, and Jean de Beaune between 1302 and 1322. The last part of the manuscript (fols. 189r–213v) lists the amounts of money received by the royal procurator for Carcassonne and Béziers, Arnaud Assaillit, in connection with the confiscation of properties from convicted heretics between 1322 and 1323; it also records the expenditures related to both said confiscations and to the celebration of general sermons and executions.

Doat 35 consists of 226 folios copied from documents originally kept in the inquisition archives of Carcassonne and the archives of the diocese of Albi. This is the only volume in this sub-set—volumes Doat 21 to 37—that is headed by a table of contents, albeit incomplete. Given the chronological framework of the present work, I will only mention here the documents dated before 1350, which take up the first part of the volume, up to fol. 129v.²³² This section of Doat 35 includes royal charters dictated by kings Charles IV, and Philip VI (d. 1350) of France in relation to the confiscation and restitution of properties in relation to convictions for heresy, as well as documents that record the inquisitorial activity of the inquisitors Johan du Prat, Henri de Chamayou, Aymon de Caumont, and Guilhem d'Astres, the inquisitor of Provence.²³³ Particularly extensive is the trial against the fugitive priest Bernat Mauri (fols. 20r–47v), closely related to the case of Peire Trencavel and her daughter Andrea, who also appear in this volume (fols. 18r–19v) and were important figures in the Beguin movement of Languedoc.²³⁴ Also in connection with this group, fols. 11r–17v provide the depositions of two Dominicans on the sudden death of Peire de Tornamira, a young priest from Montpellier, in the inquisitorial gaol of Carcassonne in October 1325.²³⁵

Doat 36 is formed by 332 folios copied from the inquisition archives of Carcassonne.²³⁶ This volume is a true compilation of thirteenth-century inquisitorial treatises that includes several inquisitorial manuals and guidelines on how to proceed against the different 'sects' and how to refute their doctrines: *De auctoritate et forma inquisitionis* (fols. 1r–26v), written between 1280 and 1290;²³⁷ excerpts from the *Tractatus de diversis materiis praedicabilibus* (fols. 35r–66r),

²³² Fols. 130r–226v contain copies of documents dating between 1350 and 1575.

²³³ On the career of Guilhem d'Astres, see Vidal, *Bullaire*, 86–87, and Burnham, *So Great a Light*, 91–92.

²³⁴ Bernart Mauri's deposition, which took place in 1326, was edited in Manselli, *Spirituali e beghini*, 328–45.

²³⁵ The Beguins of Languedoc are the main subject of the following chapter; see Burnham, *So Great a Light*, 100–18 for an account of Peire de Tornamira's case.

²³⁶ Most of the documents copied in Doat 36 were originally part of either the 247-folio parchment book repeatedly mentioned above, or the also discussed miscellany in paper and parchment.

²³⁷ See Dondaine, "Le manuel de l'inquisiteur," 113–15.

written by Étienne de Bourbon;²³⁸ *Summa de Catharis et Pauperibus de Lugduno* (fols. 67r–89v), composed around 1250 by Raniero Sacconi;²³⁹ an anonymous treatise against “certain heretics called Cathars” dating from the late thirteenth century (fols. 90r–203v);²⁴⁰ a treatise written by Gui Foucois, the future Pope Clement IV, on the powers of inquisitors (fols. 204r–225r); the manual written by Raimon de Penyafort in 1242 (fols. 226v–241v); *Disputatio inter Catholicum et Paterinum haereticum* (fols. 242r–310v);²⁴¹ and finally, a catalogue of heretical errors and sermons against them (fols. 312r–332r). Doat 36 also contains another remarkable text, a copy of a dissident source known as the *Interrogatio Iohannis* (fols. 26v–35).²⁴²

Finally, Doat 37 comprises 263 folios that contain the copies of documents from the inquisition archives of Carcassonne, and the archives of the Dominican convent of Toulouse.²⁴³ The volume starts with a section (fols. 1r–80v) that gathers several expert opinions and refutations of the *Postilla super apocalipsim* of Peter of John Olivi, as well as the condemnation of the doctrines of the so-called Spiritual Franciscans and the Beguins of Languedoc.²⁴⁴ Next follows an anonymous treatise on the inquisitorial procedure written around 1300 (fols. 83r–110v), accompanied by a list of places that individuals convicted of heresy were forced to visit when sentenced to minor or major pilgrimages (fols. 111r–112r). A consultation on the confiscation of properties (fols. 113r–118v) precedes a large section devoted to several papal bulls, royal charters, and other documents related to Jews (fols. 119r–247v), and the last part of the volume provides formulas for the questioning of sorcerers and Jews (fols. 248r–263v).

²³⁸ See Sackville, *Heresy and Heretics*, 53–74 on *exempla* collections and, especially, Bourbon’s treatise.

²³⁹ See Section 2.2, n. 154.

²⁴⁰ See Doat 36, fol. 90r: “quoniam haeretici qui Cathari vocantur.” This treatise was copied in full from a small parchment book kept in the archives, see *ibid.*, fol. 203r: “Extrait et collationné d’un petit livre en parchemin dont la première feuille est marquée par le nombre I et aux haut est escrit *quaedam obiectiones haereticorum et responsiones christianorum*, et la dernière LXVI.” On its author, see the discussion in Walter L. Wakefield, “Notes on Some Anti-heretical Writings of the Thirteenth Century,” *Franciscan Studies* 27 (1967): 285–321; see also Sackville, *Heresy and Heretics*, 13–40 for a detailed analysis of anti-heretical polemicists.

²⁴¹ Molinier suggests Gregorio da Firenze (d. 1240) as the author of this *disputatio*. However, he mixes up the contents of Doat 36 and 37, see Molinier, *L’Inquisition dans le Midi*, 39.

²⁴² There are several extant copies of the *Interrogatio Iohannis*, an apocryphal dialogue touching on apocalyptic themes between Christ and the Apostle John during the Last Supper. The most recent edition of the text that includes the variants in Doat 36 can be found in Edina Bozóky, *Le livre secret des Cathares, Interrogatio Iohannis: Édition critique, traduction, commentaire. Textes, Dossiers, Documents* 17 (Paris: Beauchesne, 2009).

²⁴³ Again, most of the documents from Carcassonne were originally bound together either in the paper and parchment miscellany or in the 247-folio parchment book mentioned above.

²⁴⁴ The next chapter will further discuss the figure of Peter of John Olivi and his major work, the *Lectura super Apocalipsim*, also known as *Postilla super apocalipsim*. Despite being censured as soon as 1299, merely a year after Olivi’s death and about two years after he completed said work, the *Postilla* was not officially condemned by John XXII until 1326. See David Burr, *Olivi’s Peaceable Kingdom* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993), for a detailed discussion of the condemnation process.

To conclude this overview of inquisitorial sources in the Collection Doat, it must be noted that Doat volumes add very specific problems to the usual set of difficulties presented by inquisitorial records that were discussed above.²⁴⁵ These problems once again affect both the form and the substance of the original records. First, given that volumes 21 to 37 are seventeenth-century copies of mostly thirteenth- and fourteenth-century originals, the mistakes of Doat copyists must be added to the classic problem of scribal errors.²⁴⁶ The grammatical errors, misspellings, misreadings, and even the confusion of names, place names, and other relevant information, which are always a risk in original inquisitorial records, are worsened here by the different successive copies underwent by the sources, and the addition of the errors of seventeenth-century scribes. These include the mistaken expansion of medieval abbreviations, for Doat copyists use a significantly lower number of palaeographic abbreviations than their medieval counterparts.²⁴⁷

Moreover, Doat volumes are compilations and excerpts of previous records, that is, they involved a selection of materials that further altered the contents and the overall appearance of the original inquisitions, for said selection and the arrangement that followed were made according to the purposes and constraints of the Doat mission. Not the least of Doat's problems was the cost of his endeavour, which severely limited his capacity for exhaustiveness, leading him to select medium-sized originals and leave out others of similar content but too large to be copied within his budget.²⁴⁸ Thus, complete inquisitions are not always the norm and Doat volumes are sometimes a miscellany composed of parts of other miscellanies. For instance, the fourteenth-century documents copied in Doat 32 and Doat 33 were already copying and editing previous records.

One of the complications of this process of selection is the lack of coherent chronology.²⁴⁹ The copies seem to be arranged according to the dates in the original documents, however, this presents two main difficulties. The first one arises from the original process of selection entailed by the inquisitorial recording process. As noted in the previous sub-section, the production of

²⁴⁵ See Section 2.3 above.

²⁴⁶ As noted above, Doat 21 also contains twelfth-century documents, whereas Doat 35 goes on into the sixteenth-century.

²⁴⁷ See Biller, Bruschi, and Sneddon, *Inquisitors and Heretics*, 117–20, for a more detailed account of scribal errors in Doat sources.

²⁴⁸ See *ibid.*, 20–26, for a discussion on the selection process carried out by Jean de Doat.

²⁴⁹ Lauer, in his description of the inquisitorial volumes in the Collection Doat already describes them as a classification that “sometimes” follows a chronological order. See Lauer, *Inventaire*, 160: “Classement suivant un ordre parfois chronologique.”

the original register involved grouping together the different depositions given by the same individual, which altered chronological order. The second difficulty is that although many depositions are explicitly dated, many others are simply headed with expressions such as “*anno quo supra*” (in the same year as above) that originally referred to the previous deposition, which is now sometimes missing or has been moved to some other part of the record.

For instance, Doat 25 includes three different depositions of a certain Raimon Arquer (fols. 274r–288r). The first one is dated “in the same year as above, ten days before the kalends of October,” that is, 22 September 1277, given that the previous deposition—of one Raimon de Pouts (fols. 217v–274v)—is explicitly dated in that year.²⁵⁰ Arquer’s second and third statements are dated “in the same year as above” on 9 March, and 13 March, respectively. This might lead us to think that all three were given in 1277 but, for some reason, the deposition of September was placed first, thus altering the chronological order. However, the content of these depositions suggests otherwise, for the two that were made in March note that “he added to his confession”.²⁵¹ Therefore, many other confessions by many other individuals, one of which took place, at least, in the following year, were probably between Arquer’s first and second statements, thus moving the dates to 9 and 13 March 1278.

The chronological discrepancies between the comments introduced by Doat scribes in seventeenth-century French and the copied Latin text also point to this rearrangement of depositions. For example, in Doat 23, fol. 224r, the French summary that heads the confession of a certain Peire Raimon dates it to “eight days before the kalends of September 1244” (25 August 1244), while the Latin text simply says “in the same year and day as above”. However, the previous deposition—of Guiu de Castilhon (fols. 220r–224r)—is dated on 3 March 1244. It could be of course implied that the Doat copyist made a mistake, but the abundance of such cases rather suggests that the copyist had the original before him and could see the date of a deposition that was not copied in the Doat volume.

Finally, from the standpoint of historical network analysis, the main problem inherent to Doat sources is the fact that they are based on a selection that had little to do with the actual circumstances surrounding the original dissident groups and the inquisitions that involved them. However, this fact does not make the results of their analysis less valid, it only hides information that could be useful for a better reconstruction of dissident networks. In other words, Doat sources offer a wealth of data on the individuals that formed these networks and—more

²⁵⁰ See Doat 25, fol. 274r-v: “*Anno quo supra decimo kalendas Octobris.*”

²⁵¹ See Doat 25, fol. 283r: “*addidit confessione suae.*”

importantly—on their relations. This could be said of other inquisitorial sources—especially manuscript 609 of the Bibliothèque municipale of Toulouse—but Doat volumes are quite unique in providing a wide chronological and geographical framework, which allows the comparative study of the structure of similar dissident groups over time, and of the different dissident groups that shared the same context.

2.3.2 Bernard Gui's *Liber Sententiarum*

The records of inquisitorial inquests copied in the Doat sources are quite rich for the thirteenth century, whereas the information on the inquisitions carried out in the fourteenth century is limited to volumes 27 and 28—which mostly involve the Beguins of Languedoc—together with several sparse cases in volumes 32, 33, 34, and 35, and data related to the confiscation of properties in Doat 33 and 34. Given the chronological scope of the present work, and however interesting these economic transactions may be from the relational point of view, the aims of this work make it necessary to complement Doat records with early fourteenth-century inquisitorial sources that involve the dissident groups that are the subjects of the present study: the ‘Cathars’, or Good Men and Women, and the Beguins of Languedoc. The source selected for this purpose is the *Book of Sentences* of the Dominican inquisitor Bernard Gui (hereinafter, *Liber sententiarum*).²⁵²

The *Liber Sententiarum* of Bernard Gui was originally kept in the inquisition archives of the Dominican convent of Toulouse, but it is possible that the manuscript had already left the city in the 1660s when the Doat mission was in progress. Given the kind of documents that Jean de Doat selected for his scribes, it seems improbable that he would have passed up the opportunity to copy this book of sentences. At any rate, at some point in the late seventeenth century, the manuscript ended up in Rotterdam, where the English philosopher John Locke (d. 1704) had access to it in 1677.²⁵³ It was precisely Locke—together with his friend Benjamin Furly—who entrusted the edition of the manuscript to the theologian and professor Philipp van Limborch,

²⁵² On the figure of the inquisitor Bernard Gui, see Annette Pales-Gobilliard, “Bernard Gui inquisiteur et auteur de la Practica,” *Cahiers de Fanjeaux: Bernard Gui et son monde* 16 (1981): 253–64; Jacques Paul, “La mentalité de l’inquisiteur chez Bernard Gui,” *ibid.*, 279–316; and James B. Given, “A Medieval Inquisitor at Work: Bernard Gui, 3 March 1308 to 19 June 1323,” in *Portraits of Medieval Living: Essays in Memory of David Herlihy*, ed. Samuel K. Cohn, Jr. and Steven A. Epstein (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1996), 207–32. See also Caldwell Ames, *Righteous Persecution*, 124–33 for a reflection on the mutual influence of the two facets of Gui’s career as inquisitor and historian.

²⁵³ For a detailed account of the history of the manuscript in its journey from Toulouse to London, see Pales-Gobilliard, *Le livre des sentences*, 14–25; and Biget, “Le Livre des sentences,” 605–07.

who, in turn, appended said edition to his *Historia inquisitionis* in 1692.²⁵⁴ For a long time the original manuscript was thought to be lost and Limborch's edition was the basis for many studies on the history of Inquisition.²⁵⁵ It was not until an article on John Locke authored by a curator of the manuscript department of the British Museum, M.A.E. Nickson, that Bernard Gui's *Liber sententiarum* was identified as Manuscript Add. 4697 of the British Library (hereinafter, Add. 4697 BL), a rich parchment volume of 221 folios bound in red leather and written in fourteenth-century diplomatic script.²⁵⁶ Apparently, a certain Bishop Secker managed to purchase it in 1755 for eighty pounds from Thomas Furly—the grandson of the aforementioned Benjamin—and donated it to the British Museum a year later. In 2002, Annette Pales-Gobilliard published a revised edition of the original manuscript that I have used as a source for the present work.²⁵⁷

Pales-Gobilliard offers 1328 as the *terminus post quem* for the completion of the manuscript. This date results from the identification of the individuals sentenced in the *Liber sententiarum* with the names listed in the royal accounts in relation to convictions for heresy, which Pales-Gobilliard meticulously gathers from other sources that span from 1285 to 1328.²⁵⁸ However, Jean-Louis Biget makes a compelling case for an earlier date, given that the last sermon recorded, held on 19 June 1323, seems a later addition to the volume—suggesting that it was almost completed before this—and, more importantly, due to the fact that the *Liber sententiarum* served as a basis for the *Practica inquisitionis heretice pravitatis*, completed between 1323 and 1324.²⁵⁹ The royal accounts recorded in Doat 33 (fols. 207r–273v) and Doat 34 (fols. 189r–213v) refer to the confiscations carried out between 1302 and 1305, and 1322 and 1323, respectively, which involved people convicted for heresy as far back as 1286. Thus, 1328 may well be the latest mention that can be traced in the royal accounts, but the economic exchanges that followed convictions usually extended over long periods of time, thus not providing a strong enough argument as to invalidate the 1323 hypothesis.

Unlike most of the Doat inquisitorial sources, which contain copies of thirteenth-century depositions, the *Liber sententiarum* is a compilation of general sermons that roughly overlaps

²⁵⁴ Philipp van Limborch, *Historia inquisitionis, cui subjungitur liber sententiarum inquisitionis Tholosae ab anno Christi 1307 ad annum 1323* (Amsterdam: apud Henricum Westenum, 1692).

²⁵⁵ Molinier, *L'Inquisition dans le Midi*, 6 claimed that the *Liber* had disappeared; Douais analysed the penances imposed by Gui based on Limborch's edition in Douais, *Documents*, cciv–ccv; and still Dossat, *Les crises*, 40, describes the manuscript as “lost without a trace.”

²⁵⁶ See M. A. E. Nickson, “Locke and the Inquisition of Toulouse,” *British Museum Quarterly* 36 (1971–72): 83–92.

²⁵⁷ Pales-Gobilliard, *Le livre des sentences*.

²⁵⁸ See *ibid.*, 63–80.

²⁵⁹ See Biget, “Le Livre des sentences,” 619–20. The summary of the sermon held in Pamiers on 19 June 1323 appears on fol. 203v of the *Liber Sententiarum*. On the date of composition of the *Practica* see Section 2.1 above, n. 116.

the period of inquisitorial activity recorded in volumes Doat 27 and 28—which, as seen in the previous sub-section, also register general sermons, in this case held between 1323 and 1329. In particular, the *Liber sententiarum* includes the records of eleven such ceremonies, eight other minor sermons sentencing one or two people each, the burning of copies of the Talmud (fol. 136r), and the reconciliation of the people of the village of Cordes with the inquisitors (fols. 138v–142r). All these events took place mostly in St Stephen’s cathedral in Toulouse and at the graveyard of St John Martyr in Pamiers between 3 March 1308 and 19 June 1323, thus accounting for most of Bernard Gui’s inquisitorial career.²⁶⁰ In particular, in the sermons held in Pamiers, Bernard Gui and Jean de Beaune assisted the bishop Jacques Fournier as inquisitors of Toulouse and Carcassonne, respectively. These sermons connect with the source that will be briefly presented in the sub-section below, for the sentences pronounced there affected men and women whose depositions can be found in the Fournier Register. Bernard Gui presided over all the sermons held in Toulouse—sometimes with the assistance of other inquisitors such as Geoffroi d’Ablis or Jean de Beaune—with the only exception of the one celebrated in September 1313, led by his lieutenant Raimon de Jumac.²⁶¹

As a book of sentences, the record of each sermon generally comprises the different acts that composed the ceremony, from the oaths taken by the royal officers and consuls present to the abjurations of the repentant ‘heretics’, and their sentences. This includes the *culpae* of the accused, that is, the summarised version of the depositions which would have been recorded in a register, in this case, sadly, only extant for the individuals judged by Fournier. It must be noted that *culpae* present a much more altered version of the original testimony than the records of depositions on which they were based.²⁶² The reason is that these were to be read aloud in front of the audience attending the sermon, and were meant to emphasise the charges that had led to the sentence that would be pronounced immediately after. It was not necessary, nor was it practical, to include in them the minor details of each testimony, or to mention all the people

²⁶⁰ The manuscript places Gui’s first inquisitorial act on 4 July 1307, that is, the questioning of a certain Pons Ameli from La Garde de Verfeil, who was finally sentenced as a relapser in 1308. See Pales-Gobilliard, *Le livre des sentences*, 182: “Item quia legitime nobis constat per confessionem ejus factam in judicio de novo coram me fratre Bernardo Guidonis, inquisitore predicto, anno Domini M° CCC° VII°, IIII° nonas julii.” Two of the sermons recorded in the *Liber sententiarum* were held in Carcassonne, either at the episcopal palace (8 December 1319; see *ibid.*, 1184–1205) or at the *domus inquisitionis* (14 July 1321; see *ibid.*, 1240–1253), and the act of reconciliation of Cordes was held in that village (29 June 1321; see *ibid.*, 1218–1239).

²⁶¹ On 15 June 1320, the defrocking of the priest Johan Filibert, accused of Waldensianism, was conducted by the archbishop of Toulouse, see Pales-Gobilliard, *Le livre des sentences*, 1208–17.

²⁶² See Mollat, *Manuel de l’inquisiteur*, vol. 2, 136, for Bernard Gui’s guidelines on how to formulate *culpae*: “Talis, de tali loco, filius tali, sicut legitime nobis constat per ipsius confessionem factam in judicio, anno et die tali (exprimatur dies et annus confessionis facte), fecit hoc et hoc (exprimatur culpa extracta de confessione breviter et sub compendio ordinata), et sic de singulis personis aliis.”

the accused might have involved in the original deposition, unless they were especially relevant or infamous in the eyes of the inquisitors. Therefore, this type of source needs to be analysed even more carefully.

One of the most significant features of the *Liber sententiarum* as regards the goal of the present work, and the main reason for its inclusion as a source of this study is the involvement of different dissident groups. No other source provides such a framework of comparison between the communities of suspected *bons omes*, and Beguins of Languedoc. For starters, as will be discussed in the following chapters, it is precisely from the end of the thirteenth century to the decade of the 1330s that these two dissident movements were active at the same time and roughly in the same area. Thus, the timeframe of the *Liber sententiarum* is a priori ideal for comparative purposes. As for the geographical context, despite the towns where the sermons were held, the people sentenced in them came from a vast territory that included the current departments of Ariège, Aude, Gers, Haute-Garonne, Hérault, Isère, Jura, Tarn and Tarn-et Garonne.²⁶³ These areas, also affected by previous inquisitions in the thirteenth century, some of them recorded in Doat volumes, provide the opportunity for a comparative analysis of the evolution of dissident communities over time. In contrast, the extant part of the Fournier Register, which can also be dated to the same period, does not include trials against the Beguins of Languedoc.²⁶⁴

Another interesting contrast is provided by the possibility of studying the prosecutions carried out by different inquisitors in similar contexts and against the same groups. For instance, the Beguins of Languedoc in Doat 27 and 28 were prosecuted by Henri de Chamayo, Peire Brun, Johan de Prat, and Jean de Beaune between 1323 and 1329, whereas the *culpa*e attributed to the members of this group in the sermons in Add. 4697 BL are the result of inquisitions conducted by Bernard Gui between 1319 and 1323. Along this same line, the *Liber sententiarum* provides an interesting counterpoint to Doat sources both as regards dissident groups already present in the inquisitions of the mid- and late thirteenth century, and due to the fact that this is a different kind of inquisitorial source, for the information about thirteenth-century groups comes mainly from records of depositions, with the only exceptions of Doat 27 and 28—also from the fourteenth century.

The *Liber sententiarum* records inquisitorial penances imposed on over 600 people, 40% of which were women.²⁶⁵ It seems that Gui focused his attention on the different dissident groups

²⁶³ See maps in Chapters 3 and 4; see also Pales-Gobilliard, *Le livre des sentences*, 1699–1706; Table no. 4 classifies penances by department.

²⁶⁴ The scope of Jacques Fournier's inquisitions will be discussed in the following sub-section.

²⁶⁵ Pales-Gobilliard ventures a first comparative analysis of the participation of women in each movement that is

in different phases; the sermons from 1308 to 1312 are mostly devoted to ‘Cathars’, followed by a pause in his activity due to the aftermath of the *Multorum querela*.²⁶⁶ Waldensians were mostly prosecuted from 1316 to 1322, and finally Beguins, whose official prosecution did not begin until 1319, were effectively dealt with from early on and up to the end of Gui’s inquisitorial activity.²⁶⁷ Finally, the *Liber sententiarum* also includes a sentence against a pseudo-apostle, a member of a movement to which Gui granted a privileged place in his *Practica*, warning authorities on the other side of the Pyrenees about the threat they presented.²⁶⁸

2.3.3 The Fournier Register

The volume currently known as the Fournier Register is a compilation of inquests carried out by the inquisitorial tribunal of Pamiers between 1318 and 1325. The manuscript, held at the Apostolic Vatican Library bearing the call number Vat. Lat. 4030, is indeed the only extant copy of the three volumes that would have formed the incipient inquisition archive of Pamiers.²⁶⁹ It is a parchment book of 325 folios, which, together with its now lost companion that contained the other half of the actual register, was copied and authenticated by order of the bishop Jacques Fournier for his personal use.²⁷⁰ It is precisely one authentication note by a clerk from Toulouse that dates the completion of the copy to some time after March 1326, for he already refers to Fournier as bishop of Mirepoix.²⁷¹ The volume joined Fournier’s private library and presumably

only based on the cases in the *Liber sententiarum* and leads her to suggest that there was an equal proportion of men and women among the *bons omes* and *bones femnas* and the Waldensians, but that the Beguins of Languedoc were mostly men. She herself recognises that these results rest on partial evidence and are far from applicable to these groups as a whole; see Pales-Gobilliard, *Le livre des sentences*, 34.

²⁶⁶ See previous sub-section, n. 219.

²⁶⁷ As will be discussed in the following chapter, the cases of the less than twenty Beguins prosecuted by Bernard Gui greatly influenced his description of this group and its practices in the *Practica*; see Mollat, *Manuel de l’inquisiteur*, vol. 1, 108–82. However, some of said practices cannot be found in the depositions recorded in Doat 27, 28, and 35.

²⁶⁸ See Mollat, *Manuel de l’inquisiteur*, vol. 2, 84–107 for Gui’s discussion on the doctrines of the pseudo-apostles; and *ibid.*, 108–18, and 118–21 for Gui’s letter to the ecclesiastics “ad partes Hyspanie”, and the correspondence on this topic between Bernard Gui and Rodrigo, archbishop of Compostela. Gui devoted a substantial part of the appendices to the *Practica* to Gerardo Segarelli and Dolcino, major figures of this movement, see *ibid.*, vol. 2, 67–108. These sections were copied in Doat 30, fols. 132v–183r. Biget criticises Pales-Gobilliard her lack of emphasis on the case of the only pseudo-apostle in the *Liber sententiarum*, a man from Galicia named Pedro de Lugo, whom Gui mentions in the *Practica* and who certainly influenced the Dominican’s concern for the proliferation of these doctrines in the Iberian Peninsula. See Biget, “Le Livre des sentences,” 610.

²⁶⁹ As noted in Section 1.1, I have used the Latin edition of the text in Duvernoy, *Le registre d’Inquisition*.

²⁷⁰ On the inquisitorial career of Jacques Fournier see Jacques Paul, “Jacques Fournier inquisiteur,” *Cahiers de Fanjeaux: La papauté d’Avignon et le Languedoc* 26 (1991): 39–67. For a detailed analysis of Jacques Fournier’s personality based on his register see Laurendeau, “Faire parler,” 333–51.

²⁷¹ See Duvernoy, *Le registre d’Inquisition*, vol. 2, 81: “Et ego Rainaudus Iabbaudi, clericus de Tholosa iuratus

travelled with him, first to his new episcopal seat in Mirepoix, where he transferred on 3 March 1326, and later on to the papal palace of Avignon where he resided as Pope Benedict XII from December 1334 to his death in April 1342, and where the manuscript would have been added to the pontifical library.

The fate of the other volume of the register is unknown, although it was still in Avignon in 1369. In this year, a catalogue of the pontifical library listed a book of depositions different from Vat. Lat. 4030 that also corresponded to the inquisitions carried out by Pope Benedict when he was the Ordinary of Pamiers.²⁷² Several references in the extant manuscript seem to suggest that the third volume of the original inquisitorial archive was a book of sentences, also lost. However, some of the sentences of the tribunal have been preserved in several contemporary documents. The *Liber sententiarum* discussed in the previous sub-section includes the records of the sentences pronounced at the general sermons held in Pamiers on 2 August 1321, and 4–5 July 1322, and a summarised version of the sentences pronounced on 19 June 1323.²⁷³ Doat 27 records the general sermon celebrated in Pamiers between 16 and 18 January 1329 (fols. 146r–156v), which explicitly refers to inquisitorial proceedings that had been carried out by Jacques Fournier, at the time already the cardinal of the *titulus* of St Prisca.²⁷⁴ Doat 28, in turn, includes the records not only of the general sermon celebrated by Fournier himself between 12 and 13 August 1324 (fols. 56r–93r), but also the previous ratification process of some depositions on 7 and 8 August (fols. 37v–43r), and the consultation with experts—also presided over by the bishop—that took place between 9 and 11 August (43v–56r). Finally, two folios of the original book of sentences containing sentences pronounced on 8 March 1320 were found binding a much later book at the departmental archives of Ariège.²⁷⁵

in officio inquisitionis de mandato domini episcopi Mirapiscensis predictam confessionem cum originali fideliter correxi.”

²⁷² See Franz Ehrle, *Historia bibliothecae Romanorum Pontificum* (Rome: Typis Vaticanis, 1890), vol. 1, 338, n. 661: “Item processus domini Benedicti pape contra hereticos, dum erat episcopus Apamiarum, coopertus corio albo, qui incipit in secundo folio post tabulam errorum: dictus, et finit in penultimo folio: in crimine.” See also Vidal, *Le tribunal d’Inquisition*, 14; and Duvernoy, *Le registre d’Inquisition*, vol. 1, 1–22.

²⁷³ See Pales-Gobilliard, *Le livre des sentences*, 1254–75, 1276–1427, and 1636–39. On July 1319, the bull *Etsi cunctorum* issued by John XXII, entrusted Jacques Fournier, Raimon de Mostuéjols, bishop of Saint-Papoul, and Joan Raimon de Comminges, archbishop of Toulouse, with sentencing Bernard Délicieux after more than a year of formal proceedings against the friar—who faced over forty different charges, including resisting the Dominican inquisitors, and even killing Pope Benedict XI by means of sorcery. The sermon in which the sentence was pronounced was held in Carcassonne on 8 December 1319 and presided over by Fournier and Mostuéjols, although it does not belong to the activities carried out by the tribunal of Pamiers. It is also recorded in the *Liber Sententiarum*, see Pales-Gobilliard, *Le livre des sentences*, 1184–1205. On the trial against Délicieux and its aftermath, see Friedlander, *Hammer of Inquisitors*, 258–92.

²⁷⁴ See Doat 27, fol. 151r: “per tuam confessionem propriam in iudicio legitime factam coram reverendo Patre in Christo domino Jacobo Dei gratia tunc Apamie episcopo, nunc vero Sedis Apostolicae Cardinalis.”

²⁷⁵ These folios were edited in Jacques Duvernoy, “Sermon de Pamiers (8 mars 1321), tenu par Jacques Fournier,

The inquisitorial tribunal of Pamiers was quite singular in its organisation, for it was the result of the actual collaboration between the bishop and the Dominican inquisitor of Carcassonne, Jean de Beaune at the time, who appointed a fellow Dominican—Gailhard de Pomiès—to assist Fournier. Thus, the case of Pamiers embodied to perfection the collegiality demanded by the bull *Multorum querela*.²⁷⁶ Fournier acted quite independently most of the time and Beaune was only present for the final stages of the proceedings, that is, the ratification of depositions and the general sermon. This circumstance allowed Fournier to implement his own methods of inquisition, much more meticulous and less formulaic than the average.²⁷⁷ The bishop acted as a skilful and cunning interrogator that pursued even minor details resolutely. In consequence, Vat. Lat. 4030 presents a narrative style full of details that single it out as an exceptional source for the study of dissident movements.

The Fournier Register partially overlaps the period of inquisitorial activity recorded both in the *Liber sententiarum* and in Doat 27 and 28. Therefore, its inclusion in the textual corpus on which this dissertation is based provides yet another source of materials for comparison. With only a few exceptions, most of the individuals brought before the tribunal—and the members of the networks they belonged to—came from the area of Pamiers and the region of the Sabarthès. In particular, for the most part, the accused were natives of an area of the Sabarthès known as the *pays d'Aillou*, between the current departments of Aude and Ariège. It is this concentration of cases and the detail in the Fournier Register that has resulted in the publication of many renowned studies, in particular, focused on the village of Montailhou.²⁷⁸

évêque de Pamiers et Jean de Beaune, inquisiteur de Carcassonne (fragment), manuscrit Archives départementales de l'Ariège, J 127," last modified 2001, accessed 9 September 2016, <http://jean.duvernov.free.fr/>.

²⁷⁶ See Laurendeau, "Faire parler," 62–65; and Bueno, *Defining Heresy*, 22–23.

²⁷⁷ On Fournier's inquisitorial methods see Jean Duvernoy, "À la recherche de la personnalité de Jacques Fournier," *Septième centenaire du diocèse de Pamiers, 1295-1995, Actes du colloque de Pamiers (septembre 1995)* (Pamiers: Société historique et archéologique de Pamiers et de la Basse-Ariège, 1997), 9-15; Matthias Benad, "Par quelles méthodes de critique de sources l'histoire des religions peut-elle utiliser le registre de Jacques Fournier," trans. Gwendoline Hanke, in *Autour de Montailhou un village occitan. Histoire et religiosité d'une communauté villageoise au Moyen Âge, Actes du colloque de Montailhou (août 2000)*, ed. Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie (Castelnaud-la-Chapelle: L'Hydre, 2001), 147–55. For a more recent approach, as noted above, see Laurendeau, "Le village"; and, finally, Bueno, *Defining Heresy*, 45–87.

²⁷⁸ The most famous and widespread work is undoubtedly Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, *Montailhou: Village occitan de 1294 à 1324* (Paris: Gallimard, 1975). Le Roy Ladurie's anthropological study was critized in Leonard E. Boyle, "Montailhou revisited: *Mentalité* and Methodology," in *Pathways to Medieval Peasants*, ed. J.A. Raftis, (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1981), 120–121, for drawing his conclusions without taking into account that at least half of the register is not extant. For a more recent approach, see also Anne Brenon, *Inquisition à Montailhou. Guillelme et Pèire Maury, deux croyants devant l'Histoire (1300-1325)* (Cahors: L'Hydre, 2004). For the impact on the Crown of Aragon of the inquisitions carried out by the tribunal of Pamiers in relation with the community of Montailhou, see Grau Torras, *Cátaros e inquisición*, 401–414.

As noted in the previous sub-section, no Beguins of Languedoc were questioned at the inquisitorial tribunal of Pamiers between 1318 and 1323, although the evidence in other sources points to the possibility that their trials were recorded in the lost volumes.²⁷⁹ In contrast, over sixty cases in the surviving part of the register offer a glimpse into several tight-knit communities of Good Men—and Women, against which over one third of the cases were brought—whereas six others are related to Waldensians. The rest of the register shows a rather colourful picture of both heterodox beliefs and the charges made against the accused, from false testimony to sorcery and sodomy.²⁸⁰ Thus, Vat. Lat. 4030 completes the set of main sources used for the reconstruction of dissident networks from inquisitorial records by allowing a comparison between the performance of inquisitors and bishops, but also between a register and a book of sentences. Finally, it provides further insight into the structure of these specific dissident groups in the early fourteenth century.

2.4 The New Tools of the Trade

The analogy between inquisitors and historians is a much-trodden path, so much so that adding anything new to it may seem both unproductive and unlikely. The reason is probably that any researcher that finds herself challenged and entranced by inquisitorial records wonders about it at some point.²⁸¹ The implicit exchange of questions and answers inevitably reminds us of our own delayed dialogue with the sources. It is there, in the need for questions, that historians—or should I say, researchers—are best likened to thirteenth century Dominicans. But if we play the part of the inquisitors, it is the sources that play the part of the unwilling deponents. Historians are able to think of all sorts of interesting questions, but sources—despite their lack of agency—are not always prepared to provide the answers. Not willing myself to take the metaphor any further, I will only add that to extract the information we seek, it is necessary to resort to different tools, some of which might belong to other trades and need to be adapted so they can be become useful instruments for ours.

²⁷⁹ As a cardinal, Fournier was entrusted with the inquisition against Ademar de Mosset—a nobleman connected to the royal house of Mallorca—accused of holding heretical beliefs connected to the Beguins of Languedoc. See an edition of the process in Jean-Marie Vidal, “Procès d’inquisition contre Adhémar de Mosset, noble roussillonnais, inculpé de béguinisme (1332-1334),” *Revue d’histoire de l’Église de France* 1, no. 5 (1910): 555–71; no. 6 (1910): 682–99; and no. 7 (1910): 701–24. On Fournier’s theological expertise and his collaboration in the final stages of the condemnation of Olivi’s *Lectura super Apocalipsim*, see Sylvain Piron, “Un avis retrouvé de Jacques Fournier,” *Médiévales* 54 (2008): 113–136, doi:10.4000/medievales.5062.

²⁸⁰ On the multifaceted picture of heterodoxy presented by the Fournier Register, see Jean-Pierre Albert, “Croire et ne pas croire. Les chemins de l’hétérodoxie dans le *Registre d’Inquisition* de Jacques Fournier,” *Heresis* 39 (2003): 91–106.

²⁸¹ See Section 2.2, n. 143 above.

The process of breaking down the sources into information units is quantitative and, most importantly, qualitative. The objective of this section is to present the different tools whose ultimate function is to provide the quantitative basis for the qualitative analysis that is the true goal of this research project. Tools have been used both to help collect the data provided by inquisitorial records, and to enrich them with relational, geographical, and temporal attributes that allow new interpretations and therefore a deeper understanding of the realities behind these sources. Information units have in turn been handled and rearranged to help test hypotheses and suggest new questions that optimise the overall view of dissident networks in this specific context. In other words, the purpose of these “tools of other trades” that are rapidly becoming the tools of ours is to assist with the exploration and visualisation of historical data through space and time. I have already described the first part of the process of research design in the pages above and will return to the definition of the actors and relations considered in the chapters that follow.²⁸² Now I will briefly describe the system of data collection and the main software framework that supports the analysis carried out on the basis of inquisitorial records.

Databases can be hardly considered foreign to historical research and their use at this point needs no further justification. In their many formats and shapes they have become essential for any process of data collection, whether its aim is to inventory information or to further analyse said data. The reflection prior to the design of the fields of the database is equally essential. This pen-and-paper stage stems from a thorough reading of the sources and an accurate knowledge of the information units they can provide, and it determines the ability to define relations between data, therefore laying the foundations for the whole system. After several practical attempts to devise the strategy that proved more efficient not only for the statistical analysis that will be shortly discussed, but also for the analysis of said data through SNA methods, I finally chose to collect my data using spreadsheets.²⁸³

The initial estimate of the number of entries the database would contain amounted to 800. It should be noted that, given that the aim of this work is to reconstruct relational networks on the basis of inquisitorial records, this number includes all deponents—the accused and the witnesses summoned against them—all individuals against whom sentences were pronounced but whose depositions are not extant—even those who were already dead at the time of the sentence—and all those who were mentioned as convicted for heresy in the royal accounts included in the sources described in Section 2.3. This figure was in principle an overestimate, for it was the

²⁸² See Section 1.3.

²⁸³ Both Microsoft Excel for Mac (version 14.0.0) and Numbers (Apple, version 2.3 (554)) file formats were used during the different stages of the project.

result of a first approach to the sources that overlooked the fact that the same individual could appear in different instances that generated different types of documents, thus being counted more than once. However, the relational approach requires every person somehow involved or mentioned in the records to have their own entry, and, as will be shown in the following chapters, the scrutiny carried out during the second phase of the project actually revealed the first figure to be an underestimate.

The entries of the database, in other words, the actors of the different dissident networks, are characterised by means of attributes, categories, and other variables of interest, both for the analysis of the networks and for the study of their context. Here I present a summarised list of attributes and variables; some of these are yes/no variables, while others are textual and numerical.

Personal details (attributes):

- Gender
- Birthplace (town/village, and region)
- Place of residence (town/village, and region)
- Occupation
- Religious status
- Age

Connections and involvement in dissident activities:

- Family members
- Acquaintances
- Teaches, is taught by
- Shares meals
- Economic aid, victuals, shelter, assistance
- Books owned or kept
- Active and passive reading
- Mobility; cities visited
- Administers rituals, is administered rituals, participates in a ritual as a spectator
- Contact with ‘heretics’, hear them speak/preach, pay them respects
- Beliefs

Inquisitorial proceedings:

- Number of depositions
- Place and date of arrest
- Place and date of deposition
- Imprisonment
- Penances, commutations, grace
- Status as a fugitive
- Inquisitor
- Date and place of the sentence
- Does the inquisitor directly mention the actor?
- Number of mentions by other actors

The data collected in the database were first studied by means of statistical tools with various goals in mind, all of them leading to a better reconstruction of these dissident communities. Different statistical calculations were implemented for the quantitative analysis of the information. As I have already noted, statistics can only contribute so much, for they mainly provide information about attributes, such as gender, occupation, birthplace, age, and religious status. However, they do offer a first approximation as to the importance of the different components of dissident groups, always taking into account that the evidence on which these calculations are based is partial.²⁸⁴ For instance, one of the first applications of statistical analysis is quantifying the role played by women within the various movements. This estimate, although qualitatively significant, only provides a sort of terminus a quo given that registers are incomplete.²⁸⁵ In a more qualitative approach I have also checked the dataset for the existence of possible correlations between gender and various aspects of mobility, attitudes, and beliefs.

The results of this first statistical analysis are presented through tables and different types of graphs, depending on the traits I aim to emphasise in each case. To complete a preliminary overview of inquisitorial proceedings I have analysed the proportion of depositions with doctrinal features, which, in turn, provides information about the concerns of each inquisitor. This doctrinal information is presented by region, as are the number of mentions of actors by other actors, and the mentions of figures external to the movement—such as certain Popes, kings, theologians, and saints; all of this with the aim of weighing the different relations established

²⁸⁴ See Section 2.3, n.189 above.

²⁸⁵ In the previous section, I mentioned the preliminary study by Pales-Gobilliard on gender in the *Liber sententiarum* as an example of dependency on the representativeness of the sample; see sub-Section 2.3.2, n. 265. I will return to this topic in the chapters below.

between actors so as to better understand and represent the network they form. Finally, the events not implied by the formulaic inquisitorial questioning but brought up by the deponent, as well as the excuses and other attempts to avoid straight answers have been noted in order to assess emotions, degree of resistance, and in sum account for the different spectrum of attitudes among the deponents.

The preliminary characterisation of dissident communities would not be complete without the analysis of their territorial dynamics. Inquisitors had jurisdiction over specific geographical areas and, therefore, the necessity of mapping dissidence and the interactions it involved stands to reason. On the basis of the database, an outline has been produced of the topography of the different dissident expressions. To achieve this I have generated maps that reflect the individuals involved in the various groups that lived or spent some time in each of the towns in the studied regions. The main software used for this purpose is Google earth (version 7.1.5.1557). The joint analysis of these maps allows us to discern the existence of possible multifocal radial patterns, that is, centres for the dissemination of beliefs surrounded by constellations of smaller towns where the presence of similar communities can also be detected. Similarly, these maps also make it possible to establish hierarchies between major centres.

The combination of the database, statistical calculations, and maps helps understand and contextualise the data, thus paving the way for the actual analysis of dissident networks. The basic concepts of SNA introduced in Section 1.3 above, as well as many others that will be described below, have been used to characterise the different networks reconstructed from inquisitorial records, as well as the position of the different actors within said networks. The software framework has been provided by UCINET, a general package specially focused on the analysis of sociometric data, that is, the quantitative study of social relationships. UCINET was first created by Linton C. Freeman in 1983, thus making a variety of network analysis methods available. In 1992 he joined forces with Stephen P. Borgatti and Martin G. Everett and released version 4 of UCINET.²⁸⁶ Later on, the joint effort of the authors and students from the University of Greenwich resulted in the conversion of UCINET to Windows—up until then it was written for the DOS operating system—and version 6 was released in 2002. The version I have used throughout this work is UCINET 6.620.

One of the main advantages of using this programme, besides the many analytical techniques and metrics it features, is the method of data entry, which merely consists in copying

²⁸⁶ On the historical background of UCINET, see Stephen P. Borgatti, Martin G. Everett, and Linton C. Freeman, “UCINET,” in *Encyclopedia of Social Network Analysis and Mining*, ed. Reda Alhajj and Jon Rokne (New York, NY: Springer, 2014), 2262.

the contents of a spreadsheet into UCINET's data editor, where they can be manipulated and restructured.²⁸⁷ Furthermore, this editor can represent data in a variety of formats, which makes it easy to export data back into a spreadsheet if needed once the analysis is completed. I will not delve here into the technicalities of data formats, suffice it to say that several of them have been used depending on each data sub-set, and on whether I aimed to analyse the types of relations and their relative strength.

UCINET offers a wide variety of techniques for detecting cohesive subgroups, which is especially useful in the case of inquiries that cover wide geographical areas. It also provides the tools to detect structurally similar classes of nodes, thus helping to identify and compare structures in different contexts and dissident groups. Moreover, permutation tests can be used to test hypotheses about the analysed networks, including node level hypotheses—for instance testing whether more central people, who are mentioned more often by others, are indeed the most influential members of the group—and hypotheses involving pairs of actors—for example, testing the differential roles adopted by spouses within a dissident community. As will be extensively discussed in the chapters below, I have also analysed the sources with the aim of establishing the extent to which actors were intertwined with each other, and to provide a measure of the homophily, that is, the assortativity, of each reconstructed network.²⁸⁸ The different centrality measures have also been calculated extensively. Finally, in specific cases, I have used UCINET's capability to analyse networks as if they were a collection of ego-networks that can be analysed separately, looking at their composition—especially as regards gender, religious status, and place of residence—and structure—density and number of actors involved.

To conclude this overview, it is necessary to devote a few lines to the topic of network visualisation. The usefulness of network diagrams stems from their capability to convey information thus making structures accessible at first sight. However, network graphs are nothing more than graphic representations of relational data; they only bear meaning when combined with a deep understanding of a given dataset properly contextualised.²⁸⁹ While these diagrams do not explain the reasons why behind the formation and workings of spiritual communities, they allow us to explore the data through space and time and to outline spiritual networks, showing not only the personal contacts of the members of dissident communities, but

²⁸⁷ See Borgatti, Everett, and Johnson, *Analyzing Social Networks*, for a discussion on social network research drawing on UCINET.

²⁸⁸ See Section 1.3, p. 26.

²⁸⁹ See Düring, "From Hermeneutics to Data"; and Weingart, "Demystifying networks," last modified 14 December 2011, accessed 17 September 2016, <http://www.scottbot.net/HIAL/index.html@p=6279.html>, for a reflection on the reification of networks through images.

also revealing network effects and structures that would go otherwise unnoticed. UCINET is installed with a companion programme called NETDRAW, which is used to visualize networks and allows the mapping of nodes and links between them with the help of different features such as colour, size, and shape of symbols. It also makes it easy to see subgroups within the network, both in terms of nodes—for instance, visualising only women—and in terms of relations—for example, showing only the exchanges of books.

Finally, to complement NETDRAW and add a contextual component to network visualisations, I have made use of nodegoat (<http://nodegoat.net/>), a web-based data management, analysis, and visualisation environment that offers relational modes of analysis with spatial and diachronic contextualisations.²⁹⁰ It is based on an object-oriented approach, that is, people, events, artefacts, and sources are treated as different types of objects whose hierarchy depends solely on the relations established within the network.²⁹¹ Each type describes the characteristics of the different objects it includes—the different people, for example—and how objects relate to other objects. At the same time, object descriptions include the attributes of each object while subobjects contextualise objects in time and space. In-depth filtering, diachronic geographical mappings, diachronic social graphs, and content driven timelines are some of the features of nodegoat I have used with the aim of providing clearer and more appealing network visualisations.

Conclusions

Inquisitorial sources are not unbiased, nor do they represent the achievement of rationality that teleologic approaches purport them to be.²⁹² Influenced by the all-pervasive arrow of time, said perspectives tend to overlook the fact that inquisitorial records were, first and foremost, texts, and must be treated as such. In particular, there are a number of different actors whose ‘authorial’—for lack of a better word—input must be taken into account. A variety of constraints and purposes combined in the production of these sources, and it is necessary to understand them in order to grasp the analytical categories used by inquisitors to define the dissidents that formed the networks under study here.

²⁹⁰ Note the use of lower-case letters in ‘nodegoat’ as indicated by the developers of this software, LAB1100 (<http://lab1100.com>), in Pim van Bree and Geert Kessels, “nodegoat: a web-based data management, network analysis & visualisation environment,” accessed 17 September 2016, <http://nodegoat.net>.

²⁹¹ See Pim van Bree and Geert Kessels, “Mapping Memory Landscapes in nodegoat,” in *Social Informatics. SocInfo 2014 International Workshops* (Barcelona, Spain, November 10, 2014). Revised Selected Papers, ed. Luca Maria Aiello and Daniel McFarland (Cham: Springer, 2014), 274–278.

²⁹² See Borst, *Die Katharer*; see also Arnold, *Inquisition and Power*, 4–7, and Burnham, *So Great a Light*, 56–59, for a discussion on different approaches to inquisitorial records.

Inquisitorial records were written on parchment to withstand the rigours of time and arranged in a way that made consultation easy, while, at the same time, the recording process itself was meticulously registered for authentication purposes.²⁹³ On the one hand, coercive techniques were used to obtain confessions, namely imprisonment, death threats, promises of leniency, food deprivation, and even fabricated unfavourable testimonies. Many depositions were rendered formulaic for the sake of brevity, and many others were abridged. On the other hand, some deponents agreed to lie about certain things and to hide others, while fear surely played a part of its own. To sum it up, inquisitorial records are not the transcription of a conversation, but the elaborated record of an interrogation. Inquisitors were more concerned with identifying each individual transgressor than with analysing the transgression in itself.

A reflection on the representativeness of the sources is much needed, but the great advantage that inquisitorial records offer for the application of network analysis is that despite the fact that the approach of inquisitors was not relational per se, their interrogations provided a wealth of relational data. Questions were mostly focused on assessing the severity of the deponents' crimes in order to assign them to a category of transgression and impose the corresponding penance or punishment. However, their purpose was not to elucidate the structure that governed the interactions of the dissident group, but the systematic prosecution of individuals.²⁹⁴ Inquisitors' manuals were actually meant to improve the ability to categorise and identify 'heretics.' The question lists contained in them resulted in a sort of snowball sampling process in which the answers of one deponent led to the questioning of others.²⁹⁵ However forced, insincere, or incomplete the answers were, they provide relational information that allows the reconstruction of the network the deponents belonged to. For instance, although the purpose of a conspiracy of silence is to conceal the truth, it cannot hold unless a network of conspirators supports it. Likewise, false testimonies are usually given against an acquaintance, that is, a member of one's own network, and not against a stranger.

²⁹³ See, for instance, Doat 27, fols. 6v-7r: "Lata fuit haec sententia indictione, loco, pontificatu et praesentibus testibus et notariis antedictis, et magistro Menneto de Roberticuria, Tullensis diocesis, notario superius auctoritate apostolica et regia publico, qui praemissis interfuit et haec manu sua propria conscripsit in nota, vice cuius ego Johannes de Logia presbiter Trecensis diocesis praemissa de ipsa nota extraxi et hic fideliter transcripsi de ipsius magistri Menneti voluntate, et mandato venerabilis in Christo fratris Henrici de Chamayo inquisitoris haereticae pravitatis Carcassonnensis praedicti."

²⁹⁴ I disagree here with the understanding of the inquisitorial approach in Ormerod, and Roach, *Medieval Inquisition*, and especially in Andrew P. Roach and Paul Ormerod, "Fighting Al Qaeda: the role of modern Maths and the medieval inquisition," accessed 20 September 2016, URL: <http://www.paulormerod.com/wp-content/uploads/2012/07/role-of-maths-and-medieval-inquisition.pdf> where the authors claim that "the successful strategies were based upon increased understanding of the nature of the social networks across which heresy spread," and, more explicitly that "once they appreciated more clearly the type of social network they were dealing with, the Inquisitors succeeded."

²⁹⁵ This point will be further discussed in the pages that follow.

The methods of data processing and network analysis used throughout this dissertation are first aimed at studying how the social connections of the deponents affected their access to dissident doctrines and practices—in sum, their involvement in religious dissent—and secondly, the social mechanisms of diffusion and influence related to the spread of dissidence.²⁹⁶ Going back to the metaphor that likened historians to inquisitors at the beginning of the previous section, I would only add that our “unwilling deponents,” inquisitorial records, do not change or evolve, but remain frozen in time offering an image that was already frozen from the start, for the actual deponents testified about their past.

Finally, one question underlies the whole process of reconstruction of dissident networks from inquisitorial sources: how representative are the resulting networks of the actual dissident communities? In other words, are we visualising actual networks or are we seeing connections as inquisitors saw them? This is a legitimate concern given that this work is based on a collection of sources extracted from a pre-made selection. Inquisitors determined who were the deponents, notaries and scribes chose what to put in the record, Jean de Doat decided what to copy, and selective survival did the rest. Evidence, as noted above, is partial, but this problem is characteristic of historical interpretation, especially when quantitative analyses are involved, for they entail a degree of simplification of complex realities to make them accommodate to our own analytical categories. The result is always a partial view, but not a false one and, moreover, the selection of sources made for this study have been chosen with the aim of making said view as unbiased as possible. The records presented above provide a variety of materials wide enough as to ensure a solid comparative framework. At the same time, both the arbitrariness of survival and the practical criteria of the Doat mission only add to their statistical representativeness, helping minimise biases.²⁹⁷ To conclude, the networks extracted from inquisitorial records explore the relational information provided by a questioning system that was not meant to search for groups but for individuals, and thus allows historians the opportunity to interrogate our own unwilling deponents from an entirely new perspective.

²⁹⁶ The first goal mentioned above is an adaptation of the concept of ‘social capital’ that analyses the way in which social connections determine the opportunities and constraints faced by an individual.

²⁹⁷ One of the classic and most referenced papers on historical network analysis, John F. Padgett and Christopher K. Ansell, “Robust Action and the Rise of the Medici, 1400-1434”, *The American Journal of Sociology* 98 (1993): 1259-1319, is built on a pre-selection made by other researchers studying the Medici, and therefore adding to the dataset their own interpretive criteria.

CHAPTER THREE



Beguins of Languedoc: A Journey from Orthodoxy to Heresy

*I wanted to come, and if I hadn't,
they would have been all alone,
and nobody would have ever known
how frightened and brave and irreplaceable they were.*

(Connie Willis, *Doomsday Book*)

In the secrecy of the early hours of 19 October 1321, in the village of Lunel, a group of men approached the site where twenty-one people had been burned the previous day. There they found many corpses that had not been completely burned, some of which were still recognisable. These men attended the execution after being summoned by a letter that circulated through the villages of Languedoc indicating the time and place of the burnings and exhorting the faithful to go see the last battle of those “soldiers or martyrs.”²⁹⁸ Salvaging the remains of these “soldiers of Christ”—sixteen men and five women—was precisely the purpose of the clandestine gathering. They quickly grabbed body parts, bones, and ashes, put them in sacks and started on their way back to their respective hometowns. The heart of a young virgin named Esclarmonda Durban was among the most coveted objects; it would travel over forty miles arousing devotion in its wake. Thus, Esclarmonda’s heart and the rest of these unorthodox relics became the centre of a series of religious practices, which helped nurture the relational space of the communities that have come to be known as the Beguins of Languedoc

Esclarmonda was originally from the small village of Clermont-l’Hérault, where she lived with her three brothers, Bernard, Johan, and Raimon. However, at a certain point, the Durbans decided to move to the neighbouring and more populated centre of Lodève, probably to join the active Beguin community there. Johan Durban was actually described as a *beguinus* by

²⁹⁸ This letter is documented, for instance, in the *culpa* of the priest Bernard Peyrotas, see Doat 28, fol. 26v: “Item scivit quod quidam quem nominat misit litteras Lodova cuidam quem nominat tempore quo executio de dictis Begguinis hæreticis debebat fieri in Lunello continentes inter cætera exortationem si volebat ire visum milites seu martires bene certantes et cætera vel similia.”

his siblings and would die at the stake in Capestang in May 1320, with his sister Esclarmonda following in his steps only a year and a half later. Many of the testimonies describing her execution came from members of the community of Lodève who made the two-day journey to Lunel to witness the ultimate sacrifice of their fellow coreligionists. This is especially significant given that attending executions that took place far away from one's hometown immediately aroused the suspicions of inquisitors.

According to the testimony of Bernard Durban, the crowd gathered on that occasion had to be remarkable, for the noise they made prevented him from hearing Esclarmonda's sentence.²⁹⁹ The merchant Berenguer Jaoul was one of the men who waited until the next morning to retrieve unburned bones and flesh, specifically, the remains of a woman, which he then took to Lodève and kept in his house in case "these people already were or later became saints," as according to him the Beguins claimed.³⁰⁰ Moreover, a friend of his, Peire Arrufat, who travelled all the way from Narbonne to attend the execution, was able to obtain the whole body of another woman that had not been consumed by fire either.³⁰¹ The butcher Bernard Malaura was also there, and he admitted before the inquisitor that with great fear and secrecy he had acquired some unburned organs. He kept them because they belonged to two good women from Lodève—probably Esclarmonda and a young 15-year-old virgin called Astruga—which he believed to be unjustly condemned saints, who would be revealed as such over time.³⁰² Bernard Durban took flesh and bones from his sister's corpse and placed these on a wall in his home, and it was the other brother, Raimon, who actually identified Esclarmonda's remains to begin with, broke them into pieces, kept some for himself and distributed the rest.³⁰³ Finally, another inhabitant of Clermont-L'Hérault, Martí de Sant Antoni, took her heart home where it became the centre of community gatherings during which he would take it out and offer it to others so that they would kiss it.³⁰⁴

²⁹⁹ Doat 28, fol. 12v: "(...) et quamvis fuisset in condemnatione ipsius sororis suæ et ipsam audivisset pro hæresi condemnatam tamen quia non potuit clare intelligere propter turbam assistentem."

³⁰⁰ Doat 28, fol. 20v: "(...) et ipse Berengarius accepit etiam de carnibus cuiusdam mulieris combusta hæretica et cum quodam alioquem nominat secum apportavit Lodovam et tenuit in domo sua secrete adhuc ut dixit, quod si essent sancti vel reperirentur sancti sicut per dictos Begguinos sibi datum fuerat intelligi quod posset inveniri."

³⁰¹ Doat 28, fols. 20v–21r: "Item dixit quod quidam qui vocatur Arruffat de Narbona qui fuit combustus in Carcassona anno præterito dixit ipsi Berengario quod detulerat unam mulierem integram de illis que fuerant in Lunello combustæ et acceperant eam de nocte cum nondum essent consumptæ."

³⁰² Doat 28, fol. 18r: "Et interrogatus quare dictas carnes accepit dixit quod pro eo quia ibi erant combustæ duæ bonæ mulieres de Lodova et quia tunc credebat dictos Begguinos esse iniuste condemnatos et eos esse salvos et sanctos et quod pro tempore revelaretur ipsos esse sanctos."

³⁰³ See the *culpa* of Bernard Durban in Doat 28, fols. 11r–13r, and that of his brother Raimon in *ibid.*, fol. 27r–v.

³⁰⁴ Doat 28, fol. 16r: "(...) et cum frangeretur ipse Martinus accepit cor sive renem dictæ mulieris et dixit quod retineret illud et secum apportavit apud Claromontem et tenuit et adhuc habet in domo sua ut dixit."

But the remains of Esclarmonda, Astruga, and their companions kept travelling and reached the villages of Cintegabelle and Belpech, over 200 miles away from the execution site. There they were venerated, touched, and kissed. The *beguinus* Peire Morés accepted some of their bones and kept them in a torchère in front of a crucifix;³⁰⁵ and the Franciscan tertiary Raimon d'Antusan claimed to have seen and kissed the head and other unspecified body parts of one of the virgins burned in Lunel.³⁰⁶ Thus, the relics of the burned Beguins concentrated physical and emotional interaction, and as such triggered a sensory experience and established an intimate connection that bound the members of the group together, but also, and most importantly, linked the persecuted community to its martyrs and their promised salvation. Martyrdom, understood as the perfect form of sanctity, entailed a strong reaffirmation of the group's identity as a legitimate religious option. Envisioning themselves as true Christians, the Beguins of Languedoc reversed the semantics of their heretical condition. Turned into fugitives by the inquisitorial machinery, they did not fail to see the similarities between their case and that of the first Christian martyrs who, unjustly persecuted by the enemies of Christ, had nonetheless embraced their agony as a necessary rite of passage towards the plenitude of the afterlife.

The present chapter will tell the story of these communities. Inextricably linked to the development and expectations of the Spiritual branch of the Franciscan Order, they were particularly influenced by the teachings of one of its most outstanding figures, the theologian Peter of John Olivi. From the earliest actual trace of their existence as a group in 1299, to the last sentences against them in 1334, the following pages will look into the way in which this alternative religious expression crossed the line between heresy and orthodoxy. Exploring the structure of the Beguin community, I will place special emphasis on the central role of women within it and the variety of active roles they adopted during the inquisitorial persecution.

3.1 The Franciscan Background

According to Bernard Gui, Olivi's remains were removed from his tomb in the centre of the choir of the Franciscan church of Narbonne at some point in 1318.³⁰⁷ Although Gui does not provide much information about the culprits of such an act, his account seems to suggest that

³⁰⁵ Pales-Gobilliard, *Le livre des sentences*, 1324: "(...) et secum portabant de ossibus illorum Beguinorum qui fuerant apud Lunellum velut heretici condempnati et combusti, et de dictis ossibus accepit ab eis aliquam partem et posuit juxta torticium domus sue ante ymaginem crucifixi."

³⁰⁶ Ibid., 1342: "Item dictas reliquias predictorum condempnatorum semel fuit osculatus, vel posuit ad os suum pixidem in qua erant pro devocione quam habebat ad eas, et vidit similiter fieri ab uxore sua predicta."

³⁰⁷ Mollat, *Manuel de l'inquisiteur*, vol. 1, 192: "Fuit autem corpus ejus inde extractum et alibi portatum et absconditum sub anno Domini M^oCCC^oXVIII^o."

the body had been snatched and hidden by the supporters of the Franciscan theologian.³⁰⁸ In contrast, Angelo Clareno, who wrote his *Liber chronicarum sive tribulationum ordinis minorum* between 1323 and 1326—around the same time Bernard Gui completed the *Practica inquisitionis heretice pravitatis*—claims that Olivi's tomb was desecrated by conventual Franciscans who opposed his views and saw a burgeoning cult of Saint Peter of John Olivi as a dangerous threat.³⁰⁹ Half a century later, the *Directorium inquisitorum* of Nicolau Eimeric still added to this controversy, pointing to a direct order of Pope John XXII, who allegedly had Olivi's bones exhumed and burned, together with the offerings left at the tomb by worshippers.³¹⁰ However, Eimeric immediately went on to say that others claimed that the remains had not been burned, but sent to Avignon where they were thrown into the Rhône in the secrecy of night.³¹¹

In the early fourteenth century, Olivi's tomb already attracted crowds from all over Languedoc who travelled to Narbonne to pay their respects to the “uncanonised saint.”³¹² He was attributed miracles, such as healing the sick, and even the characteristic sweet odour emitted

³⁰⁸ Ibid.: “set ubi sit a pluribus dubitatur et diversi diversa circa hoc locuntur et dicunt.”

³⁰⁹ All references to Clareno's chronicle are based on the edition in Franz Ehrle, “Die *historia septem tribulationum ordinis minorum* des fr. Angelus de Clarino,” in *Archiv für Literatur- und Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters*, ed. Heinrich Denifle and Franz Ehrle (Berlin: Weidmannsche, 1886), vol. 2, 108–55, and 249–327. On the destruction of Olivi's tomb, see *ibid.*, 129: “animose dampnaverunt doctrinam viri sancti Petri Johannis et ossibus et reliquiis eius in tenebris violato sepulcro ipsius ut tenebrarum ministri occultam iniuriam intulerunt”; and *ibid.*, 293: “exhumaverunt ossa eius et contumeliose et furibunde exterminaverunt sepulcrum et sanctitatis eius et devocionis fidelium ad ipsum oblata signa.” For a more recent edition see Giovanni Boccali, ed., *Liber chronicarum sive tribulationum ordinis minorum* (Assisi: Edizioni Porziuncula, 1999).

³¹⁰ Eimeric was appointed Inquisitor General of Aragon in 1357, and around 1376 he compiled an inquisitors' manual, the *Directorium inquisitorum*, which was later printed several times. On the controversial career of Nicolau Eimeric and his confrontational nature, see, among others, Michael E. Vargas, *Taming a Brood of Vipers. Conflict and Change in Fourteenth-Century Dominican Convents*, The Medieval and Early Modern Iberian World 42 (Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2011), 289–92. All references to the *Directorium* are based on Francisco Peña's commented edition, Nicolau Eimeric and Francisco Peña, ed., *Directorium inquisitorum* (Rome, 1578), available online at <http://ebooks.library.cornell.edu/cgi/t/text/text-idx?c=witch;idno=wit045>. For Eimeric's account of the destruction of Olivi's tomb, see *ibid.*, vol. 2, 77: “Idem dominus Papa Ioannes fecit exhumari ossa dicti fratris Petri Ioannis et omnia, tam cereos imagines quam pannos, per manus simplicium ad eius tumulum deducta, Narbonae fecit publice concremari.”

³¹¹ Ibid.: “Aliqui tamen volunt dicere quod, licet ossa furring exhumata, non tamen cum predictis concremata, sed Avinionem deducta et de nocte in Rhodanum proiecta.”

³¹² Esteve Gramat, in his confession of November 1325, describes Olivi using this expression; see Doat 27, fol. 10v: “dictum fratrem Petrum credidit esse sanctum non canonizatum.” Analysing the same sources, Jean-Louis Biget and Louisa Burnham reach very different conclusions about the popular veneration of Olivi. Whereas the former plays down its dissemination, the latter emphasises its popularity among the lay people of Languedoc. I concur with Burnham's opinion that there is “extensive evidence” supporting a widespread cult of Olivi, especially adding to the Doat sources that both authors use the proceedings against the Beguins of Vilafranca del Penedès, as will be discussed below. Cf. Jean-Louis Biget, “Culte et rayonnement de Pierre Déjean Olieu en Languedoc au début du XIV^e siècle,” in *Pierre de Jean Olivi (1248–1298). Pensée scolastique, dissidence spirituelle et société*, ed. Alain Boureau and Sylvain Piron (Paris: Vrin, 1999), 277–308, and Burnham, *So Great a Light*, 20–24.

by the bodies of saints. Both Sibil·la Cazelle, a widow from Gignac, and Johan Orlach, a draper from Montpellier, confessed in 1325 that the saint had saved their sick children, and Na Prous Boneta, recounting her visit to the tomb, claimed to have smelled the most pleasant fragrance.³¹³ The feast of Peter of John Olivi was celebrated each year on 14 March. A pamphlet entitled *Transitum sancti Patris*, in circulation among his followers, marked this date “on Friday, the day before the ides of March, at the sixth hour,” as the moment when the “most holy father and wisest of doctors” had “migrated from this world” at the age of fifty.³¹⁴ The celebration of the anniversary of his death was already a tradition in 1306, as Na Prous’s deposition confirms, but it was probably established immediately after his demise and went on even after the destruction of his tomb.³¹⁵ In March 1325, Peire de Tornamira, a priest from Montpellier who would die in the inquisitorial prison of Carcassonne only seven months later, presided over a banquet in honour of Olivi that was organised and paid for by a “Beguin heretic.”³¹⁶ And still in 1345, in Vilafranca del Penedès—on the other side of the Pyrenees and more than 300 km south of Narbonne—a Franciscan Tertiary called Geraldona Fuster recalled how around 1337 her father,

³¹³ Sibil·la brought her daughter who suffered from scrofula to Olivi’s tomb and the girl healed; see Doat 27, fol. 18r: “et quendam filiam suam quae patiebatur infirmitatem in gutture, scilicet scroellae ad sepulcrum suum duxit et curata fuerit.” Johan did the same with his son; see Doat 27, fol. 25r: “quondam filium suum infirmum dicto fratri Petro sicut sancto devovit et ad eius sepulcrum portavit, credens ipsum filium fuisse sanatum per dicti fratris Petri merita quem reputabat sanctum.” For Na Prous’s testimony on Olivi’s odour of sanctity, see Doat 27, fol. 56r–v: “quod ipsa die eadem qua ipsa fuit in Narbona supra sepulcrum dicti fratris Petri Joannis (...) maiorem fragrantiam vel odorem quam unquam ipsa sensisset.”

³¹⁴ Mollat, *Manuel de l’inquisiteur*, vol. 1, 190–92: “Anno incarnationis ejusdem M^oCC^oXCVII^o, pridie ydus martii, die veneris, hora sexta, [in] civitate Narbona, migravit a seculo pater sanctissimus ac preclarissimus doctor frater Petrus Johannis Olivi, anno etatis sue quinquagesimo.” Gui uses the dating style of the Annunciation, therefore, the date of Olivi’s death was 14 March 1298. The author of the *Transitum sancti Patris* remains anonymous; see Burnham, *So Great a Light*, 20–21, for an account of the different extant versions of the text, and David Burr, *The Persecution of Peter Olivi*, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society 66 (Philadelphia, PA: American Philosophical Society, 1976), 73, for a comparison between them. The pamphlet also confirms Olivi’s place of burial, see *ibid.*, 192: “(...) cujus sacratissimum corpus in fratrum Minorum Narbone ecclesia in medio chori venerabiliter requiescit.”

³¹⁵ According to her confession of August 1325, Na Prous took a vow of virginity around 1305, and nine months after that, while visiting the tomb of Olivi in Narbonne on the day of his feast, “God conceived her in spirit.” Therefore, the celebration was already established in 1306. Doat 27, fol. 56r: “quod votum virginitatis fecit ut asserit viginti anni sunt elapsi (...) ab illa die qua fecit votum virginitatis computatis novem mensibus usque ad illam diem que est festum fratris Petri Joannis, in tali die ipse Dominus Deus concepit ipsam Na Prous in spiritu.”

³¹⁶ See Alexandre Germain, “Une consultation inquisitoriale au XIV^e siècle,” *Publications de la Société Archéologique de Montpellier* 4, no. 25 (1857), 333–334: “Item, quatuor testes deponunt quod dictus Petrus presbiter interfuit, vocatus et invitatus, Domini anno millesimo trescentesimo vicesimo quinto, in Quadragesima, in domo cujusdam beguini, quem nominat, ad festum faciendum de obitu quondam fratris Petri Johannis de ordine Minorum (...) in quo festo fecerunt magnum convivium, quod solvit unus dictorum Beguinorum hereticorum; et interfuerunt in dicto festo et convivio multi alii dicte secte, et, secundum quod unus illorum confitetur, dictus Petrus benedixit mensam et reddidit gratias.”

Bernat Fuster, held a feast in honour of Friar Peter of John, who was reputed to be a holy man and about whom it was said that “he made many miracles.”³¹⁷

Whether the incipient shrine was dismantled by supporters, detractors or even by papal order, the episode of the disappearance of Olivi’s remains places the popular cult emerged around the figure of the theologian at the centre of a conflict that had been ongoing for half a century within the ranks of the Franciscan Order. The rapid spread of Franciscan convents across Europe in the decades that followed the death of St Francis in 1226, and the increasingly influential status of the order brought to the fore the lack of sustainability of the original ideal of extreme humility on which the order was based.³¹⁸ Were we to heed Angelo Clareno’s chronicle, from the very beginning the order was already split into two opposing factions that respectively advocated in favour and against rigorous adherence to the idea of poverty expressed by the Rule of St Francis. However, as noted above, the *Liber chronicarum* was written in the 1320s and in all likelihood was more indicative of Clareno’s own concerns and context than of the actual situation of primitive Franciscanism.³¹⁹ In fact, the dissensions in this early period were not so much based on the degree of poverty the Rule bound to but on the access of Franciscans to a university-level education in theology, and on the Joachite ideas that were rather popular among many friars.³²⁰

³¹⁷ The proceedings of the inquisition conducted against them in 1345 by the inquisitor Guillem de Costa are partially extant in the Diocesan Archive of Barcelona (*Processos*, 3) and have been extensively edited and commented by Josep Perarnau i Espelt, “Beguins de Vilafranca del Penedès davant el tribunal d’inquisició (1345–1346). De captaires a banquers?” *Arxiu de Textos Catalans Antics* 28 (2009): 7–210. For the account of the feast of Olivi, see *ibid.*, 70–71: “Dixit eciam se recolere quod frater Bernardus Fusterii, pater suus, faciebat festum quolibet anno, in .XLa., ut sibi videtur, sed non recolit de die, de fratre Petro Iohannis in domo sua; et illa die qua faciebat festum predictum invitabat multos fratres (...) et hoc faciebat quia reputabat dictum fratrem Petrum Iohannis sanctum hominem ex eo quia, ut dicebat, faciebat multa miracula.” According to Perarnau, the destruction of the tomb in 1318 would have put an end to the celebration, however, Geraldona remembers the presence in the banquet of Guilhem Escrivà, a known Beguin who came from the north at least around 1337 and remained hidden in Vilafranca until his death in 1342, which would prove that the celebration at least lasted until that date; cf. *ibid.*, 78, n. 482.

³¹⁸ See Burr, *Spiritual Franciscans*, 2–10, for a brief but comprehensive account of the rising and early struggles of the Franciscan Order. On the spread of Franciscan convents in southern France, see Richard W. Emery, *The Friars in Medieval France: A Catalogue of French Mendicant Convents, 1200–1550* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1962).

³¹⁹ In the *Liber chronicarum*, Clareno inserts the sufferings endured by his fellow Spiritual Franciscans at the hands of their superiors into a long train of persecutions whose origin he traces back to the beginnings of the order. He overviews the tenures of the different Franciscan Ministers General after the death of the founder, and positions them in relation to the rigorism of his own views.

³²⁰ David Burr, mirroring Clareno’s method, shows how the disputes on the basis of a more or less rigorous adherence to the Rule in terms of poverty were not significant until the third quarter of the thirteenth century; see Burr, *Spiritual Franciscans*, 11–37.

Franciscan friars had soon occupied preeminent ecclesiastical positions as prelates and masters of theology, which kept widening the gap between the vision of the founder and the evolution of his spiritual disciples. Meanwhile, the views of Joachim of Fiore (d. 1205) had greatly influenced a large sector of the Franciscan Order.³²¹ At the end of the twelfth century, the works of the Cistercian abbot had proposed a new interpretation of the history of salvation whose true innovation was not so much its division into three ages, but the fact that the break between the second and the third age was nearly at hand, somewhere in the near—imminent—future, and would bring about the advent of the Holy Spirit and the era of *intellectus amoris*, when the *ecclesia spiritualis* would be led by a new order of *virī spirituales*.³²² Joachim had thus outlined an apocalyptic setting to which many Franciscans felt naturally drawn. The main common features of this Franciscan apocalypticism were identifying Francis with the angel bearing the symbol of the living God in the Book of Revelation, dividing the history of the world into two main periods the turning point between which was the birth of Christ, and finally the awareness about the leading role the Franciscan Order was destined to play in the advent of the new age.³²³

In 1254, Gerardo de Borgo San Donnino, a zealous Joachite who held a lectureship in theology in Paris, published *Evangelium aeternum*, a glossed compilation of Joachim's writings to which he wrote an introduction. Adopting a rather extreme stance in regard to Joachim's prophetic words, Gerardo claimed, among other things, that in the third age of the history of salvation, the "Eternal Gospel"—that is, Joachim's doctrines—would supersede both the Old and the New Testament.³²⁴ Gerardo apparently ended his days in prison and he was even denied ecclesiastical burial, but this episode also brought about the downfall of the Minister General John of Parma, a known Joachite himself who for a time was mistakenly attributed

³²¹ On the influence of Joachim of Fiore, see Marjorie Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages. A Study in Joachimism* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969); and Frances Andrews, "The influence of Joachim in the 13th century," in *A Companion to Joachim of Fiore*, ed. Matthias Riedel, (Leiden–Boston: Brill, forthcoming). I thank Professor Andrews for sending me a copy of her contribution to this volume, which, at the time of writing this dissertation, is still in press.

³²² Henri de Lubac, *La posteridad espiritual de Joaquín de Fiore. Vol. 1: De Joaquín a Schelling* (Madrid: Ediciones Encuentro, 2011), 46–50. For a thorough analysis of Franciscan Joachimism, see Burr, *Olivi's Peaceable Kingdom*, 1–26.

³²³ "And I saw another angel ascending from the east, having the seal of the living God" (Rev. 7:2). As I will discuss in the following section, some of these features can also be found in the testimonies of Beguins before the inquisitors.

³²⁴ For a detailed account of the scandal of the "Eternal Gospel," see Burr, *Olivi's Peaceable Kingdom*, 14–26. On the specific propositions attacked by the commission that examined Gerardo's work, see Heinrich Denifle, "Das *Evangelium aeternum* und die Commission zu Anagni," in *Archiv für Literatur- und Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters*, ed. Heinrich Denifle and Franz Ehrle (Berlin: Weidmannsche, 1885), vol. 1, 49–142.

authorship of the work. The aftermath damaged the image of the order at an especially difficult moment, and led it to embrace a radical defence of orthodoxy and even to assume a more active role in inquisitorial tribunals. It was in this period that the term *spiritualis* generalised in reference to a form of holiness, of close contact with the Holy Spirit that also involved a certain apocalyptic flair.³²⁵ In 1257, John of Parma was replaced at the head of the order by his once disciple Bonaventure of Bagnoreggio, one of the most prominent Franciscan theologians. Bonaventure's tenure lasted until his death—during the Second Council of Lyon in 1274—and was long and influential. Among the students who attended his lectures in Paris was a young friar from Sérignan who would become one of the most renowned Franciscan Joachites, Peter of John Olivi.

Born around 1247, he joined the order of St Francis at the age of twelve, and according to his own testimony, heard Bonaventure several times while he was studying theology in Paris in the mid-1260s.³²⁶ A decade later, in 1279, when Olivi was already a lector in a convent in southern France, his works on the Virgin Mary were censured by Girolamo Masci d'Ascoli, the future Nicholas IV, the first Franciscan Pope, by then Minister General of the Order. However, the burning of his writings did not diminish his prestige as a preeminent theologian, for he was among the experts consulted during the preparation of the papal bull *Exiit qui seminat* that same year. This is precisely the period when the first dissensions on the issue of poverty shaped incipient opposing factions within the order, for the first time bringing up the brewing conflict between obedience to the papacy and obedience to the vows and the Rule of St Francis. The convents in north-central Italy and southern France were particularly active in their support of rigorist views, and these 'radical' friars were soon referred to as Spiritual Franciscans, in contrast to their more moderate brethren, known as conventual Franciscans, or 'the community'.³²⁷

Issued by Pope Nicholas III in August 1279, *Exiit qui seminat* seemed to favour the rigorist attempts at a reform of the Franciscan Order by forbidding further interpretations of the Rule of St Francis and opening the door to the inclusion of the notion of *usus pauper* among Franciscan vows. The controversy of the *usus pauper* stemmed from the fact that whereas the first Franciscan Rule of 1221 stipulated the restricted use of worldly possessions, the later formulation of the *Regula bullata* in 1223 was ambiguous enough as to not state clearly whether this use was part

³²⁵ See Burr, *Spiritual Franciscans*, 39–41, for a discussion on the use of the term during this early period.

³²⁶ See Burr, *Olivi's Peaceable Kingdom*, 63–64

³²⁷ I will not discuss here the particularities of rigorist Franciscanism in Italy unless relevant for the situation in southern France; on Italian Spirituals, see Lydia von Auw, *Angelo Clareno et les spirituels italiens* (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1979).

of the vow of poverty that all friars took upon joining the Order. The debate was centred not so much on whether the *usus pauper* was commendable for Franciscans or not, but rather on whether taking vows also involved swearing to commit to this restricted use. Thus, the conflict was mainly based on the different conceptions of poverty implied by the Rule. While some believed their vows only forbid them from owning personal or communal properties, others also felt their vow forbid them from making an excessive use of the property of others. Olivi, one of the main theorists of this latter position, proposed a flexible idea of vows, with some aspects that had to be irrevocably fulfilled at the risk of incurring mortal sin and others less defined, whose breach would only entail a venial sin.³²⁸ However, according to its detractors, an undefined vow facilitated transgressions thus leading down the path to mortal sin.³²⁹

In 1283, a commission of seven theologians examined Olivi's postulates and removed him from his post.³³⁰ However, in 1287 he was again appointed as lector at the convent of Santa Croce, in Florence, where he met Ubertino da Casale, another prominent figure among the faction of the order that advocated a more radical reading of the Rule, and the need for a return to the origins. Only two years later, in 1289, Olivi was back in Montpellier and at some point after that he returned to Narbonne. It was in this period, the early 1290s, that the conflicts within the order surpassed the provincial framework and turned global, thus forcing the papacy to intervene. Nicholas IV tried to dismantle dissident groups of Franciscans in southern France through the involvement of the Minister General Raimon Geoffroi, a sympathiser of the Spiritual faction who had brought Olivi back to Montpellier and was entrusted with the search for schismatic tendencies among these rigorist friars. As a result of this process, twenty-nine of them were

³²⁸ See Burr, *Spiritual Franciscans*, 50–65.

³²⁹ This controversy was especially significant given that the Franciscan Order had already been harshly criticised by Thomas Aquinas on the nature of its vows. Whereas Dominicans swore obedience according to the Rule, Franciscans took a vow of complete observance. According to Aquinas, committing to obey the totality of the Rule for life was an unachievable feat, which thus placed friars in a difficult position that in all likelihood would end up in mortal sin. Aquinas's views were countered by the English Franciscan William de La Mare in his *Correctorium fratris Thomae* (*Corrective of Brother Thomas*), where he criticised 117 Thomist theses. This work, written between 1277 and 1279, was in circulation among Languedocian Franciscans even before 1282, when Bonagrazia da Bologna—the Minister General who succeeded Girolamo Masci after his election as Pope—prescribed that Franciscans were not to read Aquinas's writings without reading this work. On this matter see, Sylvain Piron, "Olivi et les averroïstes," *Freiburger Zeitschrift für Philosophie und Theologie* 53, no. 1–2 (2006), 256–57. For an edition of William de La Mare's work, see Palémon Glorieux, ed., *Les premières polémiques thomistes: I. Le correctorium corruptorii "Quare,"* Bibliothèque thomiste 9 (Kain: Le Saulchoir, 1927).

³³⁰ On the issue of poverty in the 1283 censure, see David Burr, *Olivi and Franciscan Poverty. The Origins of the Usus Pauper Controversy* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1989), 88–105.

punished at the general chapter held in Paris in 1292.³³¹ Although Olivi managed to avoid this censure, he was present at the chapter and was asked to explain his notion of *usus pauper*.

It must be noted that Olivi's stance in regard to the most radical groups that called for scission was one of rejection. In September 1295, in his letter to Conrado d'Offida, a reference for Italian Spirituals, he maintained that their actions were disastrous for the future of the Order, for they only provided the detractors of reform with further arguments against it.³³² Only a month later, Pope Boniface VIII all but removed from office Raimon Geoffroi. His replacement, Giovanni da Morrovalle—one of the seven scholars who had censured Olivi back in 1283—was far more active in the repression of radical Franciscans, and the hostilities only escalated. It was in this climate of increasing dissent that Olivi completed, only a year before his death, his most analysed work, the *Lectura super Apocalipsim*—also known as *Postilla super apocalypsim*—a commentary on the Apocalypse imbued with his take on Joachite postulates.³³³

Olivi was doubtlessly a major figure within the Joachite tradition of the Franciscan Order but there is much debate as to his true adherence to Joachim's views.³³⁴ Although he certainly praised the work of the Cistercian abbott, he also criticized him at some points. Whereas the

³³¹ Around the same time, the former hermit Pietro da Morrone, since July 1294 Pope Celestine V, established the Italian Franciscan dissidents of the March of Ancona, Angelo Clareno's group, as the Poor Hermits of Pope Celestine. However, after his resignation in December of that same year, the newly elected Pope Boniface VIII abolished most of Celestine's edicts and acted against these groups, leading many to seek refuge far from home and most of them to refuse accepting the legitimacy of the conclave that had elected the new pontiff. Another major figure of medieval Franciscan history, Jacopone da Todi, was among those who opposed Boniface, which led to his permanent imprisonment until the Pope's death in 1303. Jacopone, who had first lived as a *bizzoccone*, joined the Franciscan order in 1278. He was involved with radical groups such as the one led by Angelo Clareno, which perfectly showcases the close contact between non-institutional movements committed to a life of voluntary poverty and the most rigorist members of the Order of St Francis. On Jacopone's life and work, see George T. Peck, *The Fool of God: Jacopone da Todi* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1980).

³³² See an edition of the letter in Livarius Oliger, "Petri Iohannis Olivi: De renuntiatione papae Caelestini V. Quaestio et epistola," *Archivum franciscanum historicum* 11 (1918): 309–73. Conrado d'Offida, born around 1236, spent his early years in the Order among the former companions of Francis and was later related to the rigorist friars of the March of Ancona; see David Burr, *Olivi and Franciscan Poverty*, 112–24.

³³³ Olivian apocalyptic views on the history of salvation pervade many of his writings; see, among others, Manselli, *La 'Lectura super Apocalypsim'*; Burr, *Olivi's Peaceable Kingdom*; David Burr, "Olivi, Proux, and the Separation of Apocalypse from Eschatology," in *That Others May Know and Love*, ed. Michael Cusato and F. Edward Coughlin (Saint Bonaventure: Franciscan Institute, 1997), 285–305; and Boureau and Piron, eds., *Pierre de Jean Olivi*.

³³⁴ See De Lubac, *La posteridad espiritual*, 93–96; Giulia Barone, "L'ouvre eschatologique de Pierre Jean-Olieu et son influence," *Cahiers de Fanjeaux: Fin du monde et signes des temps. Visionnaires et prophètes en France méridionale (fin du XIIIe – début XVe siècle)* 27 (1992): 49–61; and Roberto Rusconi, "A la recherche des traces authentiques de Joachim de Flore dans la France méridionale," *Cahiers de Fanjeaux: Fin du monde et signes des temps. Visionnaires et prophètes en France méridionale (fin du XIIIe – début XVe siècle)* 27 (1992): 63–80.

third age was for Joachim the age of the Holy Spirit that would surpass the previous era, Olivi's view was completely Christ-centred, the third age was only to renew the message of the New Testament and would not bring about a new superior world order.³³⁵ In 1299, barely a year after his demise, the general chapter of the Order condemned his writings and ordered for them to be surrendered and burned.³³⁶ However, it was already too late to prevent their dissemination, not only among Spiritual Franciscans, but also among their lay supporters. Some extracts of the *Postilla super apocalypsim* as well as several pastoral treatises were already in circulation in the vernacular shortly after Olivi's death. For instance, the Franciscan Mateu de Bouzigues fled his convent and arrived in Rome in 1299 accompanied by laymen and laywomen and carrying several works of Olivi translated from Latin.³³⁷ Angelo Clareno in his *Epistola excusatoria*—written to Pope John XXII in 1317—recounts the arrival in Venice, in 1301, of a certain Friar Jeroni who delivered Olivian works to Angelo's group and was also accompanied by “several women” who were allegedly relatives of his.³³⁸ Moreover, Angelo, in his *Liber chronicarum* also tells of the cruel treatment endured by another Catalan friar, named Pons Bautuga, who died in prison in 1302 for refusing to surrender the works of Olivi in his possession.³³⁹

In the following years the Franciscan Order gradually polarised into two competing positions, those in favour of reform and those against it, and the first decade of the fourteenth century witnessed a period of widespread persecution of rigorist friars at the hands of their own brethren. In 1309, the recurring episodes of torture, abuse, extreme deprivations, and even deaths caused

³³⁵ Some authors discuss the eschatological content of Olivian writings while others reject this definition and note that Olivi is not really concerned with the end of the world. His main focus lies on the Apocalypse itself and the end of a period of tribulations that would conclude with the advent of the age of peace preceding the Final Judgement. Cf. Giulia Barone, “L'ouvre eschatologique,” and Burr, *Spiritual Franciscans*.

³³⁶ See León Amorós, “Series condemnationum et processuum contra doctrinam et sequaces Petri Ioannis Olivi (e cod. Vat. Ottob. Lat. 1816),” *Archivum franciscanum historicum* 24 (1931): 495–512.

³³⁷ On the case of Mateu de Bouzigues and his confession, see Manselli, *Spirituali e Beghini*, 41–46; Robert E. Lerner, “Writing and resistance among Beguins of Languedoc and Catalonia,” in *Heresy and Literacy (1000-1350)*, ed. Peter Biller and Anne Hudson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 186–204; Burnham, *So Great a Light*, 36, n. 104; and Burr, *Persecution of Peter Olivi*, 74–76.

³³⁸ See an edition of Clareno's epistle in Franz Ehrle, “Die Spirituellen, ihr Verhältniss zum Franciscanerorden und zu den Fraticelle,” in *Archiv*, vol. 1, 515–32. In Clareno's words, *ibid.*, 528–29: “Hic de provincia Cathalonie oriundus recesserat a fratribus et venit in illas regiones in habitu clericali cum pluribus mulieribus, quarum unam dicebat matrem et aliam filiam matris sue, portans secum libros, quos, ut postea audiui, furatus fuerat vel rapuerat, et nobis missos a sancte memorie Petro Joanne (Olivi) mendaciter dicebat.” Apparently the women were not his mother and sisters, as Jeroni initially claimed, and the books were not sent to Angelo's group but stolen.

³³⁹ See Ehrle, “Die historia septem tribulationum,” 300: “quem canes illi rapidi tam crudeliter et impie tractaverunt—pro eo quod ad comburendum aliquos tractatus, quos sanctus pater frater Petrus ediderat tradere nolebat.” On this topic, see also Burnham, *So Great a Light*, 45–46.

by starvation and lack of the barest living essentials forced the intervention of Pope Clement V, who asked for representatives from both ‘sides’ of the order, among them Raimon Geoffroi and Ubertino da Casale. The fact that the Pope identified two opposing factions has fuelled the conception that there were indeed two soundly organised sectors within the order. However, the reformist sector was far from homogeneous and despite the numerous interconnections between the groups that formed it, these supported remarkably different courses of action. For instance, whereas Olivi had encouraged a global reform of the Order that would lead it back to its original ideal, Ubertino proposed a new establishment in which Spiritual Franciscans kept the name while the rest took up a different name. Furthermore, Angelo Clareno favoured a separation after which he and his brethren would adopt a different name but keep the vows and the Rule of St Francis. Some of the key points brought forth by the pontiff in the debate that led up to what is known as the Clementine settlement were the matter of observance, Nicholas III’s papal bull *Exiit qui seminat*, and the orthodoxy of some Olivian positions—although not Olivi himself—which was questioned by *Fidei catholicae fundamento* (issued in May 1312).³⁴⁰

The resulting bull *Exivi de paradiso* (also issued in May 1312) focused on obedience to superiors but, at the same time, the Pope established separate houses for Spiritual Franciscans in Languedoc, and removed from office abusing leaders, transferring them to other convents.³⁴¹ Clement’s intervention was a band-aid solution to a much deeper problem, as shown by the fact that the relative peace only held until his death in April 1314. The two-year interregnum that followed, up until the election of Jacques Duèze as Pope John XXII in August 1316, only aggravated a situation whose last straw was the death of the Minister General, Alessandro di Alessandria, who passed away only months after Clement. The new Minister General, Michele da Cesena, was not elected until May 1316. In the absence of a ruling hierarchy, the former banned superiors returned to their convents and put in place a series of oppressive measures. The immediate repercussions were violent uprisings that forced them out and left the convents back again in the hands of the rigorist friars.

In April 1317, the Pope summoned the insurrectionist friars of Narbonne and Béziers to Avignon, where, deprived of all means of appeal, they were entrusted to their superiors while awaiting the papal decision. The papal bull *Quorundam exigit*, issued in October, left to the superiors all decisions concerning the rigour with which the Rule of St Francis had to be followed, and forced the rest of the brethren into submission to them. All Franciscans had to wear the

³⁴⁰ On *Fidei catholicae fundamento* and its implications and repercussions, see Burr, *Spiritual Franciscans*, 151–58.

³⁴¹ On the Clementine settlement and *Exivi de paradiso*, see *ibid.*, 144–50.

same habit and maintain granaries and cellars for sustenance. These material stipulations were but a symbol of a much more complex disagreement between the original Franciscan ideal of humility and the new reality of a widespread and influential religious order and the demands it entailed. Thus, just as clothing revealed social status, ecclesiastical laws were in place to establish the standards for religious clothing, and not for nothing were Spiritual Franciscans known as the friars “who wore short and strict habits.”³⁴²

Michele da Cesena questioned the friars on their acceptance of the bull and, in general, on their submission to papal authority in matters regarding the Franciscan Rule. Those who were willing to submit were sent back to their convents with sealed letters that indicated how they were to be punished for their rebellion. Needless to say, most of these friars opened the letters and upon seeing the fate awaiting them decided to take off their habits and flee.³⁴³ The rest were handed over to Michel le Moine, the inquisitor of Provence, on 6 November 1317. By papal order, the Franciscan inquisitor questioned them on their will to submit to papal authority or otherwise be treated as heretics. The letter from the Pope listed the names of twenty-six friars “who were falsely professed” in the Order of St Francis and “blemished with dishonour” and assigned Michel le Moine the mission of “exterminating the foxes whose poisonous bites seek to destroy the fruits of its sacred orchard.”³⁴⁴ In December, John XXII issued *Sancta romana* effectively suppressing all non-authorised religious groups, and only a month later *Gloriosam ecclesiam* dealt with the Italian Franciscan rebels who had sought refuge in Sicily. Meanwhile, the sentence pronounced by Michel le Moine added to this campaign of reigning in rebellious forms of reform within the Franciscan Order. Five friars had refused to abjure their beliefs, and four of them were defrocked and relinquished to the secular arm to be burned at the stake in

³⁴² For instance, in December 1325, both Andreu Berenguer and his wife Agnès, from Montagnac, described them in this way. See Doat 27, fol. 11r: “fratres minores portantes habitus parvos et strictos qui dicebantur Spirituales”; and *ibid.*, fol. 12r: “sciens fuisse de illis portantibus habitum curtum.” Moreover, Raimon de Johan, a renowned Franciscan apostate allegedly related to Olivi, is described in the inquisitorial record with the following words: “de societate illorum Fratrum qui portabant habitum curtum et strictum et qui nolebant habere granaria et cellaria et nuncupabantur Spirituales”; see Doat 27, fol. 35r.

³⁴³ The friars that Andreu and Agnès Berenguer sheltered in their home told Andreu that they had been given *litterae clausae* addressed to their superiors who would send them to remote convents where they would be imprisoned; therefore, they took off their habits and escaped. See Doat 27, fol. 11r–v: “sibi dixissent quod quia datae fuerant eis litterae clausae per suos superiores quibus mittebant eos conventus et remotos et mandabantur incarcerationi, dimiserant habitum suae religionis et aufugerant.”

³⁴⁴ Doat 34, fols. 144v: “pseudo dicta ordinis professores eadem labe respersos”; *ibid.*, fol. 145r: “dicti ordinis sacra plantatio exterminantis vulpeculis quae illum venenosus morsibus demoliri resumunt fructus.” The letter is recorded in Doat 34, fols. 143r–146v and was edited in Vidal, Bullaire, 35–37. Michel le Moine was one of the superiors Pope Clement V had removed from their posts back in 1312, see Burnham, *So Great a Light*, 47–48, n. 137, for a discussion on the election of the inquisitor of Provence for this task.

Marseille on 7 May 1318.³⁴⁵ The main crime of Johan Barrau, Deodat Miquel, Guilhem Santon, and Ponç Roca—for those were their names—was denying papal authority on matters related to the Rule of St. Francis, which they considered evangelical, and therefore beyond the reach of papal power.³⁴⁶ The execution of these four friars, whose “errors or, more correctly, heresies” the inquisitor traced back to the writings of Peter of John Olivi on the Apocalypse, marked a decisive turning point in the evolution of the Franciscan Order.³⁴⁷

In less than two years, while the persecution against rebel Spirituals and their lay supporters was at its peak, a rapid succession of papal bulls threatened the very foundations of the Order of Friars Minor. First, *Quia nonnunquam* (March 1322) lifted the ban imposed by *Exiit qui seminat* on the discussion of its contents, which brought back to the table the different interpretations of the Franciscan Rule. Secondly, *Ad conditorem canonum* (December 1322), issued in response to the protests aroused by *Quia nonnunquam*, reaffirmed the *potestas* of the pontiff to modify previous papal legislation and, more importantly, renounced his *dominium* over the goods used by Franciscans.³⁴⁸ Finally, *Cum inter nonnullos* (November 1323) stated that the affirmation that Christ had not owned anything, privately or in common, was henceforth heretical.³⁴⁹

³⁴⁵ The sentence of Michel le Moine is extant in manuscript Paris BNF lat. 4350. Its most recent commented edition can be found in Sylvain Piron, “Michael Monachus. Inquisitoris sententia contra combustos in Massilia. Présentation,” *Oliviana* 2 (2006), accessed 5 October 2016, URL: <http://oliviana.revues.org/33>; and Sylvain Piron, ed., “Inquisitoris sententia contra combustos in Massilia,” *Oliviana* 2 (2006), accessed 5 October 2016, URL: <http://oliviana.revues.org/36>. See *ibid.*, fol. 51r: “pronunciamus hereticos, et pestilentissimorum assertores dogmatum iudicamus, et eos tanquam hereticos ab omnibus ecclesiasticis ordinibus degradandos, et ipsis degradatis ex nunc prout ex tunc eos iudicio relinquimus seculari.”

³⁴⁶ See *ibid.*, fol. 50v: “supradictos Johannem Barrani, Deodatum Michaelis, Guillelmum Santonis et Poncius Rocha quia non tantum pape et sedi apostolice obedire contempnunt sed etiam auctoritati et potestati a Christo ei tradite et evangelice veritati pertinaciter et obstinate repugnant.”

³⁴⁷ See *ibid.*, fol. 51r: “prefati errores, immo hereses, manifeste processerunt sive originem habuerunt a venenato fonte doctrine immo verius seductrine quam frater Petrus Iohannis Olivi Biterrensis diocesis super Apocalypsim et in quibusdam eius opusculis contra honorem sancte romane ecclesie et auctoritatem ejusdem temere scriptitavit.”

³⁴⁸ See Burr, *Spiritual Franciscans*, 275–77, for an analysis of the consequences these bulls had for Franciscans. *Quia nonnunquam* is edited in Konrad Eubel, ed., *Bullarium Franciscanum*, vol. 5 (Rome: Typis Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide, 1898), 224–25. An edition of *Ad conditorem canonum* can be found in Jacqueline Tarrant, ed., *Extravagantes Iohannis XXII, Monumenta Iuris Canonici, Series B, Corpus collectionum* 6 (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1983), 228–254. Also in February 1322, John XXII issued *Ut vester religionis ager*, which altered the Rule for the Franciscan Third Order that had been established by Pope Nicholas III in *Supra montem*, promulgated in 1289. Thus, John ordered aspiring Franciscan Tertiaries to go through a process of examination of their orthodoxy that was to be carried out by bishops. See Josep Perarnau, “La butlla desconeguda de Joan XXII ‘Ut vester religionis ager’ (Avinyó, 19 de febrer de 1322) sobre l’examen dels aspirants al Terç Orde de St. Francesc,” *Estudios franciscanos* 83 (1982): 307–10; and Patrick Nold, “Two Views of John XXII as a Heretical Pope,” in *Defenders and Critics of Franciscan Life: Essays in Honor of John V. Fleming*, ed. Michael F. Cusato and Guy Geltner (Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2009), esp. 152.

³⁴⁹ For an edition of *Cum inter nonnullos*, see Tarrant, ed., *Extravagantes*, 255–57.

Inquisitorial proceedings against “apostate” Franciscans went on for the next decade and a half, but meanwhile, the argumentative weapons with which the conventual brethren had provided the Pope in their eagerness to counter radical reforms of their order, were used to modify previous papal edicts, reinterpret the Rule, and force them to accept dominion over goods whose formal ownership the Pope had renounced. The assertion that Christ and the apostles had private and common possessions was the final nail in the coffin of Franciscan self-proclaimed moral superiority, for this was mostly based on a extreme notion of humility that was no longer their own.

The disappearance of Olivi’s remains in 1318 coincided with the beginning of the officially sanctioned persecution of Spiritual Franciscans and their supporters.³⁵⁰ At the same time, the aforementioned *Transitum sancti Patris* was read aloud among worshippers and echoes of this brief text can be found in many of the depositions that will be analysed in the following section.³⁵¹ The popularity of the “uncanonised saint” among the lay people of Languedoc is hard to dispute, to the point that it was necessary to justify the orthodoxy of his cult, as does an anonymous text written around 1317 that ponders whether saints would at all be possible were popular worship not allowed.³⁵² But the true transcendence of Olivi’s popularly acclaimed sanctity lay in the fact that it was mostly based on his writings. The crowds that visited his tomb heard Spiritual Franciscans preaching not so much about the saintly life the theologian had led, but about the doctrinal content of his works, which were translated into the vernacular from early on. Among many other testimonies, the Franciscan tertiary Peire Tort recounts these sermons, in which the friars placed Olivi’s doctrine and writings above all others, with the only exceptions of the apostles and evangelists.³⁵³

³⁵⁰ Bernard Délicieux, who was imprisoned from 13 May 1317 onwards after his appearance before the Pope to defend the rebel friars of Narbonne and Béziers, wrote letters from the papal gaol in Avignon to ask for support and claimed that the people who had gathered in Narbonne to celebrate “the day of Brother Peter” had succoured him; see Alan Friedlander, *Processus Bernardi Delitiosi: The Trial of Fr. Bernard Délicieux, 3 September – 8 December 1319*, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society 86 (Philadelphia, PA: American Philosophical Society, 1996), 63: “Item quod ipse patiebatur pro fratre Petrus Joannis et quod multi venirent ad instantem diem dicti fratris Petri Joannis et quod tunc facerent sibi succurri et adiutorium mitti.” This would suggest that Olivi’s tomb was still standing on 14 March 1318 and was destroyed some time after.

³⁵¹ See, for example, the *culpa* of Peire Tort, a cutler from Montréal who was sentenced to strict imprisonment in July 1322, in Pales-Gobilliard, *Le livre des sentences*, 1410: “Item dixit dictus P. Tort se legisse in libro de fine fratris P. Johannis quod, dum aporinquaret morti dictus frater P. Johannis, convocatis fratribus Minoribus, dixit eis quod (...)”

³⁵² See Franz Ehrle, “Petrus Johannis Olivi, sein Leben und seine Schriften,” in *Archiv für Literatur- und Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters*, ed. Heinrich Denifle and Franz Ehrle (Berlin: Weidmannsche, 1887), vol. 3, 443: “Nam si in sanctis ultimo canonizatis Francisco, Dominico, Antonio, Ludovico predicta fuissent prohibita, non habuisset sancta mater ecclesia tam evidentia motiva, quibus cum precedenti sancta vita inducitur ad reddendum celebres in terris, quod dominus glorificat de excelsis.”

³⁵³ See Pales-Gobilliard, *Le livre des sentences*, 1412: “Dixit etiam se audivisse in sermonibus factis per fratres Minores de Narbona, tempore quo fiebat festum de dicto fratre P. Johannis, quod doctrina et scriptura sua erat

Olivi became a symbol of the conflict between Spiritual and Conventual Franciscans, the emblematic figure of a movement of dissent, which paradoxically conferred him and his works a belligerent nature that probably did not match his own intentions. It seems clear that, at least from the last decade of the thirteenth century, and probably before, there were communities in the area of Languedoc that supported the views of the Spiritual friars and held beliefs that were closely related to Olivian doctrines. Olivi's Spiritual brethren and, especially, his lay followers, contextualized Olivian views, and the swift condemnation of his works barely a year after his demise cast the first stone that triggered the radicalisation of their stance and the acceleration of their perception of the apocalyptic timeline.³⁵⁴ In October 1319, just over a year after the execution of the four Franciscans in Marseille, the inquisitors relinquished the first group of men and women accused of adhering to radical Franciscan and apocalyptic opinions to the secular arm in Narbonne and Capestang.³⁵⁵ Their form of dissent would be known as the "heresy of the burned Beguins," and the following section is devoted to the analysis of the communities that supported it.

3.2 The Beguin Communities of Languedoc

In May 1329, Bernard Pastor, a merchant from Marseillan who lived in Pézenas, was brought before the Dominican inquisitor Henri de Chamayou accused of bearing false testimony.³⁵⁶ It seems that not long before, Bernard had voluntarily travelled to the episcopal court of Béziers, where Henri de Chamayou stayed, to bring him a letter informing the inquisitor that after the

magis necessaria ecclesie pro isto tempore finali quam doctrina cujuscumque sancti doctoris, exceptis apostolis et evangelistis."

³⁵⁴ For an analysis of the influence of time perception on the Beguin movement, see Delfi I. Nieto-Isabel, and Carlos López-Arenillas, "A Matter of Time: Beguin Millennialism at the Beginning of the 14th Century," in *Spaces of Knowledge. Four Dimensions of Medieval Thought*, ed. Noemí Barrera et al (Newcastle Upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014), 137–48.

³⁵⁵ The source for this date is the Beguin martyrology extant in MS 1006, Wolfenbüttel Herzog-August-Bibliothek; see Burnham, *So Great a Light*, 189. Biget, "Culte et rayonnement," 296, based on Doat 27, fols. 4r–v, maintains that several Beguins were condemned to bear crosses as soon as November 1318. However, the date for the sermon he refers to, which is indicated by the Doat copyist in French but not confirmed by the Latin text is, in my opinion, mistaken and should have been 1328. The inquisitor presiding over the sermon, Henri de Chamayou, was already in office in 1318, but fols. 4r–v actually record the relaxation to crosses of previously imposed penances, some of which can be traced to a sermon held in 1327. See for example the cases of Alaraxis Biasse and Berengaria Donas; both of them were sentenced to prison on 1 March 1327 (Doat 28, fol. 203v), and this punishment was commuted on 11 November 1328 (Doat 27, fol 4v).

³⁵⁶ See Doat 27, fol. 204r: "Bernardus Pastoris de Marcelhano mercator habitator Pedenacii, diocesis Agathensis." The records of Bernard's full *culpa* extend over Doat 27, fols. 204r–210r.

burning of the Beguin Raimon Forner and his companions in Pézenas on 21 September 1321, the notary Raimon Berlet accessed the site of the execution “imbued of an evil spirit” and bent his knee adoring it, and grabbing the bones of the burned wrapped them up in a cloth as if they were the relics of saints. When some people arrived and asked him about what he was doing, the notary answered that he was gathering the bones of the burned martyrs, for they were better Christians than those who had condemned them, and were already in Paradise. Bewildered at such madness, the witnesses berated Raimon telling him that his claim was against the Church, and that those men and women would not have been condemned were they not heretics. To this the notary answered, “Vos junglayres pres que hieu teni per bos crestias et per verays martirs, et dayso non poyria mudar que hieu non cresa que sian estatz bos crestias” [You may mock me but I have them for good Christians and true martyrs, and I could not change my mind and not think that they were good Christians].³⁵⁷

In the letter to the inquisitor, Bernard Pastor begged him to put an end to such schismatic danger and provided the names of almost ten different witnesses. This circumstance, that is, a group of people who jointly decided to come forward and accuse someone of heresy providing detailed testimonies, was quite unusual. In fact, the inquisitor apparently felt that this was too good to be true and immediately initiated further enquiries by summoning said witnesses.³⁵⁸ It was soon established that both the letter and the depositions were the result of a well-thought conspiracy to incriminate the notary Raimon Berlet who, it seems, was not a very likeable person, for several of the witnesses mention their hate for him and their desire to see him lose his office and properties.³⁵⁹

³⁵⁷ The vernacular version of the alleged last statement of the notary is extant in the inquisitorial record. Doat 27, fol. 204r–205v: “hinc est quod quidam perverso spiritu imbutus (...) quadam die post combustionem haeticorum et specialiter post combustionem cuiusdam vocati Fourneron et eius sociorum, Bernardus Barleti notarius (...) accessit ad locum ubi dictus Fourneron et alii superius nominati sunt combusti, et flexis genibus tanquam adoraret eorum nequitiam accepit de ossibus combustorum hereticorum (...) et ipsa ossa in pallio sive sindone involvens cum multa reverentia ac si essent reliquie sanctorum accepit et secum asportavit. Et cum per quosdam supervenientes peteretur a dicto Raymundo quid faciebat ibi, ipse Raymundus respondit, ‘Ego colligo de ossibus istorum combustorum vere martirum, quia pro certo ipsi erant sanioris fidei quam illi qui eos fecerunt comburi (...) et ipsi erant optimi christiani et cum magno preiudicio et contra ius sunt combusti, et credo martires et eorum fidem laudo, et credo quod sint in paradiso’. Sic tunc testes infrascripti eius vesaniam et incredulitatem ac etiam haeticam pravitatem increpantes dixerunt dicto Raymundo, ‘Ut quid talia facitis et talia dicitis ac asseritis in rebellionem catholicae fidei (...) quia si non essent reperti haetici et pro haeresi dampnati, iam non devenissent ad talem sententiam’, ad quae respondens, dictus Raymundus Barleti, dixit haec verba vel similia ‘Vos junglayres pres que hieu teni per bos crestias et per verays martirs, et dayso non poyria mudar que hieu non cresa que sian estatz bos crestias’.”

³⁵⁸ The depositions of the main conspirators, Guilhem Mascon, Guilhem Benet de Cazouls, Imbert de Roquefixade, Johan Mauri i Raimon Caplieu, can be found in Doat 27, fols. 210r–216r.

³⁵⁹ Doat 27, fol. 209v: “et desiderans quod ipse Raymundus condempnaretur ad perdendum officium suum, scilicet notariatus, et quod perderet magnam vel maiorem partem bonorum suorum.” The conspirators were all sentenced to strict life imprisonment in the inquisitorial gaol of Carcassonne, but first they were to be publicly exposed on a

The most interesting point that this particular case makes is that in trying to tarnish the reputation of the notary, the false accounts of Bernard Pastor and his friends reproduced to the letter not only practices but also arguments and even whole expressions in the vernacular that can also be found all over the trials against the “burned Beguins and Beguines.” In other words, while trying to frame the notary, the men of Pézenas showed that they knew exactly how to build a believable picture of what a supporter of the groups of men and women today known as the Beguins of Languedoc was supposed to look like. As the record shows, it was not the inaccuracy of their description that raised suspicions, but the way in which they went about denouncing the notary.

The inquisitorial procedure and, in particular, its only publicly held instance, the *sermo generalis*, certainly played its part in the construction of this recognisable ‘heretical’ Beguin identity. As mentioned in Section 2.2, the general sermon included the reading of the *culpae* that were conveniently translated into the vernacular so that the accused could confirm them.³⁶⁰ Undoubtedly, this was also done for the benefit of the audience, which included not only the authorities but, more importantly, the population of the town where the sermon and the subsequent execution took place, who were granted indulgences for their attendance. Thus, the sermon, originally devised as both a penitential ritual and a deterrent to heresy, ended up serving a very different purpose, for it acted as a loudspeaker for the beliefs, practices, and even expressions of the men and women condemned as heretics. *Culpae* were memorised and fervently recited during gatherings. For instance, in March 1322, Peire Calvet confessed that two Beguins had brought the confession of Arnau Pons—a Beguin from Belpech who was burned in Narbonne the previous month—to Cintegabelle. It was read aloud and, according to Peire, the men and women gathered to listen were comforted by it.³⁶¹ But these abridged confessions were also critical for the appraisal of the level of commitment of the accused and, more importantly, of

scaffold wearing yellow double crosses and red tongues—the mark of false witnesses—both in the square before the cathedral of Saint-Nazaire in Béziers and in the market square of their hometown, Pézenas; see Doat 27, fols. 241v–245r.

³⁶⁰ When Bernard Durban attended the execution of his sister Esclarmonda in Lunel on 18 October 1321, he could not properly hear her sentence because of the crowd, but someone told him that Esclarmonda had asked to have her confession read aloud, which was apparently denied, and therefore, in his own deposition of July 1323, Bernard informed the inquisitor of his ill opinion about the justness of Esclarmonda’s condemnation. See Doat 28, fols. 11r–13r: *quamvis fuisset in condemnatione ipsius sororis suae et ipsam audivisset pro heresi condemnatam, tamen quia non potuit clare intelligere propter turbam assistentem quae tunc agebantur et quia audivit a quibusdam de assistentibus quod dicta soror sua requisiverat confessionem suam sibi recitari, quod sibi ut dicebant fuerat denegatum. Idcirco incepit dubitare et malam opinionem habere an iuste vel iniuste fuerit condemnata.*”

³⁶¹ Pales-Gobilliard, *Le livre des sentences*, 1368: “Item confessio Arnaldi Poncii de Bellopodio qui fuit postmodum tanquam hereticus condemnatus fuit apportata apud Cinctam Gavellam per duos Beguinos (...) et lecta sibi et aliis Beguinis (...) et lecta et audita dicta confessione ipse et alii Beguini hoc audientes fuerunt super hoc consolati.”

the rightfulness of their condemnation. In May 1322, Peire Tort doubted about the sanctity of the condemned in Narbonne, Capestang, and Lunel between 1319 and 1321 on the basis that he did not attend their execution and therefore did not know the specific articles they were accused of defending.³⁶²

The set of charges for which the accused were sentenced helped establish the liminalities between the Beguins of Languedoc and other dissident groups. However, this was not the only way in which inquisitors intervened in the definition of the different heretical expressions. As shown in Sections 2.2 and 2.3 above, from the mid-thirteenth century onwards, inquisitors' manuals, usually built on the practical experience of their authors, sought to catalogue the particular features that singled out each movement with the aim of facilitating the identification and prosecution of its adherents.³⁶³ The lay supporters of radical Franciscan views that would come to be known as the Beguins of Languedoc were not officially censured until Pope John XXII issued *Sancta Romana* in December 1317 and *Gloriosam ecclesiam* in January 1318. Therefore, whereas 'Cathars' and Waldensians had been condemned even before the appointment of the first friar-inquisitors and were the main subject of the manuals of the second half of the thirteenth century, these Olivian Beguins constituted a new religious expression for whose prosecution there were no precedents.³⁶⁴

When the Dominican inquisitor Bernard Gui completed his *Practica inquisitionis heretice pravitatis* between 1323 and 1324, he drew both on previous compilations and on his own expertise.³⁶⁵ Gui was the first to describe in depth the corpus of beliefs and devotional practices that distinguished the Beguins of Languedoc from other contemporary groups. In fact, the part of the *Practica* devoted to them was based on Gui's first-hand accounts of the trials he himself held between 1322 and 1323 against fifteen men and two women accused of being involved with

³⁶² Pales-Gobilliard, *Le livre des sentences*, 1406: "set de illis Beguinis qui combusti fuerunt prima vice in Narbona et de illis qui combusti fuerunt in Capite Stagno et in Lunello erat in dubio an essent salvi vel non aut martires vel non, quia non fuerat presens quando fuerunt condemnati et combusti, nec scivit certidunaliter, ut dixit, propter quos articulos condemnati fuerunt." It is worth noting here that Peire had no problem whatsoever in regarding the Beguins burned in Béziers in 1320 and 1321 as saints, for he did attend the general sermons after which they were executed.

³⁶³ See Section 2.2, n. ??Sernin, p.

³⁶⁴ On the treatises devoted to Cathars and Waldensians, see note ??Lugduno, p. above.

³⁶⁵ On the sources Bernard Gui used for the composition of his manual, which include previous treatises on heretics, inquisitorial records, and papal edicts as well as some texts produced within dissident milieus, see Mollat, *Manuel de l'inquisiteur*, vol. 1, xvi–xxv.

the “sect of those commonly known as Beguins and Beguines.”³⁶⁶ Thirteen of the fifteen men and the two women claimed to be professed Franciscan tertiaries, even if the inquisitors doubted about the validity of such profession, as is apparent both in the records of their depositions and in Gui’s description of the group.³⁶⁷ Thus, already in this early stage of the inquisitorial action, Gui came to identify both terms, and soon ‘Beguin’ and ‘Franciscan tertiary’ were used as synonyms, even if that was not always the case.³⁶⁸

According to the Dominican, both men and women—*beguini* and *beguinae*—called themselves Poor Brethren of Penitence of the Third Order of St Francis, and wore a distinctive habit and a hooded cloak made of a coarse brownish-grey cloth called *brunum* or *burellum*, corresponding to the vernacular terms *bruna* and *burell*, both of which would point to a coarse unsized and rather dark woollen cloth.³⁶⁹ It is worth noting here that the references to the Beguin attire mostly appear in the records of the general sermons held by Gui. In fact, there is just one other case, that of the priest Peire de Tornamira who, according to several witnesses, had donned the habit of the Beguins around 1316 and had removed it after the execution of the four

³⁶⁶ Mollat, *Manuel de l’inquisiteur*, vol. 1, 108: “de secta illorum qui Bequini et Bequine vulgariter appellantur.” The depositions contained in Bernard Gui’s *Liber sententiarum* and related to the Beguins of Languedoc can be found among the records of the general sermons held in Pamiers on 4-5 July 1322, and 19 June 1323; see Pales-Gobilliard, *Le livre des sentences*, 1276–1427 and 1636–39, respectively.

³⁶⁷ See Gui’s nuanced description in Mollat, *Manuel de l’inquisiteur*, vol. 1, 108: “Bequinatorum secta, qui fratres Pauperes se appellant et dicunt se tenere et profiteri tertiam regulam sancti Francisci.” Many of the depositions also state the skepticism of the inquisitors about the official religious status of the accused; see, for instance, the *culpa* of Raimon de Bosch, a Beguin from Belpech in Pales-Gobilliard, *Le livre des sentences*, 1298: “Raymundus de Buxo, filius quondam Ramundi de Buxo de Bellopodio dyocesis Mirapiscensis, qui dicit esse de tercio ordine sancti Francisci et se esse professum tertiam regulam ejusdem.”

³⁶⁸ Some of the records suggest that being a Beguin or Beguine did not necessarily imply having officially joined the Third Order of St Francis, but that both expressions coexisted among the so-called Beguins of Languedoc. For instance, when Bernard Peyrotas was brought before the inquisitor in Montpellier on 11 November 1321 strongly suspected of maintaining the “errors of the Beguins,” he “abiuravit omnem heresim, credentiam, fautoriam et defensionem hereticorum et specialiter begguinorum et illorum de tertio ordine et Fratrum Minorum pro heresi condemnatorum” [abjured all heresy, especially that of the Beguins, Franciscan Tertiaries, and condemned Franciscans], Doat 28, fol. 21r–v.

³⁶⁹ Mollat, *Manuel de l’inquisiteur*, vol. 1, 108–110: “Bequini igitur utriusque sexus moderni temporis sic vulgariter appellati, qui se dicunt fratres Pauperes de penitentia de tertio ordine Sancti Francisci, portantes brunum seu de burello habitum cum mantello, et aliqui sine mantello.” There is an obvious problem with the gender of the term *fratres*, especially given that Gui explicitly mentions “utriusque sexus.” In the English translation I have maintained the masculine ‘brethren’ to reflect the fact that the expression “sorores pauperes de penitentia” never appears in the sources despite the frequent use of the feminine words *beguina* and *beguinae*, which might suggest that the full denomination was much more uncommon.

Franciscan friars in Marseille in May 1318.³⁷⁰ As for the *Liber sententiarum*, the habit and the cloak are mentioned as an attribute that further defines each individual's involvement, to the point that the accused often resorted to the argument that once they surrendered the habit upon abjuring heresy they were no longer to be considered as Beguins.³⁷¹

On the one hand, the time gap between Gui's prosecution of Beguins (1322–1323) and the cases documented in the rest of the extant sources—which were mostly judged after 1325—could suggest that the absence of references to the habit and cloak in the latter can be explained due to the fact that at some point wearing these publicly was no longer an option. It could also be argued that either there was a shift in the concerns of inquisitors over time or, more likely, that the extant sample of Gui's interaction with this group is rather limited and not representative enough. On the other hand, the geographical differences characteristic of inquisitorial jurisdictions do not seem to be relevant here. The mentions of a specific Beguin attire spread from Cintegabelle to Montréal and Montpellier, which belonged to different dioceses—Pamiers, Carcassonne, and Montpellier, respectively—and were also under the care of different inquisitors.



Map 3.1: Mentions of the Beguin habit and hooded cloak

³⁷⁰ Germain, “Une consultation inquisitoriale,” 337–38: “(...) ipse loquens intravit tertium ordinem Beati Francisci (...) e stetit in dicto ordine et habitum Beguinorum portavit, a festo Pasche usque ad festum Omnium Sanctorum, quo tempore habitavit in Montepessulano, et in Melgorio per mensem; et tunc, postquam dicti fratres Minores fuerunt combusti in Massilia, quando persecutio Beguinorum fuit inchoata et inceperunt condemnari, ipse loquens, ad instantiam et inductionem aliquorum amicorum suorum, dimisit habitum predictum, et societatem dictorum Beguinorum.”

³⁷¹ In his second deposition of 28 June 1322, Guilhem Ros, from Cintegabelle, noted that since Peire Tort, from Montréal, had surrendered the “cloak of the Beguins” before the inquisitor, Guilhem’s oath to denounce and help persecute heretics no longer applied in his case; Pales-Gobilliard, *Le livre des sentences*, 1594: “fuerat vocatus per inquisitorem heretice pravitatis et de mandato ejus dimiserat mantellum Beguinorum (...) et proper hoc non videbatur ei quod juramentum quod prestiterat obligaret eum ad hoc.”

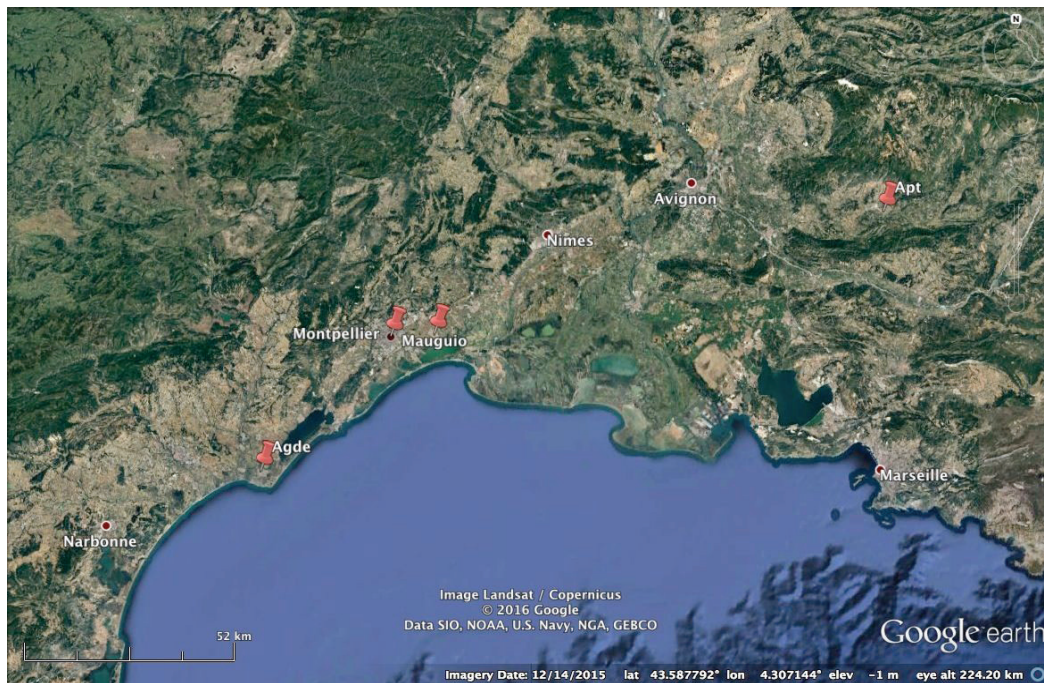
In any case, always according to the *Practica*, whereas some of these Beguins and Beguines kept living in their own houses, some others shared small dwellings that they called ‘houses of poverty’ where the community would gather on special occasions such as Sundays and other religious holidays.³⁷² There are several extant testimonies that point to the existence of said houses both in an early period and after the beginning of the inquisitorial persecution. The aforementioned Peire de Tornamira lived in two different *domos paupertatis* in Montpellier and Mauguio after joining the group before August 1316 and at least until 1320.³⁷³ Bernard Peyrotas, a priest from Lodève who attended a few general sermons and executions, stayed at a house of poverty in Agde sometime between January and September 1321.³⁷⁴ Finally, a priest from Narbonne named Bernard Mauri confirms the existence of some such houses even on the other side of the Rhône. Mauri was probably among the first group of Beguins captured in 1318, and after spending several months in the archiepiscopal gaol, the Dominican inquisitor Jean de Beaune sentenced him to wear crosses and to complete several pilgrimages. A few years later, in 1323, a subsequent wave of arrests forced Mauri to leave Narbonne and settle in Provence, where he would end up being captured by the officials of Michel le Moine, the inquisitor who had presided over the condemnation of the friars in Marseille back in 1318. Bernard Mauri’s journey is relevant because his was also the path chosen by several groups of Beguins and Beguines that fled towards Provence with the hope of avoiding inquisitorial prosecution while keeping their ways, even establishing houses of poverty such as the one in Apt, where Mauri stayed for a few days.³⁷⁵

³⁷² Mollat, *Manuel de l’inquisiteur*, vol. 1, 114: “Bequini itaque predicti habitantes in villis et castris habent mansiunculas in quibus aliqui simul cohabitant et eas appellant domos paupertatis (...) in quibus domibus tam ipsi cohabitantes quam etiam alii qui privatim in domibus suis manent, quam etiam familiares et amici Bequinorum, in diebus festis (sic.) et in dominicis sepius conveniunt in unum.”

³⁷³ Germain, “Une consultation inquisitoriale,” 333: “Petrus presbiter, ante per aliquod tempus quo fe[l]icis re[cordationis] dominus Johannes papa XXII^o fuisset in papam electus et coronatus, quod fuit anno Domini millesimo trescentesimo sextodecimo, de mense augusti, fuit ad ordinem Beguinorum per quendam nomine fratrem Martinum beguinum receptus in domo Paupertatis eorum”; and *ibid.*: “duo primi testes heretici, qui fuerunt capti in Capistango, et ibidem combusti, anno Domini millesimo trescentesimo vicesimo, confessi fuerunt in iudicio dictum Petrum presbiterum simul cum dictis duobus hereticis habitasse eodem anno in villa de Melgorio, dyocesis Narbonensis, in domo quam vocabant domum Paupertatis.”

³⁷⁴ Bernard attended the last execution of Beguins held in Béziers on 11 January 1321, and there learned about the execution that was going to take place in Agde, which prompted his stay in this village. His testimony is the only extant mention of a general sermon being held in Agde in the period, but although Bernard provides no precise date, the record does state that he travelled from there to Pézenas in time for the execution of 21 September 1321. See Doat 28, fol. 24v: “Item dixit quod dum essent in Bitterris audiverunt dici quod executio debebat fieri in Agathe de begguinis, et iverunt illuc et fuerunt in domo paupertatis cum quibusdam quos nominat.”

³⁷⁵ Bernard Mauri was transferred to the jurisdiction of Guillaume d’Astre, the inquisitor of Arles, Aix, Vienne, and Embrun. The full register of his trial, held between May and November 1326, is extant in Doat 35, fols. 21r–47r. On the house of poverty of Apt, owned by a certain Bertrand d’Aniane and his companion, also named Bertrand, see Doat 35, fol. 27v: “ambo Bertrandi tenebant domo paupertatis in dicto loco de Apta.”



Map 3.2: *Domos paupertatis* documented

To further help his fellow inquisitors to identify Beguins, Gui also provided information on other external signs that could give the members of the group away. Upon entering a house, Beguins would address their hosts by saying “Blessed be Jesus Christ,” or, “Blessed be the name of the Lord Jesus Christ,” and the same formula was repeated any time two Beguins met.³⁷⁶ Furthermore, before sharing a meal and after blessing the table they would all kneel down and those who knew it would recite *Gloria in excelsis Deo* or the *Salve Regina*, depending on the time of the day.³⁷⁷ Finally, Beguins were also easy to notice in church, for they didn’t pray in the usual manner—kneeling down with clasped hands—but with their hood on, prostrating on the floor, crouching, or turning their body or face towards the wall.³⁷⁸

Some time after March 1322, Bernarda d’Antusan, a married Franciscan tertiary from Cintegabelle, confessed to having saluted two Beguins who she welcomed into her house “as

³⁷⁶ Mollat, *Manuel de l’inquisiteur*, vol. 1, 118: “Dicunt enim venientes aut intrantes domum aliquam aut occurrentes sibi ipsis in itinere seu in via, ‘Benedictus sit Jhesus Christus’ vel ‘Benedictum sit nomen Domini Jhesu Christi’.”

³⁷⁷ Ibid.: “Item, in mensa, in prandio, post benedictionem mense, dicunt illi qui sciunt ‘Gloria in excelsis Deo’, flexis genibus, ceteris audientibus. In cena vero dicunt ‘Salve Regina’ illi qui sciunt, similiter flexis genibus.”

³⁷⁸ Ibid.: “Item, orantes in ecclesia vel alibi sedent acrupiti, verso vultu seu facie communiter ad objectum parietem vel similem locum vel ad terram capuciat; et raro videntur stare flexis genibus et complosis manibus, sicut faciunt ceteri homines.”

was customary,” that is, someone said, “Blessed be the name of our Lord Jesus Christ,” and the others answered, “Amen.”³⁷⁹ Guilhem Ros, another tertiary from the same village, learned that the said two Beguins were at the house of the Antusans, and since he knew them he went there to see them, and they saluted each other by exchanging kisses.³⁸⁰ Far away, again on the other side of the Rhône, the aforementioned Bernard Mauri would meet his old friend Peire Trencavel while visiting the house of poverty of Apt. In his deposition Mauri stated that they greeted each other shaking hands and embracing, but claimed not to remember whether they kissed.³⁸¹ These three accounts are the only extant mentions of any kind of greeting among the Beguins of Languedoc. On the basis of these depositions, it is impossible to assert that Beguins and Beguines had a specific salutation that was exclusive to them. In fact, not even the first two accounts, to which Gui had direct access, seem to match the description included in the *Practica*.³⁸²

Since Gui surely built his manual on the full accounts recorded in the original inquisitorial register (and also on what he might have remembered from the questionings he conducted) it does not seem unreasonable to assume that he had access to much more information than what we can read in the abridged *culpae* that have survived as part of the *Liber sententiarum*. However, it is worth noting that, unlike in the sentences against *bons omes* and Waldensians, in the case of the Beguins of Languedoc Gui paid special attention to the inclusion of detailed depositions, probably because of the novelty of this dissident expression.³⁸³ It could also be argued that the century-long prosecution of ‘Catharism’ that led to the development of most inquisitorial procedures left its imprint on the way in which heretical movements were to be labelled and classified.

³⁷⁹ Pales-Gobilliard, *Le livre des sentences*, 1356: “et salutaverunt se modo communi, et dictus P. Tort et socius ejus intraverunt domum dicte Bernarde, et tunc ipsa vel aliquis ipsorum dixit ‘Benedictum sit nomen Domini nostril Jhesu Christi’, et alii responderunt, ‘Amen’.”

³⁸⁰ Pales-Gobilliard, *Le livre des sentences*, 1592: “et venit ad eos ad dictam domum, et osculatus fuit et bene recollegit eos.”

³⁸¹ Doat 35, fol. 27v: “cum ipse qui loquitur vidisset fuit admiratus et recollegerunt se mutuo et se salutaverunt tactis manibus et cum amplexibus, sed non recordatur si se osculate fuerunt vel non.”

³⁸² The two accused from Cintegabelle were sentenced in general sermons presided over by Bernard Gui himself, on 5 July and 12 September 1322, in Pamiers and Toulouse, respectively. Bernarda was condemned to spend life in the inquisitorial gaol of Toulouse—Pales-Gobilliard, *Le livre des sentences*, 1416–22—while Guilhem was burned as a relapser—Pales-Gobilliard, *Le livre des sentences*, 1608–10. In turn, Bernard Mauri was sentenced to the stake in Avignon on 19 November 1326 (see Doat 35, fols. 44v–47r).

³⁸³ Pales-Gobilliard goes as far as to assume that the *Book of Sentences* included “l’intégralité de leurs aveux”; Pales-Gobilliard, *Le livre des sentences*, 54.

As will be shown in Chapter 4, one of the most recurrent features in the depositions related to the dissidence of the Good Men and Women was precisely the initial salutation “benedicite.”³⁸⁴ Together with its variants and the gestures that accompanied it, this expression was seen as one of those external marks that Gui, quoting Augustine, thought were inherent to any religion.³⁸⁵ It is thus possible that the need for a special ritual that allowed members to greet each other was seen as necessary in the structured inquisitorial vision of what a heretical sect was supposed to be. The same also applies to the other major instance of the relational context of religious communities, that is, shared meals. Just as Gui lists the different formulas Waldensians used around the table, he might have felt the need to search for their equivalent among the new heresy of the Beguins.³⁸⁶ However, in this case, there are no other extant references to any specific food-related rite among Beguin communities. The formulas Gui describes cannot even be found in the accounts of the banquets held in honour of Olivi, which, as noted in the previous section, were gatherings of special spiritual significance for the group.

Finally, as for the practices that could help distinguish Beguins from the rest of the Christian community in church, the extant records also keep silence. Some testimonies, such as that of Na Prous Boneta, evince that Beguins and Beguines attended mass at least on the festivities of the liturgical calendar, but these accounts do not reveal any specific postures, gestures or attitudes. On the contrary, Na Prous describes how on Good Friday she was in the church of the Franciscans in Montpellier listening to the service and how she adored the crucifix, specifying that she did it “as it is customary to do,” and then returned to her seat.³⁸⁷ She and her companions also attended the Tenebrae service, and the service on Holy Saturday, when she describes the traditional elevation of Christ’s body using it as a temporal marker for one of her visions and without commenting on her own posture.³⁸⁸ Had other inquisitors also noted the particularities of

³⁸⁴ For Bernard Gui’s description of the *melioramentum* or *melhoramen* see Mollat, *Manuel de l’inquisiteur*, vol. 1, 20.

³⁸⁵ Mollat, *Manuel de l’inquisiteur*, vol. 1, 116: “Notandum est etiam quod, junta illud quod ait Augustinus (*Contra Faustum*, libro XIX^o), dicens, ‘In nullum nomen religionis seu velum seu falsum coagulate homines possunt nidi aliquo signaculorum, vel sacramentorum visibilium consortia colligentur’.”

³⁸⁶ The section of the *Practica* devoted to Waldensian rituals related to shared meals around the same table is quite detailed, see Mollat, *Manuel de l’inquisiteur*, vol. 1, 54–56.

³⁸⁷ Doat 27, fols. 51v–52r: “die Veneris sancta (...) ipse esset in ecclesia fratrum minorum Montespressulani ubi audiebat servicium cum aliis personis, adoravit crucifixum ut est moris, et facta adoratione huiusmodi dum reversa fuisset ad sedem suam.”

³⁸⁸ Doat 27, fol. 53r: “et postea iverunt ad servicium tenebrarum (...) Item dixit et asserit quod die Sabbati sancto tunc sequenti dum iterato esset in dicta ecclesia ad servicium, facta elevatione corporis Christi seu paulo ante apparuit sibi Deo.”

Beguins regarding their ways of praying and acting while in church, it seems unlikely that they would have refrained from interrogating deponents on this topic. Furthermore, some members of the Beguin community were also priests, such as Bernard Peyrotas or Raimon de Johan, a Franciscan who was also ordained, and although they did confess to celebrating mass, and in particular in the case of Peyrotas, to celebrate it in honour of the burned Beguins, the record doesn't show any questioning related to specific performative features.³⁸⁹

In fact, the part of the *Practica* that deals with the Beguins of Languedoc is mostly devoted to their beliefs. As befits the changes in the inquisitorial approach to the problem of heresy that have been described in the previous chapter, Bernard Gui analysed in depth not only the practices and external signs of dissident groups but, most importantly, their doctrinal basis. He followed the same structure for the description of all dissident groups, but it is worth noting that the chapter on the beliefs sustained by Beguins is remarkably more extensive than those that catalogue the teachings of the so-called Cathars—which Gui dubs “modern Manicheans”—the Waldensians, and the Pseudo-apostles. In all likelihood the reason for this was that he felt compelled to record as much information as possible about what at the time was considered a new heretical movement. Furthermore, whereas the sections devoted to other groups label their doctrines as ‘errors’, the beliefs of the Beguins of Languedoc are headed by a much more harsh title, for Gui calls them “erroneous, or schismatic, or reckless, or false” articles.³⁹⁰

The Dominican inquisitor claimed that the tenets of the burned Beguins and Beguines were rooted in the writings of Peter of John Olivi, especially in his *Postilla super Apocalipsim*, which they had both in Latin and in its vernacular translation.³⁹¹ He also added other writings that according to him Beguins attributed to the Franciscan theologian, such as a treatise on poverty—*De paupertate*—another one on mendicancy—*De mendicitate*—and still another one

³⁸⁹ Bernard Peyrotas admitted to having celebrated services and even the Common of Martyrs in Narbonne in honour of the burned Beguins. He also implied that he was not the only one doing so, maybe alluding to Bernard Mauri; see Doat 28, fol. 25v: “cum esset in Narbona, officium suum diurnum et noturnum (sic.) quadam die dixit et officiavit de prædictis hæretici combustis et dicebat in reverentia ipsorum hereticorum officium de communi plurimorum martirum (...) et sciebat quemdam alium quem nominat similem commemorationem habere.” On Raimon de Johan celebrating mass and taking care of the *cura animarum* while he was a fugitive of the inquisitors, see Doat 27, fol. 36r–v: “missas quoque communiter celebravit et curam animarum in Gasconia.”

³⁹⁰ This extensive section, headed by the epigraph “Sequitur de articles erroneis aut scismaticis aut temerariis aut falsis,” can be found in Mollat, *Manuel de l'inquisiteur*, vol. 1, 118–56.

³⁹¹ Mollat, *Manuel de l'inquisiteur*, vol. 1, 110: “errores suos et opiniones hujusmodi pestíferas ipsi habuerunt et collegerum partim quidem ex libris seu opusculis fratris Petri Johannis Olivi (...) videlicet ex postilla ejusdem super Apocalipsim quam habent tam in latino quam etiam transpositam in vulgari.”

on dispensations—*De dispensationibus*—all of which they had translated too.³⁹² In this Gui was actually following the lead of the Franciscan inquisitor of Marseille, Michel le Moine, who had first blamed Olivian teachings for the heretical errors of the rebel friars that were summoned to Avignon back in 1317.³⁹³ Although this argument was undoubtedly supported by the depositions he himself extracted during his own period of activity as inquisitor.³⁹⁴

As will be shown in Subsection 3.4 below, the beliefs that circulated among the Beguin communities of Languedoc were indeed greatly influenced by the Olivian interpretation of both the Rule of St Francis and, particularly, of the upcoming time of tribulations that would mark the transition to the last age of the history of salvation. In addition, books were translated, read—both aloud and privately—passed around, kept, and hidden by Beguins and Beguines.³⁹⁵ Among these, Bernard Gui also listed legends of the saints, a book on vices and virtues, and the opusculum dedicated to the death of Olivi in Narbonne, which was already discussed in the previous section.³⁹⁶

To complete this outline of the characterisation of Beguin groups provided by the *Practica*, it is necessary to introduce the customs that developed around the execution of their members. Just as the general sermons served to further spread the beliefs of the accused, the final act of the sermon, that is, the execution itself, was seen by sympathising witnesses as an instance of martyrdom. Bernard Gui included the cult of relics of the burned Beguins as well as the production of a Beguin martyrology and litany among the beliefs that were to be searched for and persecuted.³⁹⁷

³⁹² Ibid.: “item ex aliquibus tractatibus quod ipsum fecisse Bequini dicunt et credunt, unum videlicet de paupertate et alium de mendicitate et quemdam alium de dispensationibus (...) que omnia habent in vulgari transposita.”

³⁹³ See note 347 above.

³⁹⁴ Mollat, *Manuel de l'inquisiteur*, vol. 1, 110: “Inventum est autem per inquisitionem legitimam ac per depositiones et confessiones plurium ex ipsis, receptas in iudicio, necnon per assertiones multorum ex ipsis, in quibus et pro quibus elegerunt mori potius et comburi quam ab eis requisite canonice resilire.”

³⁹⁵ Ibid., 114: “Et ibi legunt aut legi audiunt in vulgari de predictis libellis aut opusculis ex quibus suggunt venenum.”

³⁹⁶ Ibid.: “et de legendis sanctorum et de ‘Summa de vitiis et virtutibus’.” On the *Transitum sancti Patris*, see ibid., 190: “Notandum est autem incidenter in hoc loco quod Bequini et Bequine in conventiculis suis legunt aut faciunt legi et audiunt libenter et frequenter quemdam parvulum libellulum quem intulant *Transitum sancti Patris*”; see also note 314 above.

³⁹⁷ Mollat, *Manuel de l'inquisiteur*, vol. 1, 132: “Item, multi Bequini et Bequine ac etiam credentes ipsorum recollegerunt occulte ossa combusta et cineres predictorum combustorum qui fuerunt velut heretici condempnati ad conservandum sibi pro reliquiis, et tanquam reliquias sanctorum osculabantur et venerabantur, sicut aliorum sanctorum.” Ibid., 134: “Item, aliqui ex Bequinis scripserunt et notaverunt nomina predictorum condempnatorum et dies seu kalendas in quibus passi fuerunt sicut martires (...) et nomina eorum annotaverunt in suis kalendariis et in suis invocabant letaniis.”

In sum, Bernard Gui pioneered the description of the Beguins of Languedoc building not only on his own fieldwork experience but also on over half a century of inquisitorial procedure against two other very specific dissident groups, the *bons omes* and *bonas femnas* and the Waldensians. Imbued with an awareness of his own role in the proper classification and identification of this new heresy, he was quite exhaustive in the recording process of the trials against them and conveyed this practical knowledge in his manual, the *Practica*. However, as shown above, the comparison between Gui's work and the bulk of the extant testimonies of the community life of Beguins and Beguines reveals some inconsistencies. The sources analysed for the period between 1319 and 1334 allow the identification of over two hundred people who were brought before the inquisitors for questioning about their involvement in the so-called "heresy of the burned Beguins." Half of them ended their days at the stake, and the other half saw their lives changed forever. Subjected to the indignity of the stigma of heresy, they were marked, forced to pilgrimages and public penance, or sentenced to life imprisonment. In less than two decades the Beguin communities of Languedoc would disintegrate and disappear.

The following pages will delve into the different aspects that helped both define and support the spiritual network of these Beguins and Beguines of Languedoc. This will imply first and foremost a redefinition of the concept of community itself. As mentioned above, the approach of inquisitors was mostly binary as a result of the confrontation between orthodoxy and heresy that was at the basis of their office. However, whereas orthodoxy was mostly well defined and had a supporting body that backed it, religious dissidence was a much more fluid reality. The case with which this section started shows how widespread the features that characterised Beguins were still in the 1320s, which calls for a new kind of liminality that has the concept of community at its centre. On the one hand, the Beguins and Beguines who appeared defined as such in the inquisitorial records, some of which wore the habit and the hooded cloak that Gui presents as the characteristic Beguin attire, occupied a privileged position that was based on their spiritual charisma, in other words, they acted as the priestly elite of the movement. On the other hand, active Beguin sympathisers were not too far away from Beguins themselves. They engaged in the same practices, shared some of the same beliefs and travelled long distances for the same reasons, first visiting the tomb of their spiritual master Olivi to pay him homage, and later on to witness the acts of voluntary martyrdom that helped bound the network together. It is to the study of the relational patterns between ones and the others that I have devoted the following subsections.

3.3 Beguins in Numbers: The Quantitative Analysis

On 5 July 1322, in a general sermon held in Pamiers, an inhabitant of Belpech named Peire de Mazères was described as a Beguin minister and sentenced to life imprisonment.³⁹⁸ As was the case of the other Beguins questioned by Bernard Gui, Peire's *culpa* is recorded in detail in the inquisitor's *Book of sentences*.³⁹⁹ There, Peire confessed that he had been one of the several members of the group who concocted a pact while imprisoned at Les Allemans, near Pamiers.⁴⁰⁰ They were not to reveal any information to the inquisitors unless it was regarding matters of faith, and they were not to take an oath on any other subject either.⁴⁰¹ Peire's *culpa* seems to suggest that he remained mostly true to his word, for apart from exposing the plan itself and the general remark that he saw many Beguins and some apostates, the abridged record of his deposition is mainly focused on the doctrinal tenets maintained by Peire and others members of his community.⁴⁰² It could be argued that his position as 'minister' is what lies behind such a doctrinally loaded testimony, however, this feature is also shared by the rest of the *culpae* of the Beguins in the *Liber Sententiarum*.

Only a month later, on 4 August 1322, the blacksmith from Clermont-l'Hérault Bernard Durban—who also happened to be a Franciscan tertiary—confessed in Lodève before the Dominican inquisitors Jean de Beaune and Jean du Prat.⁴⁰³ His deposition seems to have been very different from Peire's, for Bernard wasn't apparently questioned about his beliefs but mostly on his participation in heterodox practices surrounding the cult of the burned Beguins.⁴⁰⁴

³⁹⁸ Pales-Gobilliard, *Le livre des sentences*, 1310: "Petrus de Maseriis alias cognominatus de *Na Bruna*, minister Beguinorum, habitator de Bellopodio dyocesis Mirapiscensis, Beguinus vel de terciā regula sancti Francisci." He was also known as Peire de Na Bruna and was jointly sentenced by Bernard Gui, Jean de Beaune, and the bishop of Pamiers, Jacques Fournier, according to the dispositions of the *Multorum querella* on the collaboration of inquisitors and bishops; see Doat 30, fols. 92r–132v.

³⁹⁹ For the *culpa* of Peire de Mazères, see Pales-Gobilliard, *Le livre des sentences*, 1310–14.

⁴⁰⁰ One of the first endeavours that Jacques Fournier undertook after being appointed bishop of Pamiers was the building of an inquisitorial gaol, a *mur*, adjoining the castle of Les Allemans; see Duvernoy, *Le registre d'inquisition*, 3–8; and Bueno, *Defining Heresy*, 74–76.

⁴⁰¹ Pales-Gobilliard, *Le livre des sentences*, 1314: "Item convenerunt in castro de Alamannis ipse et alii Beguini qui erant ibi capti, quod ipsi non tenebantur respondere nisi de fide et quod non tenebantur jurare nisi de fide, et hanc convencionem inter eos fecerunt, ne revelarent facta et dicta Beguinorum et alios Beguinos."

⁴⁰² Ibid.: "Plures Beguinos et duos apostatas de ordine Minorum de fratribus Spiritualibus, quos sciebat tenere dictos errores et alios quo tenent dicti Beguini, vidit."

⁴⁰³ As previously noted, for Bernard Durban's *culpa*, included in the record of the general sermon held in the graveyard of the parish church of Saint-André in Lodève on 3 July 1323, see Doat 28, fols. 11r–13r.

⁴⁰⁴ Bernard and many other Beguins of Lodève had already been arrested and questioned in 1320 by the officials of the bishop. Despite having abjured from all future involvement in heresy and contact with heretics, these men

Again, the case of Bernard is not an exception, for many of the deponents interrogated by these two inquisitors were mainly asked about the circulation of body parts and other relics clandestinely obtained at the site of the various executions.

In contrast, when Agnès Berenguer, a married woman from Montagnac, confessed in December 1325 before the also Dominican inquisitor Henri de Chamayou, she seems to have only been asked about the material support both Agnès and her husband Andreu provided for the fugitive Beguins and apostates after the inquisitorial persecution started.⁴⁰⁵ Andreu's *culpa*—which appears in the record just before that of his wife (Doat 27, fol. 11r–v)—also responds to the same line of questioning, as did several other depositions of suspects that were also interrogated by Chamayou.

The most straight forward conclusion that can be drawn from these cases is that the depositions—or at least their abridged versions—merely reflect the most important charges that justified the conviction of the accused. Thus, the different degrees and nature of the involvement of the deponents would be the cause for such remarkably different accounts. However, the fact that the examples previously described show some patterns that can be attributed to the different inquisitors in charge of the interrogations could also suggest that the main topics about which deponents were asked somehow depended on who was asking the questions. In other words, did each inquisitor centred the interrogation around some set of specific concerns? Or do the records show the actual outcome of the application of a common list of questions to all suspects?

This is not a trivial matter, on the contrary, it is central to both the representativeness of our sample and the determination of the impact of the inquisitorial bias on our results. The constraints characteristic of inquisitorial sources have already been amply discussed in Section 2.3 above; the fact that not all questions were recorded, and the fragmentary quality of evidence—simply due to differential preservation over time—admittedly limits the degree of completeness that we can expect from the networks reconstructed from the extant documents. However, were we to add inquisitorial partiality to this partialness of the sources, this would severely hinder the possibilities of reconstructing the topology of the spiritual network to which the deponents allegedly belonged. The resulting networks would still be valid reflections of a fraction of

and women were not treated as relapsers by the inquisitors that sentenced them between 1322 and 1323. This was probably due to doubts on the validity of said abjurations, which had not followed the formulas that can be found in inquisitorial manuals such as Gui's *Practica inquisitionis heretice pravitatis*. For a model of abjuration specifically designed for Beguins, see Mollat, *Manuel de l'inquisiteur*, vol. 2, 44–46.

⁴⁰⁵ The *culpa* of Agnès is recorded as part of the general sermon celebrated in Carcassonne on 11 November 1328; see Doat 27, fols. 11v–12v.

the connections established within these communities—at least to the best of inquisitorial knowledge—but they would appear far more compartmentalised and would certainly be lacking in multiplexity.

Another variable that needs to be taken into account in this regard is the ‘heretical sect’ to which the different suspects were ascribed; not just because the set of charges changes from one group to the other, but also because the perspective of the different inquisitors on the level of detail required in each case might be relevant. For instance, in the case of the Beguins of Languedoc, we could expect Bernard Gui to have a special interest in being thorough as far as beliefs go, given that he was the first to write a manual that included the specific tenets of this group. But, in fact, Jean du Prat and Jean de Beaune conducted their inquisitions on the Beguin movement around the same period, and Henri de Chamayou and Pierre Brun only a few years later, therefore contextual differences would not account for substantial discrepancies between inquisitorial records.⁴⁰⁶ In contrast, the same cannot be said in the case of more long-standing dissidences, such as ‘Catharism’ or Waldensianism for which the changes suffered by the inquisitorial process itself could also play a part in the different questioning patterns.

The quantitative analysis of the nature of the main charges included in the depositions of the men and women interrogated and sentenced by each inquisitorial court can shed some light on this issue. In line with the cases presented above, the depositions related to the Beguin communities of Languedoc are mainly concerned with three major issues: doctrinal content, heterodox practices surrounding the burned Beguins, and clandestine activities providing material support for the network. The graphs below (Figures 3.3.1, 3.3.2, and 3.3.3) chart the percentage of depositions containing relevant information on these three matters in the records of sentences pronounced by Bernard Gui, Jean du Prat and Jean de Beaune, and Henri de Chamayou and Pierre Brun.⁴⁰⁷

⁴⁰⁶ Although the inquisitorial activity of Bernard Gui spanned the period between 1307 and 1323 (see Subsection 2.3.2 above), the trials he conducted against the Beguins of Languedoc took place in 1322 and 1323. Jean de Beaune was also involved in some of these sentences and, furthermore, he was one of first inquisitors to prosecute this group, for the deposition of Bernard Mauri already states that Jean de Beaune sentenced him to wear crosses and other penances back in October 1319; see Doat 35, fol. 24v: “religioso viro fratre Johanne de Belna ordinis praedicatorum inquisitore quondam haeretica pravitatis de gente Carcassona sententialiter in dicto loco Narbona cruce signatus et aliis paenitentiis (sic).” Jean du Prat collaborated with Jean de Beaune at least until 1323 and also presided over sermons involving Beguins from 1324 to 1327. Henri de Chamayou and Peire Brun’s involvement in the trials against this group resulted in general sermons mostly held around the period 1327–1328, but of course these were the result of inquisitions conducted by them as early as in 1325.

⁴⁰⁷ The *culpae* analysed here appear in Bernard Gui’s *Liber Sententiarum*, Doat 27—for Henri de Chamayou and Pierre Brun—and Doat 28—for Jean de Beaune and Jean du Prat—therefore the quantitative study that follows also addresses the correlation between the three main sources for the relational analysis of the Beguins of Languedoc.

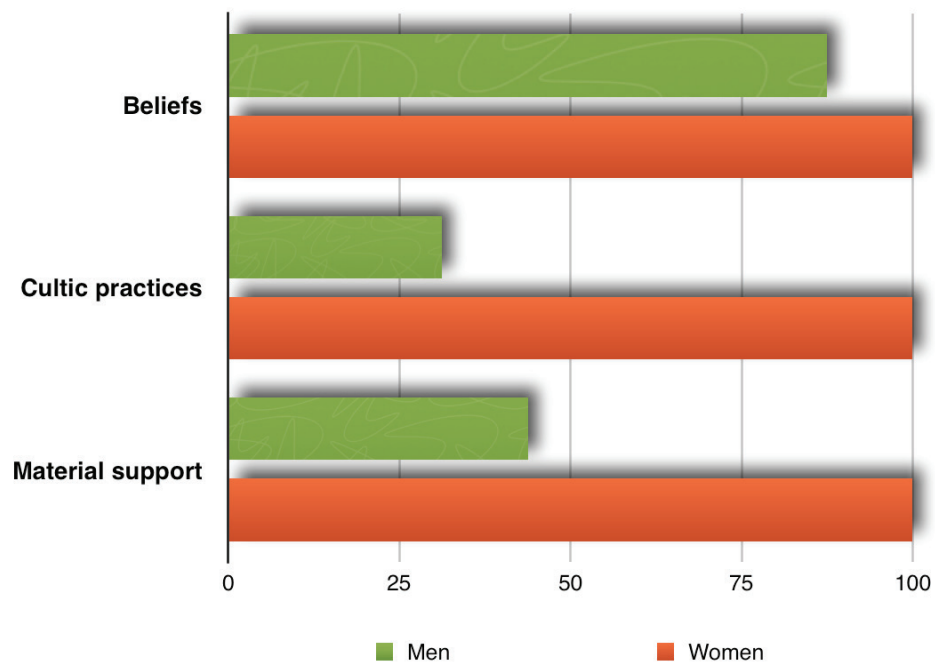


Figure 3.3.1. Content analysis of interrogations conducted by Bernard Gui

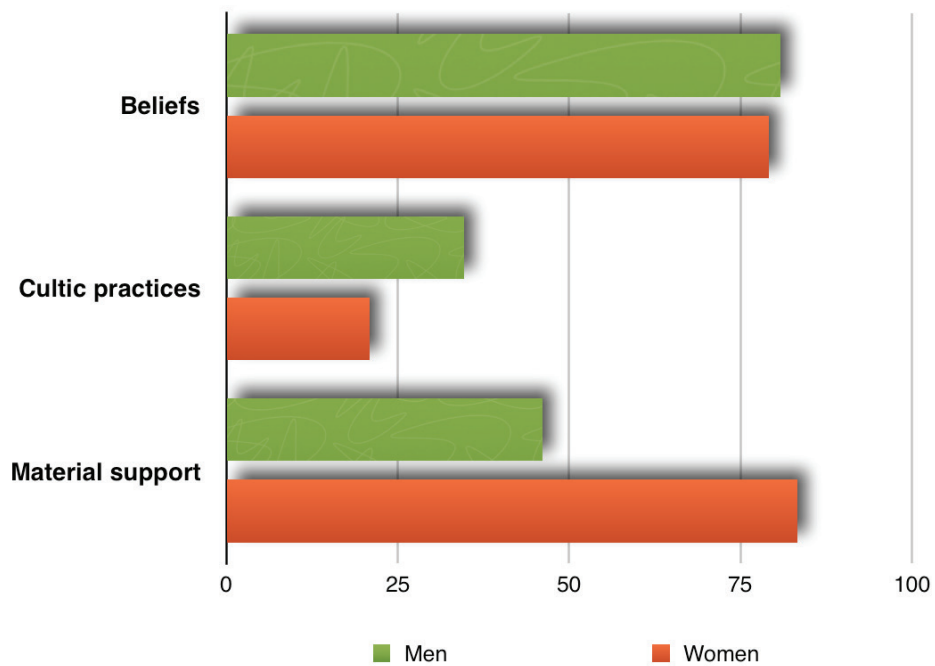


Figure 3.3.2. Content analysis of interrogations conducted by Jean de Beaune & Jean du Prat

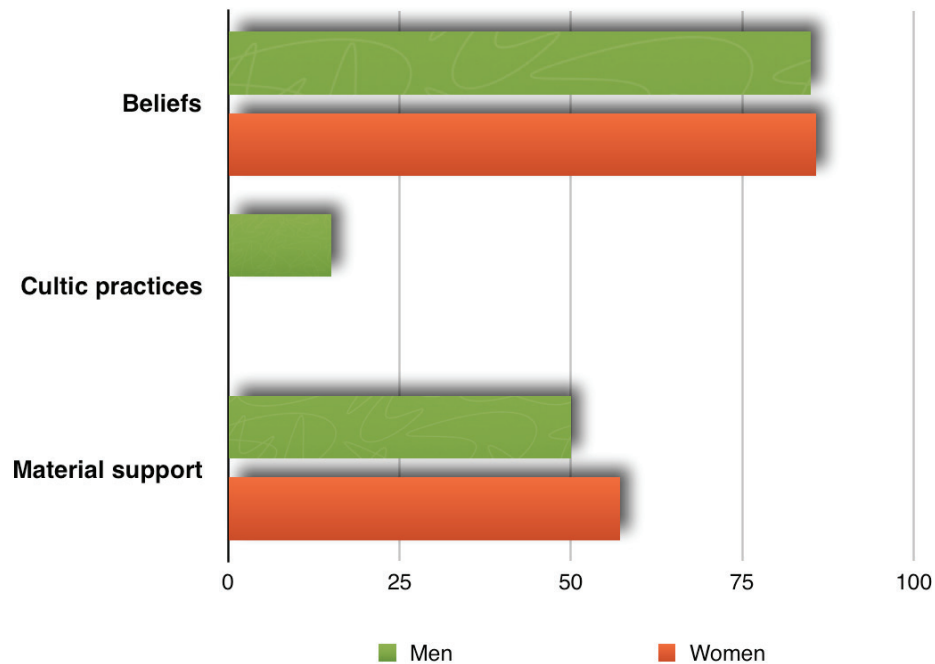


Figure 3.3.3. Content analysis of interrogations conducted by Henri de Chamayou & Pierre Brun

The results show that the questions related to the beliefs of the accused were a constant in the inquisitorial procedures conducted against the Beguins of Languedoc. Regardless of the inquisitor in charge of the interrogation, both men and women were asked about the doctrinal tenets they maintained, knew others to maintain or had simply heard about. In fact, it is clear that inquisitors made of this the central point of their questioning, for over 80% of the *culpae* provide information on this matter, and, as the charts show, this percentage also holds if we consider men and women separately. As far as gender goes, however, it should be noted that the statistical analysis of the cases in Bernard Gui's *Book of Sentences* are hardly relevant, since, as will be shown below, Gui only prosecuted two women in relation to this particular dissident group and the two of them were questioned quite thoroughly.

The questions regarding the material support provided by the accused to fugitives, imprisoned suspects, and in general, for the survival of the members of the group make up the second main theme in the analysed *culpae*. Again, the proportion is fairly constant across the different inquisitorial sources considered; whereas 40 to 50% of the men confessed to being involved in such practices, women seem to be well above this percentage, with 60 to 80% of them providing information on this issue—that is, leaving aside the women in Gui's sentences, both of which were questioned about their material involvement too.

Finally, the greatest discrepancy between inquisitors appears in the cultic practices related to the Beguins and Beguines executed at the stake. As the charts show, whereas the inquisitions conducted by Bernard Gui on the one hand, and Jean de Beaune and Jean du Prat on the other revealed a similar number of individuals exchanging relics, attending executions, and actively engaging in the cult of the burned Beguins, the *culpae* in the sentences of Henri de Chamayou and Pierre Brun are conspicuously different in this regard. None of the women interrogated by these inquisitors—as far as the extant sources show—provided information on this topic, and only three of the men had something to say on the matter. Given that two of these men were in fact testifying against the notary Raimon Berlet as part of the conspiracy described at the beginning of the previous section, it is clear that this point needs further consideration. Does it reveal the presence of a sort of inquisitorial bias? In other words, were Chamayou and Brun not so interested in the traffic of relics and the heterodox devotional practices that developed around the Beguin martyrs?

Besides the fact that it is hard to imagine inquisitors turning a blind eye on such profoundly subversive activities, some of the depositions suggest that this was not the case. On the one hand, this apparent difference could be attributed to the fact that Doat 27, our main source for the study of the sentences imposed by Henri de Chamayou and Pierre Brun, comprises the testimonies given against two major figures, that is, Na Prous Boneta and Raimon de Johan.⁴⁰⁸ Thus, it could be argued that a main concern there was to build strong cases against them, and indeed the information provided by the witnesses attests to this goal. However, those same witnesses were obviously suspects of involvement themselves, and were amply questioned not only on their relation with Na Prous and Raimon de Johan but also on their beliefs and practices outside the circle of these two influential characters. Therefore, the question on why cultic practices are so scarce in Doat 27 remains open.

On the other hand, the conspiracy against Berlet was mostly centred around Berlet's alleged worship of the remains of a burned Beguin, which appeared front and centre in the letter that was precisely addressed to Henri de Chamayou. As noted in the previous section, the letter was the result of a well-thought plan that put a lot of attention to detail and thus it seems highly unlikely that it would have focused so much on an issue of little importance.⁴⁰⁹ This case alone

⁴⁰⁸ See Doat 27, fols. 51r-79v for the deposition of Na Prous Boneta, and Doat 27, fols. 35r-42r for the deposition of Raimon de Johan.

⁴⁰⁹ Although the *culpae* of two of the conspirators, Bernard Pastor, who delivered the incriminating letter, and Guilhem Mascon, the apothecary of Pézenas, show how both of them tried to dodge the blame by exchanging accusations during the inquisition, they also recount how the letter was first written in the vernacular and then translated into Latin by master Guilhem Lombard and a certain Peire, who was the cleric of the notary Arnau Vascon. See Doat 27, fol. 206r-v: "recognovit se fecisse fieri et dictari eandam per magistrum Guillelmum Lombardi

would question an alleged lack of interest on the part of the inquisitor, but furthermore, the *culpa* of Johan Roger, a priest from Auriac who held a benefice in the cathedral of Béziers and was sentenced as late as June 1329 by the same Henri de Chamayou, stated that Roger had refused to receive the bones and ashes of the burned Beguins that another priest had offered him.⁴¹⁰ Whether Roger was telling the truth or trying to play down the importance of his own involvement, he seems to have been asked about this issue, which would again suggest that the lack of information on cultic practices in the inquisitions conducted by Chamayou and Brun was not due to an inquisitorial bias, but rather to a differential feature of the accused that these inquisitors brought to trial.

Much in line with Johan Roger's example, other depositions across the records suggest that Beguins were thoroughly questioned according to pre-established formulas that were mostly the same for the whole group of suspects.⁴¹¹ As noted above, Gui's manual advised not to record the entirety of the interrogation but only its most relevant parts, and thus, even in the case of full registers, where the depositions were recorded in much more detail than in books of sentences, it is not that different inquisitors posed different questions but that the deponents provided

clericum et procuratorem, Pedenacii habitatorem, et scribi per Petrum clericum magistri Arnaudi Vasconis, notarii dictii loci ad instantiam et instructionem Guillelmi Masconis, de Pedenacio apotecarii"; *ibid.*, fol. 210r: "in dicta cedula per ipsum Bernardum Pastoris ut praemittitur reddita et tradita manu propria primitus scripsit in vulgari et postmodum per ipsum magistrum Guillelmum Lombardi et clericum Arnaudi Vasconis praedictos una cum Bernardo Pastoris dictari et scribi procuravit." Apparently, Lombard even advised them to change the original phrasing to make it more convincing. Thus, although Bernard had first written that Berlet had wrapped up the relics in a white or green sendal cloth (a sort of fine linen), Lombard suggested to simply change it to a sendal cloth, for its colour would be difficult to distinguish in the dark, where the action had allegedly taken place. See *ibid.*, fol. 210v: "Item in ipso modo fabricandi et se invicem subornandi dicunt ambo quod cum dicerent se deposituros in testimoniis suis quod viderint dictum Raymundum Berleti recipientem ossa dictorum combustorum begguinorum et ponentem ea in uno panno albo vel cendato, dictus magister Guillelmus Lombardi dixit, 'Non ponatis nec dicatis quod poneret ea in panno albo vel cendato viridi, sed in cendato simpliciter nec de hora suspecta vel de nocte, quia totum esset suspectum, cum de nocte non posset discerni an esset pannus albus vel cendatum viride'."

⁴¹⁰ Johan Roger who, according to his *culpa* was deeply involved in the workings of the Beguin community of Béziers, claimed that the priest Raimon Amalfred offered to give him bones and ashes of the burned Beguins, which scandalised him to the point that he called Amalfred a foolish and demented man; see Doat 27, fol. 173v: "Item confessus fuisti quod videtur tibi quod R. Amalfredi presbiter loquens tecum dixit quaedam verba quae quasi videbantur sonare quod libenter tibi de ossibus seu cineribus dictorum condempnatorum et combustorum traderet si recipere velles, propter quae tu dixisti ipsi presbitero quod reputabas eum fatuum et dementem." In June 1329, Johan Roger was fined, sentenced to fasting, and forced to exchange his benefice in the cathedral for another one in another diocese (Doat 27, fols. 175v–177v). This relative leniency was probably due to the fact that he was actually one of the few who came forward voluntarily.

⁴¹¹ Some of the essential questions of inquisitorial interrogations had already been set down in the mid-thirteenth-century *Ordo processus Narbonensis*; see Tardif, "Document pour l'histoire du *processus*," 672. In the case of the Beguins of Languedoc, Bernard Gui devoted part of his *Practica* to specify the proper way of questioning them; see "Sequitur de modo examinandi et interrogandi Bequinos (sic.) predictos" in Mollat, *Manuel de l'inquisiteur*, vol. 1, 154–74.

different answers to them.⁴¹² The negative answers that sometimes make their way into the *culpae* help further sustain the point that the contents of the depositions only convey the proven charges against the deponents, which would later serve as basis for an eventual conviction. Thus, for instance, in October 1325 and October 1326, Amoda Sepian, a Franciscan tertiary from Limoux, declared that she had never possessed nor seen bones or relics of the burned Beguins, but nevertheless admitted that, had someone offered, she would have accepted them as relics of holy martyrs.⁴¹³ Amoda had moved to Narbonne to visit Olivi's tomb and then stayed in the city embracing a life of voluntary poverty and mendicancy. This alone would have been enough to make her a person of interest for inquisitors, for placing mendicancy above manual labour was in fact one of the doctrinal points attributed to Olivi about which Beguins and their sympathisers were systematically questioned.⁴¹⁴ However, according to the aforementioned pattern, she was also interrogated about her connections in the Beguin community of Narbonne, the material support she had provided for them, her beliefs, and her involvement with the cult of the Beguin martyrs, which as shown above, she denied, if only in part.⁴¹⁵

Sometimes, claims of innocence or ignorance were also recorded, especially when there were witnesses available whose testimonies disproved the confession of the accused, as was the case of Peire Massot, a harness maker from Béziers. Peire's involvement in the Beguin movement of Languedoc was clearly established in his confession before Henri de Chamayou and Pierre Brun in November 1325. Not only had he helped support the dissident network, but he had also shared frequent meals with some of its most renowned figures, kept their books safe, and, in sum, been an active member himself since before the inquisitorial persecution started.⁴¹⁶ Despite the solid case against him, Peire was still questioned about his beliefs, and even if he

⁴¹² See note homogeneity??.

⁴¹³ Doat 28, fol. 239r: "Item licet dicat se nunquam habuisse, tenuisse, nec vidisse de ossibus et reliquiis dictorum combustorum, tamen recognoscit quod si aliqua persona sibi apportasset et dedisset de dictis ossibus et reliquiis quod bene recepisset et retinisset eas tanquam reliquias sanctorum martirum."

⁴¹⁴ See, among others, the *culpa* of Raimon de Bosch, a tertiary from Belpech who admitted before Bernard Gui that "mendicancy is more perfect than manual labour, for it allows contemplation", Pales-Gobilliard, *Le livre des sentences*, 1308: "Item credidit quod perfeccius erat quod homo viveret de mendicitate quem de labore manuum, quia plus poterat vacare contemplacioni sic vivendo." Furthermore, Bernard Gui also included this issue among the questions that inquisitors needed to ask Beguins, see Mollat, *Manuel de l'inquisiteur*, vol. 1, 164–66: "Item si audivit dici inter Bequinos (sic.) quod majoris perfectionis sit ipsis Bequinis vivere mendicando seu de mendicitate quam laborando seu de labore manuum suarum."

⁴¹⁵ For the full *culpa* of Amoda Sepian, see Doat 28, fols. 237r–240r.

⁴¹⁶ Peire Massot's *culpa* is recorded in Doat 27, fols. 12v–14r. According to his confession, Peire's connections with the Beguins of Languedoc can be traced back at least to his visit to Olivi's tomb in Narbonne, which had to take place before the *terminus ante quem* of the tomb's destruction, at some point in 1318.

claimed not to maintain any of the “articles of the Beguins,” this piece of information, which was countered by testimonies against him, was considered relevant enough to be recorded.⁴¹⁷ In this particular case, the negative answer, once proven false, only added to the charges.

Furthermore, the forced nature of the vast majority of the testimonies made it necessary for inquisitors to be thorough. Suspects were not likely to reveal any information they were not explicitly asked about, and choosing to question them only on certain topics may well leave them room to conceal or play down their degree of implication. Deponents were well aware of this circumstance and sometimes tried to hide behind allegedly vague interrogations to justify previous incomplete confessions and avoid—often successfully—being charged as relapsers. Maria de Rundaria, a tertiary who lived in Narbonne, admitted in her deposition before Jean du Prat in September 1325 that she had assisted the Beguins imprisoned in the archiepiscopal gaol who were later burned as heretics, that she had sheltered fugitives, and also maintained their beliefs for quite some time.⁴¹⁸ However, before that, Maria had apparently been questioned by the archiepiscopal inquisitor to no avail, for she had not revealed the nature of her involvement. When asked about her motives for concealing the truth on that occasion she promptly argued that she did not confess because she had not been asked about “all such things.”⁴¹⁹ Maria was sentenced to prison in March 1327, a sentence that would later be commuted to wearing double yellow crosses on her clothes.

Despite the formulaic nature of the inquisitorial interrogation of the Beguins of Languedoc, inquisitors still had—and exercised—full control over the questions they asked, which allowed them to improvise when needed. For instance, the *culpa* of the Beguin Peire Guiraud, included in the records of the general sermon held in Toulouse on 12 September 1322—at the end of which he was burned as an unrepentant heretic—suggests that Bernard Gui interrogated him in a fairly standard manner.⁴²⁰ In fact, Gui followed almost to the letter the question list that he would later set down in his *Practica* for the interrogation of Beguins. However, when Peire defended Olivi’s sanctity, Gui followed up on that answer and asked him whether he believed in the holy status of Saint Louis of Toulouse, who had been recently canonised by Pope John XXII.⁴²¹ Peire’s answer was quite ambiguous, for although he claimed to comply with the

⁴¹⁷ Doat 27, fol. 13v: “(...) interrogatus super articulis Beguinorum omnia denegavit (...) accusatur tamen per alios testes.”

⁴¹⁸ The *culpa* of Maria de Rundaria can be found in Doat 28, fols. 203v–205r.

⁴¹⁹ Doat 28, fol. 205r: “Item dixit quod confessa fuit dudum in curia domini archiepiscopi Narbonensis, sed non tunc confessa fuit de omnibus supradictis, quia tunc non fuit de praedictis omnibus interrogata.”

⁴²⁰ For the *culpa* of Peire Guiraud, see Pales-Gobilliard, *Le livre des sentences*, 1620–24.

⁴²¹ Louis of Anjou was the only member of the Franciscan Order canonised during the papacy of John XXII. He

precepts of the “Church of God” on this matter, it was his definition of said “Church of God” that was controversial in the first place.⁴²² At any rate, although Peire Guiraud was not the only deponent to mention Olivi’s sanctity or the Beguin concept of the Church of God—which will be discussed in the following section—his is the only extant *culpa* that records a question about Saint Louis, a question which Gui did not include in his manual.

The quantitative analysis of the extant inquisitorial sources of the proceedings against the Beguins of Languedoc therefore evinces that their interrogations mostly followed a well-established pattern that touched on the different ways in which the members of this group were suspected of straying from orthodoxy. This included not only their doctrinal tenets but also their actions in support of the movement, and their devotional practices. Nevertheless, this general homogeneity was obviously nuanced by each inquisitor’s experience, personality, and most importantly, by the available information on each deponent. This information could come, as shown above, from the testimonies of other deponents and witnesses, but also from the contradictions and sometimes untenable allegations of the accused. Thus, when the priest Peire de Tornamira declared in his deathbed confession that his faith in the beliefs of the Beguins had often wavered, especially when he learned that many reputable religious men condemned them, even the notary who was recording his final words questioned the truth of said statement. He argued that Peire had spent too much time among Beguins and apostates without denouncing them for such a wavering faith.⁴²³ However, the fact that inquisitors—and their subordinates—

was raised to the altars as Saint Louis of Toulouse on 7 April 1317 and during his short life maintained a close relationship not only with the Spiritual branch of the Order but also with Olivi himself. For a comparison between the figures of Louis and Olivi, later constructed as two opposing models of Franciscan sanctity, see Holly J. Grieco, “The Boy Bishop and the ‘Uncanonized Saint’: St. Louis of Anjou and Peter of John Olivi as Models of Franciscan Spirituality in the Fourteenth Century,” *Franciscan Studies* 70 (2012): 247–82. For an analysis of his canonisation proceedings against the backdrop of John XXII’s stance on Franciscan poverty, see Melanie Brunner, “Poverty and Charity: Pope John XXII and the Canonization of Louis of Anjou,” *Franciscan Studies* 69 (2011): 231–56. Finally, for a more recent and general approach to the figure of Saint Louis of Toulouse, see Holly J. Grieco, “‘In Some Way Even More than Before’: Approaches to Understanding St. Louis of Anjou, Franciscan Bishop of Toulouse,” in *Center and Periphery: Studies on Power in the Medieval World in Honor of William Chester Jordan*, ed. Katherine Ludwig Jansen, Guy Geltner, and Anne Elisabeth Lester (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 135–56.

⁴²² Pales-Gobilliard, *Le livre des sentences*, 1624: “Item predictum fratrem Petrum Johannis credit et asserit firmiter se credere esse sanctum, quamvis non canonizatus, et interrogatus de sancto Ludovico confessore canonizato per ecclesiam si reputat eum sanctum, noluit hoc simpliciter confiteri, set dixit quod de hoc credebat sicut ecclesia Dei, intelligent ecclesiam Dei esset sicut exposuit supra.”

⁴²³ See Doat 35, fols. 16r: “(...)dictum magister Mennetus dixit illi homini quod non erat virisimile nec credendum quod cum ipse homo tantum conversatus fuisset cum apostatis et beguinis et eorum opiniones et errores audivisset quin credidisset eis, quia eos non revelaverat nec accusaverat quod facere debuisset nisi credidisset.” The previous quotation is extracted from the records of the investigation opened after the death of Peire de Tornamira in prison. The witness is a Dominican friar who testifies on the last moments of a dying man, Peire de Tornamira, whom he did not know by name, hence the expressions “illi homini” and “ipse homo.”

intervened in the proceedings making use of their prerogatives to conduct the inquisition as they saw fit does not imply that they were partial to one specific issue and overlooked other transgressions. This is in turn central to the question of the representativeness of the sample posed above. Since the inquisitorial bias was not so much a bias in the specific content of the questions asked as a certain flexibility in the manner of asking them, it stands to reason that, to some extent, the answers of the deponents reflect the specific charges brought against them. In other words, the men and women summoned before the inquisitorial court for their involvement in the Beguin movement were exhaustively questioned about all the transgressions usually attributed to their group, and not just about some of them. Thus, the answers they provided—once the caveats discussed in previous sections are taken into account—can be used to provide a reliable picture of the workings of their communities, however incomplete such a picture may be.

The extant records of the proceedings against the Beguins of Languedoc include the depositions of ninety-five men and women suspected of involvement in the so-called “heresy of the burned Beguins.” This figure includes: (1) the *culpae* recorded in Bernard Gui’s *Liber Sententiarum* as part of the records of the general sermons he held in July and September 1322; (2) the *culpae* corresponding to general sermons held between July 1323 and September 1329 that were presided over by the inquisitors Jean de Beaune, Jean du Prat, Pierre Brun, and Henri de Chamayou and are extant in Doat 27 and 28; (3) the proceedings against Bernard Mauri, held between May and November 1326 by Guillaume d’Astres and recorded in Doat 35; and finally, (4) the proceedings against Peire de Tornamira, originally carried out by Jean du Prat, partly recorded in Doat 34, and copied in full in December 1357 on occasion of the enquiry into Peire’s death in prison.⁴²⁴ These ninety-five depositions correspond to the testimonies that the accused gave in the first person between 1320 and July 1329 before the aforementioned Dominican inquisitors, and Figure 3.3.4 below shows the number of actors of the Beguin network documented in each of these sources.⁴²⁵

⁴²⁴ An edition of the full 1357 copy of the proceedings can be found in Germain, “Une consultation inquisitoriale.”

⁴²⁵ Unlike other inquisitorial records, books of sentences, which are the main source for the study of the Beguin communities of Languedoc, do not provide the names nor specify the charges brought up by the testimonies of witnesses. The only exception to this norm in this particular dataset is the case of Peire de Tornamira in whose records we can find the specific charges endorsed by different witnesses, if not the witness behind them. See *ibid.*, 334: “Item, dictus testis in dicta sua confessione asserit et confitetur, quod dictus Petrus presbiter est de credentia dictorum Beguinorum.”

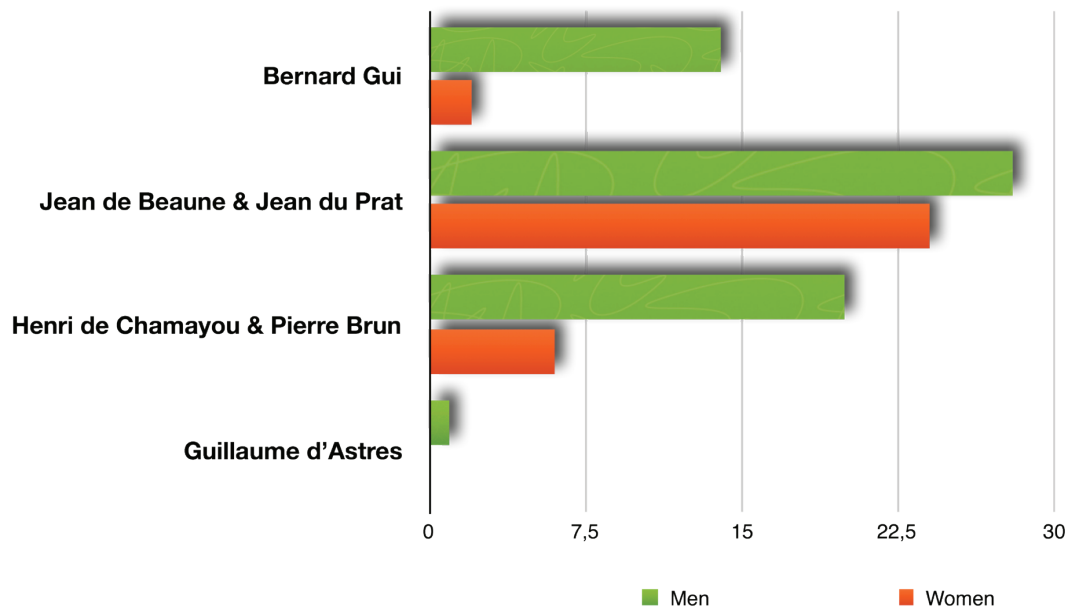


Figure 3.3.4. Distribution of deponents by inquisitor

However, the relational nature of inquisitorial sources makes it possible to identify a much larger number of individuals that were somehow connected to this movement. The fact that deponents were not only questioned about their own deeds but were also demanded to provide information about others allows the inclusion of men and women who either managed to avoid inquisitorial prosecution or whose depositions and sentences are now lost. This is particularly remarkable when the register is still extant, for it preserves a much more detailed version of the answers provided by the accused throughout the proceedings carried out against him or her than the abridged versions contained in the books of sentences. For instance, the successive interrogations underwent by the priest Bernard Mauri reveal the names of as many as eleven men and eight women who also belonged to the Beguin network and about whom only a few other mentions have survived.⁴²⁶ The same can be said about the deposition of Peire de Tornamira, who mentioned fifteen people, eleven of whom—nine men and two women—are mostly documented thanks to his testimony.⁴²⁷

⁴²⁶ Doat 35, fols. 21r–47r. As noted in the previous section, the thorough questioning of Bernard Mauri is especially helpful for reconstructing the clandestine Beguin network that settled on the eastern side of the Rhône trying to avoid inquisitorial prosecution.

⁴²⁷ The case against Peire de Tornamira provides great insight into the early stages of the Beguin community in the area of Montpellier before the election of Pope John XXII. Among other details, it mentions the involvement, back in 1316, of Felip of Majorca, the future regent of the kingdom of Majorca; see Germain, “Une consultation inquisitoriale”, 336: “dixit et confessus fuit, quod ipse habuit notitiam et familiaritatem quorumdam beguinorum de tertio ordine Beati Francisci, et specialiter unius eorum, qui vocabatur Johannes Martini, pro eo quod, novem anni vel decem sunt transacti, ipso morante in domo domini Philippi de Majoricis in Montepessullano (...) et

Abridged depositions are also a source of relational information capable of revealing the names of individuals about whom there are no other extant sources. Such is the case of Deodat Bosch, a man from Béziers who was involved in the exchange of relics but whose existence is only known to us through the deposition of the priest Bernard Peyrotas.⁴²⁸ The same happens with another member of Deodat's circle, Elias Elias, a glassmaker from Béziers who apparently died at the stake but whose only traces in the documentation are the depositions of the same Bernard Peyrotas, the merchant Berenguer Jaoul, and the innkeeper Raimon Boer.⁴²⁹ Sometimes the mentions are not so clear-cut and the relational analysis of the records needs to be combined with other sources in order to put a name to the people left out by the formulaic nature of the *culpae*. Thus, when Berengaria Donas confessed in October 1325 that she had heard that John XXII "persecuted the poor friends of Christ" from a group of three Beguines that were burned in Narbonne, it is the Beguin martyrology that helps us identify those three women as Bermonda de Saint-Geniès, her sister Elisabet, and Sicarda de Corbières.⁴³⁰

In some other cases though, no extant source provides enough information as to properly identify someone by name. If that person is simply referred to as a "certain woman" or a "certain man" it is not possible to include them as actors in the spiritual network without risking duplicating the presence of someone who is already accounted for, which would lead to an artificial overestimation of the size of the network. However, on other occasions, there are individuals who, despite remaining anonymous, can certainly be identified if not by name, at least thanks to family relations or to specific circumstances. For instance, Alaraxis Biasse, Olivi's own niece, was a key player in the network supporting fugitive Franciscans and Beguins once the persecution started. She hid them in her attic, made them new clothes so they could travel in disguise, and set them on an escape route across the Mediterranean. But Alaraxis did not live by herself, she shared a house in the village of Sauvian with her mother.

ipse Johannes Martini visitabat aliquando dictum dominum Philippum." Felip's radical views on poverty would prompt him to successively reject the positions of archbishop of Tarragona and bishop of Mirepoix in 1316 and 1317, respectively.

⁴²⁸ Doat 28, fol. 24r: "(...) et venerunt Bitterrim in crastino dicta executionis et in domo Bernardi Bosc invenerunt Deodatum filium eius et Johannem Conill et Helionem Helyonis, verrerium, et quosdam alios quos nominat et comederunt ibidem." Deodat's father would be burned as a heretic in the general sermon held in Carcassonne on 24 April 1323. This case will be further discussed in Section 3.6.

⁴²⁹ See previous note for Bernard Peyrotas's mention of Elias; see Doat 28, fol. 20r for his appearance in Berenguer Jaoul's deposition; and Doat 27, fol. 200v for Raimon Boer's endorsement of Elias, which actually cost Boer his summoning before the inquisitor.

⁴³⁰ Doat 28, fol. 221v: "Item a tribus Begguinabus quæ combustæ fuerunt in Narbona (...) audivit quod dominus Johannes Papa persequeretur pauperes amicos Christi." The names of these three Beguines, burned in Narbonne on 28 February 1322, are listed in MS 1006, Wolfenbüttel Herzog-August-Bibliothek, lines 37–39; see Burnham, *So great a light*, 191.

The name of Alaraxis's mother does not appear in the records, but it is clear that she had to be well aware of the clandestine activities her daughter engaged in, and, in all likelihood, she was an active participant herself. Proof of this is the episode in which two men arrived at their door asking about the fugitives and claiming that they were there to help them escape. Since Alaraxis didn't know them, she travelled all the way to Narbonne to get information about them and make sure that it was safe to reveal the presence of the friars who were hiding in the attic, but meanwhile, although the record doesn't say it, it was her mother who stayed in Sauvian and made sure the friars were attended to and remained hidden.⁴³¹ Thus, in my approach, Alaraxis's mother and other unnamed individuals who played an active role in the Beguin network have been considered as actors in their own right. Among many other examples, I have also included as an actor of the Beguin network the mother of the candlemaker Guilhem Verrier, who was well aware of the activities of her son, was sent clandestine supplies for him when he could not be reached, and interceded on his behalf—as any mother would.⁴³² This is also the case of the wife of the draper Johan Orlach, who was allegedly behind his first contact with the Beguin community of Montpellier.⁴³³ The same also applies to individuals that can be clearly identified by other means, as the Beguine who lived in Avignon near the Carmelite convent of the city with two other companions, Alasaicia and Jacma. She appears in the deposition of Bernard Mauri, who knew the other two but could not recall her name.⁴³⁴

As noted in the previous sections, the Beguin movement of Languedoc was inextricably linked to the development and expectations of the Spiritual branch of the Franciscan Order. References to unnamed friars are frequent in the depositions, dating both from the periods before and after Olivian spirituality was forced into clandestinity. In particular, many Spiritual

⁴³¹ The deposition of Alaraxis is extant in Doat 28, fols. 216v–219v.

⁴³² She appears in the deposition of the weaver Peire Esperendiu, see Doat 28, fol. 252r: “(...) et fardello prædictis quos ipse loquens statim per unum puerum transmisit matri dicti Guillermi Verrerii sicut dixit, quæ mater in crastinum rogavit ipsum quod non divulgaret filium suum.”

⁴³³ Of course Johan could have been lying when he blamed his initial implication on his wife, but since the rest of his deposition is quite self-incriminatory there is no reason to doubt his words in this regard more than in any other. However, no extant evidence suggests that Orlach's wife was ever prosecuted, which probably means that in the absence of further proof inquisitors did not think much of her early participation in the movement nor of the information she could provide; see Doat 27, fol. 24v: “(...) novem anni sunt complecti instructus per uxorem suam quosdam Beguinos habitatores tunc in Montepessulano visitavit, et ex tunc eorum notitiam et familiaritatem habuit.”

⁴³⁴ Doat 35, fol. 29r: “(...) ipse ivit ad dictum locum ad visitandum tres mulieres de partibus ultra Rodanis et ad domum earum declinaverunt quæ morabantur prope monasterium Carmelitarum de Avinione in quodam vico sive traversa. Interrogatus de nominibus dictarum mulierum dixit quod una earum vocabatur Alasaicia, cuius cognomen ignorat ut dicit et erat de Narbona, alia vero Jacoba vocabatur cuius etiam cognomen ignorat, sed erat secundum linguam sive dioma (sic.) de Cathalonia, nomen vero tertiæ et cognomen ut dicit totaliter ignorat.”

friars from the convents of Béziers and Narbonne had several connections among the laity that supported their claims, to the point that some even accompanied them on their ill-fated way to Avignon after they were summoned by the Pope.⁴³⁵ Although in some cases these Franciscans are mentioned by name, it is not always possible to identify the “apostate” or “fugitive” friars mentioned in the records.⁴³⁶ In order to complete the relational information on Franciscan involvement in the Beguin network I have also added the information provided by two other documents to the list of actors: (1) the bull issued by John XXII in which he summoned the sixty-one rebel friars of Narbonne and Béziers to the papal court in Avignon;⁴³⁷ and (2) the twenty-six names listed in the letter John XXII sent to the inquisitor Michel le Moine on 6 November 1317 ordering him to examine them on their acceptance of papal authority.⁴³⁸

Finally, I have also considered as actors of the Beguin network those individuals whose depositions suggest that they at least shared in some of the features defining the religious culture of Beguin communities. This does not mean that said individuals were closely related to the workings of said communities, nor that they saw themselves or were seen by others as active members. Nonetheless, their testimonies reveal the presence of beliefs, practices, and expressions even among the outliers of the religious movement and as such provide precious information about the spread of religious culture.

Thus, in the case of the conspiracy against the notary Raimon Berlet presented in the previous section, it is quite clear that the notary had little to do with Beguin beliefs and practices. However, as shown above, the conspirators themselves displayed remarkable knowledge of the doings of the members of the community and can therefore be at least considered as actors in the network of Beguin religious culture.⁴³⁹ Likewise, in January 1323, Guilhem Sacourt, a layman

⁴³⁵ For instance, the weaver Peire Esperendiu followed the friars for eight days and gave one of them money; Doat 28, fol. 251r: “Item quando fratres citati fuerunt ad curiam romanam post per octo dies sequitus fuit eos, et uni de dictis fratribus citatis misit unum florenum.” The tailor Blas Boer accompanied them to Avignon, helped them along the way, and witnessed their whole ordeal; Doat 27, fol. 85r: “eosque secutus fuit ad romanam curia ut videret finem aliquibusque ipsorum pecuniam obtulit et uni bracas emit et viso quod remissi fuerant ad obedientiam suorum superiorum.”

⁴³⁶ The friar Raimon de Johan is actually one of the most renowned actors of the Beguin network, but there are others who are particularly revered, such as the four Franciscans who were burned in Marseille in 1318, and other friars who also died at the stake in the following years; for example, Jacme de Riu, a Franciscan from Narbonne burned in Capestang on 25 May 1320.

⁴³⁷ Eubel, ed., *Bullarium Franciscanum*, vol. 5, 118–20.

⁴³⁸ Doat 34, fols. 143r–146v.

⁴³⁹ Incidentally, the deposition of one of the conspirators, Raimon Caplieu, reveals the likely implication of his maternal uncle, a certain Pons Montreal, in the Beguin movement. Apparently, the notary Berlet had denounced said Pons for sheltering apostate Franciscans; see Doat 27, fol. 215v: “Item recognovit se habere tunc malam

from Bize-Minervois, claimed that marriage was nothing but a private brothel when several people rebuked him for hitting his wife. This line of reasoning, which Guilhem's brother, the cleric Raimon Sacourt, also defended brought both brothers before the inquisitors, for it was one of the heretical beliefs traditionally attributed to Olivian doctrine.⁴⁴⁰ The Sacourt brothers were neither labelled as Beguins nor considered members of the community, and they probably did not think of themselves in such terms either, but it is undeniable that they had been exposed to at least some of the doctrinal tenets that circulated among the Beguins of Languedoc, even if they distorted them for their own purposes.⁴⁴¹ It is their contact with the somewhat adulterated beliefs in circulation among these communities that again grants them a place as actors in this network of religious culture. In contrast, I have not included as actors individuals who happened to be sentenced in general sermons where most convictions were connected with the "heresy of the burned Beguins" but whose charges are impossible to single out. The evidence to do so is sparse and easy to counter when compared with sermons in which the accused were convicted for their involvement in distinctly independent religious movements.⁴⁴²

Bearing in mind all of the above, the relational analysis of the available sources has allowed me to expand the initial group of ninety-five deponents to a Beguin network formed by 285 actors, over a fifth of which were women. However, this ratio (Figure 3.3.5) has been calculated considering the network in full, which, given the outstanding presence of Franciscans in the sources, somewhat biases the results. In contrast, Figure 3.3.6 shows the gender composition of the network once the members of both the Franciscan Order and the secular clergy have been removed. Thus, leaving aside the groups exclusive to men, approximately one third of the actors of the Beguin network were women. This is of course a simple statistical calculation based on the extant sources, but still holds significance and, more importantly, evinces the need to look into more qualitative factors in order to understand the role played by women inside the movement and to gauge the importance of said role at different levels.

voluntatem erga dictum Raimundum Berleti pro eo quod dicebatur quod ipse Raimundus faciebat fieri informationem contra Pontium Montisregalis avunculum suum super eo quod ei imposuisse dicebatur receptationem aliquorum apostatarum a fide de ordine minorum."

⁴⁴⁰ The *culpa* of the Sacourt brothers are included in the records of the general sermon held in the market square of Carcassonne in March 1327; the *culpa* of Guilhem Sacourt is recorded in Doat 28, fols. 200r–v, and that of his brother Raimon can be found in Doat 28, fols. 215r–216v. The notion of marriage as a "lupanar privatum" or "meretricium occultatum" will be further discussed in the following section.

⁴⁴¹ On the one hand Guilhem was justifying hitting his wife, on the other Raimon likened marriage to a brother only in those cases where the wife was married in second nuptials or was "multi antiquam"; see Doat 28, fol. 215r–v.

⁴⁴² Among many other cases, see for instance the *culpa* of Bernard Fenàs (Doat 27, fols. 32r–33v) and Peire Astruc (Doat 27, fols. 33v–35r)—both of them charged in connection with Catharism—included in the records of the general sermon held in Carcassonne on 11 November 1328 among the *culpa* of around twenty accused of involvement in the Beguin movement and three clerics accused of necromancy.

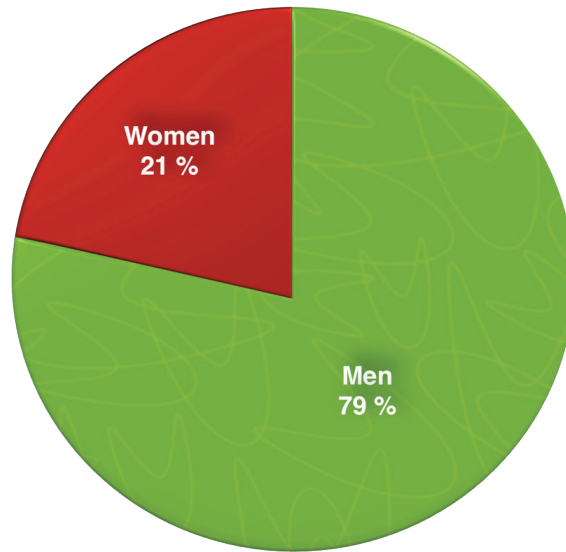


Figure 3.3.5. Gender distribution of actors

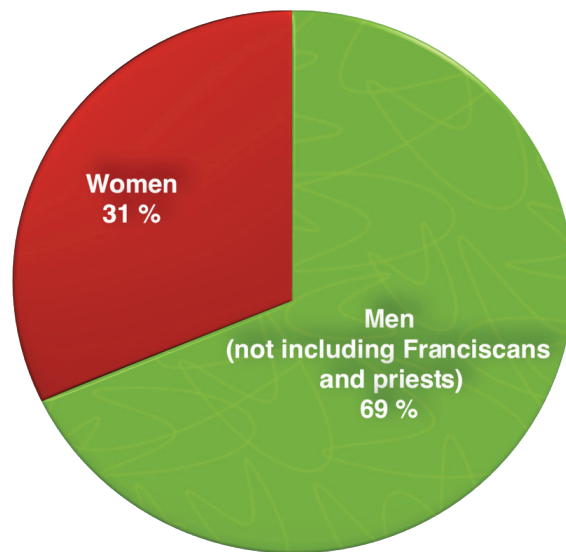


Figure 3.3.6. Gender distribution of actors without clergy

As for the religious status of the people involved in the Beguin movement, Figure 3.3.7 shows how despite the statistical bias introduced by the fact that two of the sources mentioned above only refer to Franciscans, the majority of the actors did not belong to the Order of St Francis. Furthermore, nearly half of the actors of the network were lay men and women who

had taken no orders. In contrast, among those who did take orders, we find one knight of the Order of St John of Jerusalem—whose presence barely shows in the chart for obvious reasons—fourteen members of the secular clergy, twenty-three Beguins and Beguines, and nineteen men and women who are described as belonging to the Third Order of St Francis. It should be noted here that, as stated in the previous section, Gui's identification of Franciscan tertiaries and Beguins of Languedoc does not always hold.⁴⁴³ Therefore, I have decided to maintain these two separate categories in order to convey the different labels that inquisitors applied to what could be seen as the priestly elite of the movement, which, even after combining both groups, only amounts to a little over 10% of the actors.

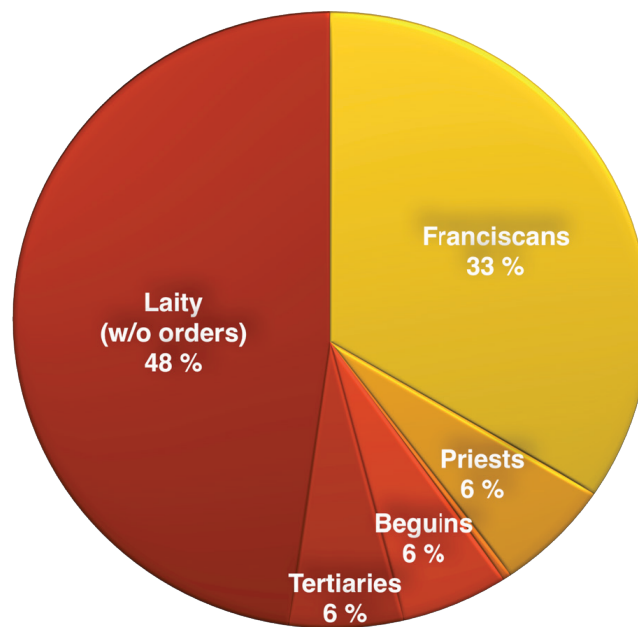


Figure 3.3.7. Distribution of religious status

In line with the need for a qualitative approach to the gender distribution of the Beguin movement, Figure 3.3.8 charts the relative presence of men and women in the different categories of religious status presented above. Whereas around 30% of the lay actors of the network are women, and this ratio is quite the same in the case of professed Franciscan tertiaries—fourteen men and five women—it raises over 40% for those specifically described as Beguins (*beguinus* or *beguina*). Even accepting Gui's aforementioned identification and combining both groups, the proportion of women among the spiritual elite of the Beguin network is significantly higher than the female ratio among its lower ranks, which hints at the importance women were granted in the community and will be further explored in the following sections.

⁴⁴³ See note condemned Franciscans.

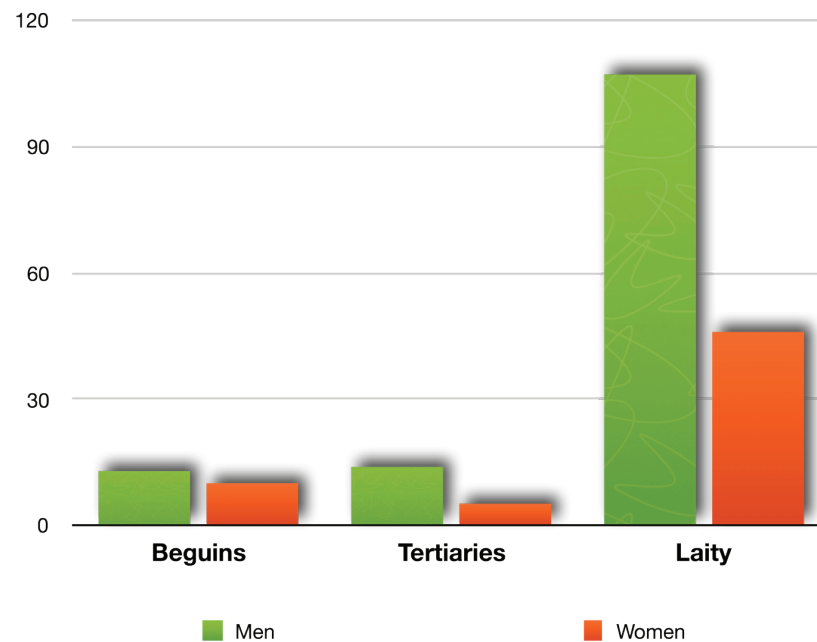


Figure 3.3.8. Distribution of religious status by gender

The analysis of certain social attributes within the Beguin network also seems to yield an interesting result gender-wise. Figure 3.3.9 shows the gender distribution according to the marital status of the actors. Whereas there is virtually no difference in the proportions of married men and women whose spouse was still alive when their sentence was passed—as could be expected—widows are far more frequent than widowers but, more importantly, unmarried women more than double the number of unmarried men. However, inquisitorial records are first and foremost textual sources, and as such, are pervaded by the social norms of the time when they were produced. In most inquisitorial documents, women are identified not only by their name but also by the name of a male relative, usually the husband or, in case of unmarried women, the father. Thus, the information about their marital status is generally available. In contrast, men appear by themselves in the record, and the name of the father is mentioned only when relevant. As for their wives, their names were only recorded when they were somehow involved in the activities under investigation and, as a result, the marital status of most men remains unknown. This lack of data does not mean that the analysis of this attribute is useless, especially if combined with the information on religious status. Although several male Franciscan tertiaries and Beguins were married, there is only one married female tertiary documented, Bernarda d’Antusan, a woman from Cintegabelle whose husband, Raimon d’Antusan, was also a tertiary.⁴⁴⁴ All other

⁴⁴⁴ See, for instance the example of Peire Morés, from Belpech, who is described as a *beguinus* and a married man;

female tertiaries, and certainly all the women described as Beguines were unmarried, and many of them lived together in small communities, following a model that is quite similar to that of the more classical late medieval Beguines.

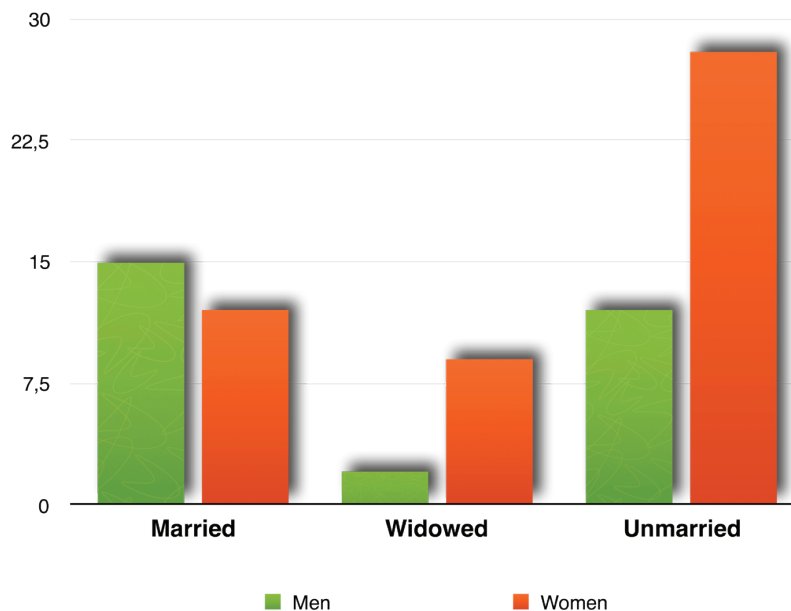


Figure 3.3.9. Distribution of marital status by gender

It should also be noted that there are thirty-eight men and five women whose only documented instance is their appearance in the Beguin martyrology. This source is quite sparse and only provides the names—albeit not always—and religious status of the condemned. Therefore it cannot be used for the analysis of the social attributes of the Beguin network.

As for the social standing of the actors, there is only information available about the occupation of around forty of them. Table 3.3.1 shows the different occupations documented in the sources, the vast majority of which belong to the world of urban artisanal elites. Astruga de Rundaria is the only woman whose trade is specified, she worked as a seamstress of linen cloths in Narbonne.⁴⁴⁵ The far right column of Table 3.1 includes the family members who also appear

see Pales-Gobilliard, *Le livre des sentences*, 1314: “Petrus Moresii Beguinus de Bellopodio (...) filius quondam Guillelmi Moresii de Bellopodio (...), receptus ad tercium ordinem sancti Francisci, conjugatus.” Bernarda d’Antusan is introduced using both the name of her father and husband; see *ibid.*, 1350–51: “Bernarda, uxor Raymundi de Antusano de Cincta Gavella, filiaque quondam Bernardi d’en Adam (...) dicens se esse de tercio ordine sancti Francisci et se esse professam terciam regulam cum publico instrumento.”

⁴⁴⁵ Doat 28, fol. 224v: “Astruga de Rundaria, alias de Cussach (...) habitatrix Narbonensis sartrix pannorum lineorum.”

in the records and who, in all likelihood, would actively take part in the trade of their relative, or whose social status was affected by said trade.⁴⁴⁶

		Family members
Apothecary	1	
Artisan	1	
Butcher	1	
Candlemaker	2	
Cutler	1	
<i>Domicellus</i>	1	
Draper	1	
Glassmaker	1	
Harness maker	1	
Hospitaller	1	
Innkeeper	2	
Merchant	4	3
Notary	1	2
Parchment maker	1	
Procurator	2	
Sawyer	1	
Seamstress	1	
Shoemaker	1	1
Silk merchant	1	
Tailor	5	
Weaver	4	1

Table 3.3.1. Occupations

The actors of the Beguin network lived in densely populated urban areas.⁴⁴⁷ The main reason for this is not related to an inquisitorial bias, that is, is not the fact that the whole inquisitorial machinery was better suited for application in urban areas what gives the Beguin movement the appearance of an urban phenomenon. The Beguin network was urban-based because, as has

⁴⁴⁶ On the one hand, for instance, Arnauda Mainier and Johana Lleó probably worked along with their husbands, both of them merchants, as did Guilhema Civile, whose husband was a weaver. On the other, the social position of Galharda Fabre had probably much to do with his husband being Bernard Fabre, the notary of Olargues, and the same can be said of Peire Gastaud, the son of Pons Gastaud, the notary of Belpech.

⁴⁴⁷ See the demographic data provided in Gilbert Languier, “Autour de Pierre de Jean Olivi. Narbonne et le narbonnais, fin XIII^e siècle, début XIV^e siècle,” in *Pierre de Jean Olivi (1248-1298). Pensée scolastique, dissidence spirituelle et société*, ed. Alain Boureau and Sylvain Piron (Paris: Vrin, 1999), 265–76.

been already mentioned in the previous sections and will be further discussed in the following one, their central focus of beliefs and practices were the Spiritual Franciscans, who mainly lived and preached in urban environments. Thus, the analysis of the sources presents us with a fairly decentralised scenario (Map 3.3.1) in which Beguin communities could be found in cities and towns of varying importance that were mainly located along the busiest roads of the region, particularly the Via Aquitania and the Via Domitia. In fact, even the Beguin groups or individuals who settled in the region to the east of the Rhône in an attempt to avoid capture after the inquisitorial persecution started followed this pattern.

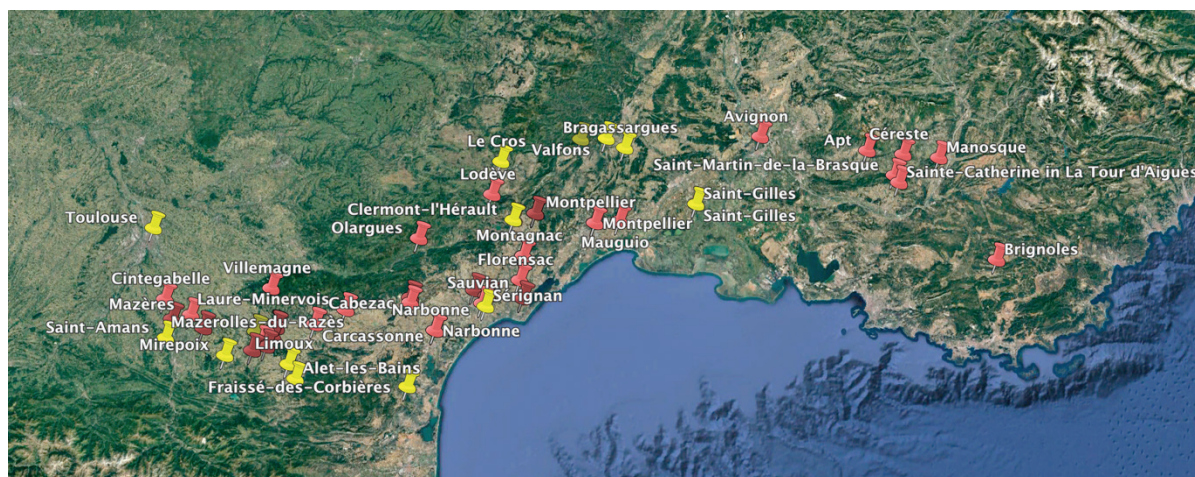


Map 3.3.1. Beguin communities

Further proof that the Beguin movement was closely linked to this particular urban environment is the fact that some of the accused had moved from their more rural places of origin to settle in the highly populated centres shown in the map above, all of which had either a Franciscan convent, a Beguin community, or both. For instance, this was the case of the sisters Johana and Guilhema Berenguer, from Montagnac, who moved to Narbonne, as did the aforementioned Amoda Sepian, from Limoux, and Astruga and Maria de Rundaria, who left their native Cussach (or Cassach).⁴⁴⁸ The same can be said of the Boneta family, whose

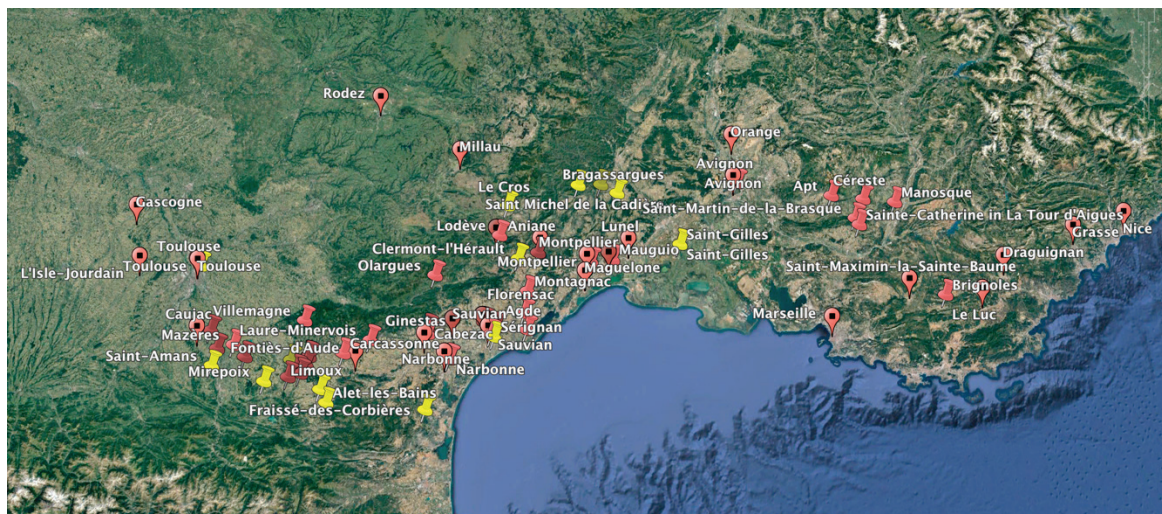
⁴⁴⁸ The *culpae* of Astruga and Maria use different spellings for their place of origin (cf. Doat 28, fol. 203v and *ibid.*, fol. 224v), which Astruga's deposition situates in a certain "diocesis gyronensis." This detail together with the spelling of other similar place names led Josep Perarnau to suggest that these two sisters came from somewhere in the region of Girona, in Catalonia; see Josep Perarnau i Espelt, "Noves dades sobre beguins de Girona," *Annals de l'Institut d'Estudis Gironins* 25 (1979): 237–48.

members—the sisters Prous, Alisseta, and Estevana, and their father Durand—moved from the remote Saint Michel de la Cadière to Montpellier, as did their companion Alaraxis Bedoc, who originally came from the parish of Saint Étienne de Bragassargues. The yellow pins in Map 3.3.2 chart the home villages of those actors of the network who ended up settling in what we could call the Beguin area of influence shown in Map 3.3.1.



Map 3.3.2. Beguin communities and places of origin

Finally, Map 3.3.3 shows the sum of all the places mentioned in the inquisitorial sources in relation to the Beguins of Languedoc. While salmon pins mark the existence of stable Beguin communities and yellow pins mark places of origin (as in Maps 3.3.1 and 3.3.2), salmon paddles mark the relevant places where the actors met or spent some time in connection with the activity of the Beguin network.



Map 3.3.3. Beguin area of influence

Mapping the intricacies of the Beguin network and analysing the ties that bound it together is the aim of the last section of this chapter. However, studying said network in combination with the geographical data available in the records reveals a pattern that crossed over the boundaries of inquisitorial jurisdiction. Not only does this provide us with invaluable insight into the network's distinctive features, but it also reinforces the idea presented in the previous pages as to the representativeness of the sample and the possibility of conducting a quantitative and qualitative analysis despite the formulaic nature of inquisitorial sources, and the biases introduced by the different inquisitors. Characterising the attributes of the actors of the Beguin network and establishing the Beguin area of influence is thus the stepping stone to understand the mechanics of this spiritual movement and the religious culture associated with it, that is, the beliefs, the devotional practices and gestures that helped define this dissident community.

3.4 A Matter of Beliefs: Apocalyptic Expectations and Evangelical Poverty

In 1299, the archbishop of Narbonne, Gilles Aycelin, summoned a provincial council that was to be held in Béziers. Among other issues, the council addressed the matter of a certain group of men and women, commonly known as *Beguini seu Beguinæ*, who publicly preached the end of the world and the advent of the Antichrist.⁴⁴⁹ Although they had apparently been led to such behaviour by the influence of several learned religious men—some of whom belonged to an approved order—they posed no little danger for a region that had already been riddled with heresy.⁴⁵⁰ The acts of the council described their activities as a superstitious cult—*cultum superstitionis*—that was promptly forbidden. Also according to the acts, said men and women made vows of virginity and chastity that they did not keep, dressed in a distinctive manner, celebrated secretive gatherings, preached, and tried to excuse this transgression by claiming that they were not preaching but merely talking about God to comfort each other.⁴⁵¹

⁴⁴⁹ See Edmond Martène and Ursin Durand, eds., *Thesaurus novus anecdotorum* (Paris, 1717), vol. IV, 226: “(...) prædicatium multis finem mundi instare, et jam (sic.) adesse vel quasi tempora antichristi.”

⁴⁵⁰ Ibid., 226–27: “(...) quod ad suggestionem quorundam, inter quos nonnulli fuerint qui dicebantur plurimi litterati, quorum aliqui fore noscebantur de religione laudabili, non immerito inter religiones ceteras approbata (...) et non modica pericula huic provinciæ, quam hæreticos olim publice frequentasse.”

⁴⁵¹ Ibid., 226: “(...) vestiumque colores utriusque sexus personis suggerentium et nihilominus virginitatis ac castitatis vota recipientium (...) quæ vota a pluribus violata fuisse noscuntur (...) qui conventualia prohibita facientes et frequentes de nocte officium prædicationis verbi Dei temere usurparunt, in suam excusationem ficticie prætendentes, quod non prædicant, sed loquuntur de Deo, se invicem consolantes.”

On the one hand, not once does this text refer to Peter of John Olivi, whose writings were condemned in a general chapter of the Franciscan Order held in Lyon that same year, and neither does it explicitly mention the Friars Minor, only hinting at the involvement of some members of a certain “praiseworthy order.”⁴⁵² On the other, the presence of Beguines in Narbonne is documented since at least the 1280s, and the connections between women who were described as *beguinæ* and the Spiritual branch of the Franciscan Order were not new either.⁴⁵³ From at least the 1280s, in the area of Narbonne there were women who called themselves Beguines and were recognised as such by others. For instance, in 1288, among the thirty people summoned by the archiepiscopal court to testify in the case of a certain visionary called Rixendis of Narbonne, three women were described as Beguines.⁴⁵⁴

Furthermore, Olivi’s claim that King Charles II of Naples was afraid that his eloquence might *inbeguiniri* his sons—the princes held hostage by King Pere III of Aragon—further hints at the close ties between both spiritual contexts.⁴⁵⁵ Most authors see the group mentioned in the acts of the provincial council of Béziers as unquestionably connected to Olivian positions.⁴⁵⁶ In other words, the mention of the *Beguini seu Beguinæ* in said acts would then be the earliest documentary evidence related to the group later known as the Beguins of Languedoc. In all likelihood, we are witnessing here the confluence of two interrelated realities. The rigourist attempt at a reform of the Franciscan Order and the new lay religious expressions exemplified by the presence of Beguines in the area were both rooted in the same context of spiritual commitment to evangelical poverty and apostolic models. There is no evidence to support the idea that the Narbonne Beguines documented in 1288 were inclined towards apocalyptic expectations, but they were already associated with Franciscan circles. Although it is not possible to assert that Alissenda, Sicardis, or Garsindis—some of the Beguines who followed Rixendis—were among the group that was censured in 1299, they did share in the same spiritual climate that would result in the Olivian Beguin movement.⁴⁵⁷

⁴⁵² Ibid., 226: “de religione laudabili.”

⁴⁵³ See, among others, the glaring example of Douceline de Digne.

⁴⁵⁴ See Julien Théry, “‘Inquisitio’ contre Rixende, fanatique du XIII^e siècle: la copie d’un document perdu des archives de l’archevêché de Narbonne par le minime François Laporte (BM Toulouse, MS 625, fols. 73-83, vers 1710),” in *L’archevêché de Narbonne au Moyen Âge*, ed. Michelle Fournié, and Daniel Le Blévec, (Toulouse: CNRS, Université de Toulouse II - Le Mirail, 2008), 63–90.

⁴⁵⁵ See Ehrle, “Olivis Schreiben,” 539.

⁴⁵⁶ Both Raoul Manselli and Louisa Burnham think it likely that the men and women censured in the council of 1299 were Olivi’s followers; see Manselli, *Spirituali e beghini*, 41, and Burnham, *So great a light*, 34. In contrast, David Burr, while strongly inclined to believe this claim, also discusses other possibilities that involve a not so immediate connection; cf. Burr, *Spiritual Franciscans*, 92–93.

⁴⁵⁷ I have discussed this case in detail in Delfi I. Nieto-Isabel, “Overlapping Networks. Beguins, Franciscans,

Besides the usual set of accusations—gathering at night or breaking vows—the main concerns of the council of Béziers regarding these men and women who “had been lured into a new superstitious cult” were not so much the apocalyptic beliefs they held but their very public displays of religiosity.⁴⁵⁸ Not only did they preach the end of the world, but they also engaged in new kinds of *pœnitentia* and abstinence, and practiced new observances.⁴⁵⁹ Apparently, the fears of the council were not totally unwarranted, for the appeal of the Olivian cause among the population would only grow in the following years. According to her deposition of September 1325, Astruga de Rundaria joined the Third Order of Saint Francis precisely around 1305, when she also took a vow of virginity in the Church of Notre-Dame-de-Grâce in Sérignan, Olivi’s own home village.⁴⁶⁰ It was around that same time that the widow Ermessenda Grossa took a vow of chastity “persuaded by certain friars,” and that—as previously mentioned—Prous Boneta, barely a nine-year-old by then, did the same after visiting Olivi’s tomb in Narbonne.⁴⁶¹ Furthermore, on 18 August 1309, a procurator sent a plea to Pope Clement V on behalf of the urban elites of Narbonne in the midst of the increasing tensions between the Spiritual friars and their more moderate brethren.⁴⁶² They claimed that Olivian writings had been unjustly condemned and informed the pontiff that the Rule of St Francis was not being properly observed, for those who

and Poor Clares at the Crossroads of a Shared Spirituality,” in *Clarisas y dominicas. Modelos de implantación, filiación, promoción y devoción en la Península Ibérica, Cerdeña, Nápoles y Sicilia*, ed. Gemma Teresa Colesanti, Blanca Garí, and Núria Jornet-Benito (Florence: Firenze University Press, 2018), 429–48.

⁴⁵⁸ Martène, and Durand, eds., *Thesaurus*, vol. IV, 226: “(...) quam plures utriusque sexus ad novæ superstitionis pertracti fuerunt.” At night plus broken vows.

⁴⁵⁹ Ibid.: “(...) novosque pœnitentiæ modos et abstinencia (...) et quasdam novas observantias custodire conantur.” In Franciscan milieus *pœnitentia* was not understood in terms of repentance or confession of sins, but rather in the sense of the original Greek term the Latin Vulgate had translated, *metanoia*, that is, conversion, a transformative change of heart that led to devoting one’s own life to God. See Théophile Desbonnets, “La lettre à tous les fidèles de François d’Assise,” in *I Frati Minori e il Terzo ordine, problemi e discussioni storiografiche, Convegni del centro di studi sulla spiritualità medievale (17-20 ottobre 1982)* (Todi: Presso l’Accademia tudertina, 1985), 51–76.

⁴⁶⁰ Despite his reluctance to acknowledge the popularity of the devotion to Olivi, Jean-Louis Biget sees in the fact that Astruga chose Sérignan to take her vow a sign that the cult had spread to encompass Olivi’s birthplace; see Biget, “Culte et rayonnement,” 281.

⁴⁶¹ On Ermessenda, see Doat 27, vol. 14r: “(...) viginti anni sunt elapsi inducta per quosdam fratres quos nominat fecit votum castitatis.”

⁴⁶² The full text of the plea is not extant, but its presentation is recorded in the document known as *Sol ortus*. Compiled by the Franciscan Raimon de Fronsac after May 1318, *Sol ortus* is a sort of catalogue of the different instances of repression of the Spiritual branch of the Order of St Francis and its followers. See Franz Ehrle, “Zur Vorgeschichte des Concils von Vienne,” in *Archiv*, vol. 3, 1–32; the full text of *Sol ortus* can be found in *ibid.*, 7–32, and the 1309 plea appears in *ibid.*, 18.

remained faithful suffered and were imprisoned for it.⁴⁶³ Finally, they begged the Pope to grant the remains of Brother Peter of John a special status so that he could be worshipped.⁴⁶⁴

On 1 March 1311, as part of the debates leading up to the Council of Vienne, Bonagratia of Bergamo also presented an appeal before Pope Clement V.⁴⁶⁵ In it, Bonagratia and other moderate Franciscans reasserted the rightfulness of the condemnation of Olivi's work, which they called heretical, but they also warned against certain groups born from Olivian doctrine who gathered in conventicles posing a great danger, for they apparently held much more radical beliefs than the group that was censured back in 1299.⁴⁶⁶ Among other transgressions, Bonagratia claimed that they considered Olivian doctrine to be evangelical, for according to them, it had been revealed by the Holy Spirit; they believed marriage to be but a private brothel, and maintained that an angel had taken away papal authority from Pope Nicholas III due to his wickedness, which led them to elect their own pope, for there had been no true pope ever since.⁴⁶⁷ Furthermore, they worshipped Olivi as a saint, and believed that he was the angel described in Apocalypse 10:1 as the one who came after the angel who carried the seal of the living God: "Then I saw another mighty angel coming down from heaven, wrapped in a cloud, with a rainbow over his head, and his face was like the sun, and his legs like pillars of fire."⁴⁶⁸

Despite the obvious partiality of Bonagratia's rhetoric, he seems not to have been too off the mark about the tenets of these groups. Some of the depositions that would later be given before inquisitorial courts mention how, during the temporary respite of the aftermath of the

⁴⁶³ Ibid., 18: "Proposuerunt enim, quod libri fratris Petri Johannis iniuste fuerant condempnati. Item proposuerunt, quod regula in ordine non servabatur (...) Item proposuerunt, quod volentes eam servare affligebatur et incarcerabatur."

⁴⁶⁴ Ibid.: "Petierunt etiam, quod corpori fratris Petri Johannis quem ordo ut erroneum puniverat, exhiberetur reverentia specialis."

⁴⁶⁵ The 1311 appeal of the moderate Franciscans is edited in Franz Ehrle, "Anklageschrift der Communität gegen die Spiritualen und im besondern gegen fr. Petrus Johannis Olivi (vom 1. März 1311)," in *Archiv*, vol. 2, 365–74.

⁴⁶⁶ Ibid., 372: "Et proponimus, quod dicte omnes opiniones et libri prefati fratris Petri universaliter fuerunt iuste et rationabiliter per dictum ordinem et auctoritate apostolica et de consilio magistrorum Parisiensium reprobati et condempnati (...) tum quia ipsa doctrina sectam habebat periculosam."

⁴⁶⁷ Ibid., 371: "(...) quod dicta doctrina fratris Petri predicti erat ita vera sicut evangelica (...) et quod fuit eidem a spiritu sancto revelata. Et aliqui dixerunt, quod matrimonium non erat nisi lupanar occultum (...) dicte doctrine sectatores dixerunt et docuerunt, quod a felicis recordationis domino Nicholao papa III. angelus abstulerat auctoritatem pontificis propter suas iniquitates (...) et quod ex tunc nullus fuit papa in ecclesia de hiis, qui creati sunt vel creantur per cardinales (...) et aliqui ex eis elegerant papam seu rectorem."

⁴⁶⁸ Ibid.: "Et aliqui dixerunt, quod ipse frater Petrus erat ille angelus, de quo dicitur in apocalipsi, qui veniebat post illum angelum, qui habebat signum dei vivi. Et eius sequaces nisi sunt et nituntur exhibere eidem fratri Petro mortuo reverentiam sicut sancto contra canonum interdicta."

Council of Vienne and the so-called Clementine settlement, Olivian sympathisers attended the rather incendiary preaching of Spiritual friars. Mateu, a priest from Belveze-du-Razès, confessed that around 1313, when he was still only a cleric, he heard Raimon de Johan publicly preaching in Montréal.⁴⁶⁹ After the sermon, Mateu asked him why he did not go overseas if he wished to suffer for his faith, and Raimon responded that the enemies of the faith were already among them, for the Church that ruled them was the *meretrix magna* described by John in the Apocalypse, which would persecute the ministers of Christ and the poor.⁴⁷⁰ To this, Raimon still added that the Roman Church had not had a true Pope since Celestine V, whose followers and true successors were in Sicily.⁴⁷¹ It was also around 1313 that, at the request of one of the most renowned actors of the Beguin network, Guilhem Verrier, the Narbonne tailor Blas Boer first contacted some Spiritual friars and Beguins, who considered Olivi a saint and whom he heard reading Olivian writings.⁴⁷²

After the death of Clement V in 1314, matters took a turn for the worse, but the lay implication and support to Olivian positions did not diminish. As shown in the previous sections, Olivi's cult kept growing and attracting crowds from around the Languedocian region up until the destruction of his tomb at some point in 1318. The first involvement of several deponents also dates from this period. The silk merchant Bernard Castilló supported a group of Beguines and paid for their housing in his hometown, Montpellier, around ten years before his confession

⁴⁶⁹ It should be noted that despite the fact that the record dates Mateu's confession in 1320 "anno domini millesimo trecentesimo vicesimo," this could be the result of the Doat copyist mistakenly omitting the last part of the year. All the confessions corresponding to this particular general sermon, held in Carcassonne on 11 November 1328, were given between 1324 and 1328 and thus 1320 seems too early a date. However, Raimon de Johan who in most depositions is usually described as an "apostate" is here still considered a member of the Franciscan Order, and moreover, he was publicly preaching, all of which suggests that, in any case, this episode could not have happened later than 1317. Doat 27, fol. 85v: "(...) septem anni fuerunt ante tempus confessionis per eum facta de infrascriptis, eo tempore quo adhuc erat clericus et non sacerdos, in sermone publico audivit in Montereali fratrem Raimundum Joannis tunc ordinis minorum."

⁴⁷⁰ Ibid., fol. 86r: "(...) post dictum sermonem cum ipse loquens interrogaret dictum fratrem quare dixerat in suo sermone se passurum propter fidem cum ipse non iret ultra mare ubi inimici fidei, respondit et dixit audientibus aliquibus personis qui sibi loquitur sic inimici fidei sunt inter nos nam Ecclesia qua regimur figuratur nobis per illam magnam meretricem de qua loquitur Bertrandus—(sic. probably 'Beatus')—in apocalipsi, et ista persequitur ministros Christi et pauperes."

⁴⁷¹ Ibid.: "(...) in Ecclesia Romana non fuit verus papa citra Celestinum quem ipse pauperes habitant in Cilicia vel eius successorem et cardinales et praelatos."

⁴⁷² Doat 27, fol. 84r: "(...) duodecim anni possunt esse inductus per Guillelmum Dominici Veirerium de Narbona familiaritatem fratrum minorum qui portabant habitus parvos et etiam Begguinorum habere incepit, et cum eis frequentare; a dictis Begguinis audivit quandoque legi scripturam fratris Petri Joannis quem sanctum patrem reputabant."

in August 1325;⁴⁷³ the widow Sibil·la Cazelles was already acquainted with the Beguines of the Boneta household in Montpellier around 1315;⁴⁷⁴ more or less at the same time Amada Orlach gave frequent alms to the Beguins of Lodève;⁴⁷⁵ and it was also around then that Amoda Sepian became a Franciscan tertiary in Limoux before moving to Narbonne on the occasion of the “feast of Brother Peter of John.”⁴⁷⁶

According to the account of Raimon Barrau, who was the prior of the Dominican convent of Béziers from 1316 onwards, Spiritual Franciscans and Beguins were widespread in the whole diocese of Béziers, in Narbonne, Lodève, Agde, Perpignan, Carcassonne and beyond, and they were widely supported not only by the population but also by the bishop of Béziers and his whole episcopal court. Barrau’s tone is extremely hostile and he does not get all of his facts right, for he points to Bernard Délicieux as the “diabolical leader” of the dangerous group, but his testimony attests to the climate of involvement of both lay and ecclesiastical society in the conflicts of the Franciscan Order.⁴⁷⁷ Moreover, on 21 February 1316, after the friars of Narbonne and Béziers took back their convents and were excommunicated for it, the consuls of Narbonne made a public protestation. The citizens of Narbonne had been forbidden from hearing the friars’ preaching and from being confessed by them, and the consuls felt the need to defend the rights of the many Narbonne devotes of Saint Francis who daily went to mass at the church

⁴⁷³ Doat 27, fols. 20r–21v: “(...) quibusdam Beguinis quandam domum suam (...) amore Dei accomodavit (...) committens hec a decem annis et citra.”

⁴⁷⁴ Ibid., fol. 16v: “(...) Beguinarum de Montepessulano decem anni sunt elapsi familiaritatem habuit inter quas erant Na Prous Bonete, detenta in muro, et eius soror et socia quas in eorum domo aliquando visitavit.”

⁴⁷⁵ Doat 28, fol. 192r: “(...) decem anni sunt et amplius sunt elapsi quibusdam Begguinis tunc en Lodova morantibus qui postea fuerunt condemnati et combusti elemosinas frequenter dedit.”

⁴⁷⁶ Ibid., fol. 237v: “(...) decem anni et amplius sunt elapsi recepta fuit et professa in tertio ordine beati Francisci apud Limosum. Item tempore quo fiebat festum de fratre Petro Johannis sicut de sancto ivit Narbonam et inibi habitavit.” All the aforementioned depositions took place at some point in 1325, and they all use similar formulas in line with “decem anni et amplius sunt elapsi” to date the specific episodes the deponents recount. Although these dates cannot be trusted to be accurate, for the phrasing itself is rather vague, they do speak about the time before the inquisitorial prosecution and thus help us establish the context of that troubled but not yet dangerous period for the Beguin communities.

⁴⁷⁷ Barrau’s account was part of a memorandum he wrote for Pope Benedict XII in 1337. The main purpose of this document was to vindicate Barrau, who had been accused of taking part in the conspiracy that tried to incriminate the bishop Guilhem Frérol in the alleged poisoning of the then late John XXII; see Pierre Botineau, “Les tribulations de Raymond Barrau, O.P. (1295-1338),” *Mélanges d’Archéologie et d’Histoire de l’École française de Rome* 11 (1965): 504–05, “(...) ad tempus in quo inceperunt regnare beguini et fratres spirituales ordinis minorum, quorum omnium fuit caput et rector dyabolicus, silicet frater Bernardus Deliciosus, predicti ordinis, silicet in Bitterri et tota dyocesi, in Narbona et Narbonesio et in Perpiniano et Carcassona et ultra et Lodova et dyocesi et dyocesi Agatensi et ultra; (...) quia dominus episcopus predictus et officiales sui et tota curia sua et canonici predicti sustinebant beguinos et fratres predictos spirituales (...) quos dicebant sanctos Dei et fundamentum ecclesie Dei, missos a Deo in mundum tamquam apostolos Dei, sic quod tota civitas Bitterrensis sequebatur eos.”

of the Franciscan convent and had their relatives buried there.⁴⁷⁸ The interdiction must indeed have been a problem for the actors of the Beguin network, for the inquisitorial records reveal that several of them used to seek confession with Spiritual Franciscans; for instance, and only in Narbonne, Berengaria Donas, Guilhema Berenguer, Guilhema Civile, and Peire Esperendiu admitted to have been confessed by friars of the local convent.⁴⁷⁹ All of them refer to the friars in similar terms, as Spirituals who “wore short habits” and were later summoned to Avignon.⁴⁸⁰ In fact, Peire went even further and tried to justify his choice, for he thought the friars wearing short habits were better than their brethren.⁴⁸¹ He was most certainly not alone in defending such an opinion; in particular, Bernard Castilló, whom I have already mentioned in this same section, thought that the friars who wore strict and short habits were better than those who did not.⁴⁸²

It was in the period that preceded the start of the most violent dissensions that Peire Esperendiu first came into contact with the Beguin network, as did other actors such as the draper from Montpellier Johan Orlach, the sawyer from Lodève Guilhem Serraller—who would later become one of the most mobile agents of the network—and the priest Peire de Tornamira, who was admitted into “the order of the Beguins” by a certain Brother Martí before the election of John XXII, that is, before August 1316.⁴⁸³ Around 1317, in Montpellier, Alisseta Boneta

⁴⁷⁸ Doat 51, fol. 458: “multi viri boni et mulieres de dicta universitate confluant quotidie pro divinis misteriis audiendis ad domum seu ecclesiam minorum Narbone predictam, ubi palam et publice misteria quotidie celebrantur, et pro fieri celebrandis, et dicendis missas et orationes propter animas parentium, amicorum et benefactorum eorumdem, qui in dicto monasterio sunt sepulti.” For an extensive discussion of this episode and the links between the wealthiest groups of the city and the Spiritual branch of the Franciscan Order, see Sylvain Piron, “Marchands et confesseurs. Le Traité des contrats d’Olivi dans son contexte (Narbonne, fin XIIIe-début XIVe siècle),” in *L’argent au Moyen Âge. Actes des congrès de la Société des historiens médiévistes de l’enseignement supérieur public, 28e congrès, Clermont-Ferrand, 1997* (Paris: Publications de La Sorbonne, 1998), esp. 305–07.

⁴⁷⁹ Berengaria was the wife of a merchant (Doat 28, fols. 219v–220r), Guilhema Berenguer had moved to Narbonne with her sister from their hometown of Montagnac (ibid., fol. 207r), Guilhema Civile was the wife of a weaver (ibid., fol. 226v), and Peire was a weaver himself (Doat 28, fol. 249v).

⁴⁸⁰ Ibid., fol. 220r: “(...) ante tempus dissensionis motæ inter fratres minores conventus Narbonæ videlicet qui portabant habitus parvos et alios, confiteri consueverat duobus ex illis portantibus habitum curtum qui postea citati fuerunt ad Romanam curiam”; ibid., fol. 207r: “(...) aliquotiens confessa fuit cuidam fratri minori qui erat de illis spiritualibus qui portabant habitum curtum et qui appellaverunt ad Romanam curiam”; ibid., fol. 226v: “(...) familiaritatem unius fratrum minorum spiritualium Narbonæ antequam dissensio mota esset inter eos habuit, et sibi confessa fuit peccata sua.”

⁴⁸¹ Ibid., fols. 240v–250r: “(...) tempore quo dissensio mota fuit inter fratres minores conventus narbonensis portantes parvos habitus ex parte una et alios portantes longuos habitus ex altera confiteri incepit uni de portantibus habitum parvum, quem meliorem aliis reputabat.”

⁴⁸² Doat 27, fol. 20r–v: “Item fratres minores habitum strictum et parvum portantes tempore dissensionis motæ inter eos et alios, meliores aliis reputavit.”

⁴⁸³ Germain, “Une consultation inquisitoriale,” 333: “Petrus presbiter, ante per aliquod tempus quo fe[l]icis re[cordationis] dominus Johannes papa XXII fuisset in papam electus et coronatus, quod fuit anno Doinini

attended public preachings and heard Spiritual Franciscans claim that the Rule of St Francis and the Gospel were one and the same, which she believed to be true;⁴⁸⁴ in Lodève, the merchant Berenguer Jaoul started to converse with Beguins, as did both the shoemaker Johan Dalmau in Narbonne, and the tailor Esteve Gramat, who met Beguins in Villeneuve-lès-Béziers on Sundays and other religious holidays.⁴⁸⁵ Finally, as shown in Section 3.3 above, when the rebel friars were summoned to Avignon in April that same year, many followed them on their way.

Sancta romana was promulgated in December 1317, barely a month after the Spirituals were transferred to the inquisitor Michel Le Moine for the examination of their willingness to obey *Quorundam exigit*. In his newest papal bull, John XXII likened Beguins and other such spiritual expressions to rapacious wolves in sheep's clothing.⁴⁸⁶ His description of the group in fact shared many of the features that Bernard Gui would later include in his *Practica*, which have been discussed in Section 3.2 above. These 'new religions' adopted their own habit, gathered in conventicles, elected their own superiors—whom they called ministers—lived in community, begged publicly, and, most importantly, pretended to be professed members of the Third Order of St Francis.⁴⁸⁷ However, nowhere in *Sancta romana* did the pontiff mention the apocalyptic expectations that the provincial council of 1299 had so clearly identified. This was probably a result of the fact that at this particular moment the main concern of the papacy was subduing the groups that seemed to branch off from orthodox Franciscan spirituality and to support the claims of the Spiritual friars, who by then were already perceived as a source of schismatic danger themselves. Thus, the bull was mostly devoted to point out in which way these Beguins took the appearance of a legitimate religious order even though they did not have papal approval to do so, and ended by enabling episcopal authorities to act against such individuals.⁴⁸⁸

millesimo trescentesimo sextodecimo, de mense augusti, fuit ad ordinem Beguinorum per quendam nomine fratrem Martinum beguinum receptus in domo Paupertatis eorum.”

⁴⁸⁴ Doat 27, fols. 26v–27r: “Item in sermonibus publicis prædicari audivit quod regula fratrum minorum et Evangelium erant idem, et ita credidit.”

⁴⁸⁵ Ibid., fol. 9r: “(...) octo anni fuerunt ante tempus confessionis factæ per eum de infrascriptis primo incepit conversari cum aliquibus Beguinis de Villanova diebus dominicis et festivis.”

⁴⁸⁶ Eubel, ed., *Bullarium Franciscanum*, vol. 5, 134: “(...) ne sub ovina pelle gregem Dominicum truculentia lupi rapacis invadat.”

⁴⁸⁷ Ibid., 135: “Nonnulli tamen prophanae multitudinis viri, qui vulgariter ‘fraticelli’ seu ‘fratres de paupere vita’ aut ‘bizzochi’ sive ‘beghini’ vel aliis nominibus nuncupantur, in partibus Italiae nec non in insula Siciliae, comitatu Provinciae, Narbonensi et Tholosana civitatibus et dioecesibus et provinciis aliisque diversis (...) contra dictos canones habitum novae religionis assumere, congregationes et conventicula facere, et superiores sibi ipsis eligere, quos ministros seu custodes vel guardianos aut nominibus aliis appellant (...) loca etiam de novo construere seu constructa recipere, in quibus habitant in communi, publice mendicare (...) Nonnulli etiam ex ipsis asserentes, se esse de tertio ordine beati Francisci poenitentium vocato.”

⁴⁸⁸ Ibid.: “(...) episcopos quoque et eorum superiores et etiam alios praelatos quoscunque, qui praedictis personis

In May 1318, when the four Spiritual friars were handed over to the secular arm in Marseille, the news spread quickly through the Beguin network. In his testimony, the Franciscan tertiary Peire Calvet recounted how the renowned Peire Trencavel had brought the news to Cintegabelle, and claimed that the friars had been burned due to the envy of other Franciscans and for defending their rule, which they considered evangelical.⁴⁸⁹ Maria de Serra, also a tertiary, admitted that as early as in May 1318, someone from Narbonne—presumably the same Trencavel—arrived in Cintegabelle carrying the relics of one of the friars burned in Marseille.⁴⁹⁰ Meanwhile, in Belpech, Bernard de Na Jacma had the confessions of the four friars in writing.⁴⁹¹ Some of the members of the network had personally known them, such as the widows Ermessenda Grossa and Sibil-la Cazelle, both of them from Gignac.⁴⁹² Some others had acquaintances among the rebel friars who after the summoning to Avignon and the inquisitorial examination were imposed the relatively lighter penance of being transferred to remote convents where they were to be disciplined by their new superiors. For instance, Bernard Mauri had supported the claims of the friars Guilhem de Saint-Amans, Francesc Sans, Servià and others from the Franciscan convent of Narbonne, although he claimed not to have helped them after they were remanded to the inquisitor of Marseille.⁴⁹³

Furthermore, as mentioned above, many of these friars decided to open the sealed letters given to them and fled afterwards, which soon earned them the label of ‘apostates’, but the Beguins knew who they were and still considered them full members of the Order of St Francis. Andreu Berenguer, the brother of the aforementioned Berenguer sisters, received in his home

vel aliis ritus vivendi et habitum supradictos prater speciale apostolicae sedis auctoritatem deinceps concesserint, praedictae excommunicationis poenae ipso iure decernimus subiacere.”

⁴⁸⁹ Pales-Gobilliard, *Le livre des sentences*, 1366: “(...) quod Petrus Trencavelli veniens apud Cinctam Gavellam, narravit Beguinis ipso audiente quod IIIIor fratres Minores fuerant condempnati tanquam heretici apud Massiliam (...) et dicebant quod fuerant condempnati male et injuste per invidiam aliorum fratrum Minorum (...) et quod sustinuerant mortem pro veritate sue regule que erat vita evangelica.”

⁴⁹⁰ Ibid., 1372: “(...) dixit quod IIIIor anni sunt quod in mense mayi proxime preterito, ut sibi videtur, quidam quem nominat qui venerat de versus Narbonam et portabat cuidam persone quam nominat de reliquiis de aliquo fratre Minorum combusto in Massilia.”

⁴⁹¹ Ibid., 1340: “Item dixit se habuisse et tenuisse confessions IIIIor fratrum Minorum qui combustion fuerunt in Massilia.”

⁴⁹² Respectively, Doat 27, fol. 14r: “Item unum de quatuor fratribus minoribus Massiliæ combustis novit, et apud Ginhacum vidit,” and ibid., fol. 16v: “(...) unum de fratribus minoribus qui combusti fuerunt Massiliæ olim novit.”

⁴⁹³ Doat 35, fol. 25v–26r: “(...) fuit adherens appellationibus et provocationibus factis ad sedem apostolicam per fratres Gillelmum de Sancto Amantio, Franciscum Santii, Servianum et pluries alios commorantes tunc in conventu fratrum minorum Narbonæ. (...) Interrogatus si unquam illis fratribus inhobedientibus et rebellibus domino nostro summo pontifici qui nunc est (...) ipse dedit consilium auxilium vel favorem dixit quod non postquam dicti fratres qui combusti fuerunt Massiliæ ducti fuerunt Massiliam ad dictum inquisitores hæreticæ pravitatis.”

two of these friars, for he knew them from before and thus thought that they truly belonged to the Order.⁴⁹⁴ Alaraxis Biasse received in her home of Sauvian two Franciscans who had already been there before, but this time around wore blue tunics on top of their habits. They told her they were dressed like that because they didn't want to go to the remote convents to which they had been sent by their ministers to be imprisoned.⁴⁹⁵ Pons Elies, an inhabitant from Laure-Minervo, received in his house Franciscan apostates disguised in secular habit for fear of the inquisitor of Marseille.⁴⁹⁶ Thus, the Beguin network was mostly informed about the ordeal of Avignon and Marseille by the friars who had survived it, who provided their own explanation for what was happening, and with it the basis for the arguments that the members of Beguin communities would later defend before the inquisitors.

The execution had quite an impact on Beguins and sympathisers alike. Peire Esperendiu heard the Beguins of Narbonne claim that the friars should have never been burned and that they had been condemned most unjustly.⁴⁹⁷ In Belpech, Peire Morés believed that Christ had been spiritually condemned and crucified anew in the four friars of Marseille;⁴⁹⁸ and according to the deposition of Raimon de Bosch, said Peire even added that the four friars were like the four arms of Christ's cross.⁴⁹⁹ Inquisitors directly asked about the executed friars and what the suspects thought about them; the similarities in the formulas are too many as to be attributed to mere coincidences in the phrasing of the answers. Although Peire de l'Hospital claimed that the four friars had died defending evangelical truth, and Peire Domenge, from Narbonne, said

⁴⁹⁴ Doat 27, fol. 11r: "(...) duo de ipsis primatis (sic.) in habitu seculari quos ipse antea alias viderat, et noverat dum essent in ordine."

⁴⁹⁵ Doat 28, fol. 216v–217r: "(...) duos fratres minores quos nominat qui primo fuerant in domo ipsius loquentis, postea in seculari habitu, scilicet in vestibus de blavo de super et habitu ordinis de subtus, in dicta domo sua receptavit qui fratres dixerunt ipsi loquenti quod sic ibant in habitu seculari quia noluerant ire ad conventus remotos ad quos mittebantur per eorum ministros pro eo videlicet quia in litteris clausis quas portabant inspexerant et viderant quod eorum ministri mandabant eos incarcerari in conventibus ipsis ad quos mittebantur."

⁴⁹⁶ Doat 28, fol. 118r: "Item dixit quod multotiens in domo sua apud Laurantum vidit et receptavit (...) aliquos apostatas de ordine minorum euntes in habitu seculari propter timorem inquisitoris Massiliensis."

⁴⁹⁷ Doat 28, fol. 250r: "(...) alios quos nominat loqui de fratribus minoribus Massiliæ combustis audivit, et inter alios unum dixit 'lassas les anar, car a grant tort sont justifiats et morts'."

⁴⁹⁸ Pales-Gobilliard, *Le livre des sentences*, 1316: "Item credidit et credebat quod Christus fuerit iterum spiritualiter condempnatus et crucifixus in illis IIIor fratribus Minoribus qui fuerunt apud Massiliam, tres anni sunt elapsi, per iudicium inquisitoris heretice pravitatis condempnati velut heretici et relictis iudicio curie secularis et combusti."

⁴⁹⁹ Ibid., 1302: "Item audivit dici a Petro Moresii de Bellopodio quod illi IIIor fratres Minores, qui fuerunt apud Massiliam condempnati sicut heretici et combusti, habuerunt similitudinem IIIor parcium vel capitum crucis Christi." Although this opinion does not appear in any of the other extant depositions related to the Beguin network, Bernard Gui deemed it sufficiently important as to record it in the section of the *Practica* devoted to Beguin beliefs; see Mollat, *Manuel de l'inquisiteur*, vol. 1, 128: "Item, quidam ex ipsis dicunt quod in ipsis IIIor fratribus Minoribus fuit Christus iterum spiritualiter crucifixus tanquam in IIIor brachiis crucis."

that they died defending Christ's life, both interrogations were conducted by Bernard Gui, and the questions were posed in the same manner, mentioning "the four friars who were executed in Marseille around 1318 and the Beguins or tertiaries who were condemned as heretics in the province of Narbonne in 1319, 1320, and 1321."⁵⁰⁰

Thus, the burning of the friars became a time marker that was used both by inquisitors in their interrogations and by deponents in their answers. Bernard Castilló dated a conversation he had with the Beguines he housed in Montpellier to a time "after the burning of the four friars in Marseille";⁵⁰¹ Bernard Peyrotas, when asked about how long he had held his heretical beliefs, answered that he had done so "from the time he heard about the unjust condemnation of the four Franciscan friars in Marseille to the capture of the last Beguin in Lodève";⁵⁰² and the priest Peire de Tornamira claimed that he had taken off the habit of the Beguins after the execution of the four friars.⁵⁰³

Over the following two years, different episcopal courts would follow the directives of *Sancta romana* and prosecute suspects of involvement in the Beguin movement all over Languedoc. Evidence of this early episcopal inquisitorial activity is recorded in later depositions, showing the active part played by the archiepiscopal court of Narbonne, and the bishops and episcopal officials of Béziers, Maguelone, and especially, Pamiers and Lodève in the attempts at dismantling these communities. The earliest extant reference in this regard is provided by a letter sent by Pope John XXII to the bishop of Maguelone, Andreu Frédol, on 18 September 1318 in which the pontiff commands Frédol to inform him about "several inquisitions against Beguins" carried out in his diocese.⁵⁰⁴ As for later mentions of the involvement of this particular

⁵⁰⁰ Respectively, Pales-Gobilliard, *Le livre des sentences*, 1614–16: "Item credidit et credit et asserit se credere et tenere quod illi IIIor fratres Minores qui fuerunt apud Massiliam per iudicium inquisitoris heretice pravitatis a IIIor annis citra tanquam heretici condempnati, ac etiam illi Beguini seu fratres de terciā regula sancti Francisci qui fuerunt condempnati tanquam heretici (...) in diversis locis in provincia Narbonensi (...) a tribus et a duobus et ab uno annis citra"; and *ibid.*, 1604: "Item asserit se credere et tenere quod illi IIIor fratres Minores qui fuerunt apud Massiliam per iudicium inquisitoris heretice pravitatis de maturo consilio tanquam heretici condempnati a IIIor annis citra et etiam Beguinis seu fratres de terciō ordine penitencium seu de terciā regula sancti Francisci qui fuerunt condempnati tanquam heretici (...) a tribus et a duobus et ab uno annis citra in provincia Narbonensi."

⁵⁰¹ Doat 27, fol. 20r: "(...) post combustionem vero illorum quatuor Messaliæ (sic.) combustorum, a prædictis Beguinis (...) audivit."

⁵⁰² Doat 28, fol. 21r: "(...) a tempore quo audivit dici illos quatuor fratres minores Massiliæ combustos fuisse iniuste condempnatos usque ad tempus quo fuit captus ultimo in Lodova, scilicet anno domini millesimo trecentesimo vicesimo secundo."

⁵⁰³ Germain, "Une consultation inquisitoriale," 338: "(...) et tunc, postquam dicti fratres Minores fuerunt combusti in Massilia, quando persecutio Beguinorum fuit inchoata et inceperunt condempnari, ipse loquens, ad instantiam et inductionem aliquorum amicorum suorum, dimisit habitum predictum, et societatem dictorum Beguinorum."

⁵⁰⁴ Eubel, ed., *Bullarium Franciscanum*, vol. 5, 157: "Cum, sicut, audivimus, per te vel tuam curiam inquisitio

court, Aliseta Boneta, Bernard Castilló, and Bernard Peyrotas confessed that they had visited a group of Beguins and Beguines imprisoned in the episcopal gaol of Maguelone, and Ermessenda Grossa was deposed by the bishop himself years before her questioning of November 1325 by Henri de Chamayou.⁵⁰⁵ In this same line, Bernard Mauri's confession provides one of the earliest testimonies of the inquisitions undertaken by archiepiscopal authorities, for he admitted that the vicars of the archbishop had questioned him in Narbonne around 1319, and that he was later captured and imprisoned in the archiepiscopal gaol for twenty-four weeks, after which he was released. In close collaboration with the archiepiscopal inquisitor, the Dominican inquisitor of Carcassonne Jean de Beaune sentenced Mauri to wear crosses, to go on pilgrimage to Carcassonne, Limoux, Narbonne, and Béziers, to hear mass at the cathedral of Narbonne every Sunday, and to make public penance.⁵⁰⁶ Bernard Mauri was probably sentenced on 14 October 1319, during the first known general sermon that ended with the execution of members of the Beguin network.⁵⁰⁷ Mai de Blandisio, Peire de Fraxino, and Bernard Raimon de Monesc were handed over to the secular arm by the archbishop Bernard de Fargues and the inquisitor Jean de Beaune and burned in the graveyard of the church of Saint Felix.⁵⁰⁸ Their deaths were

facta et nonnulli processus habiti fuerint contra beguinos et quosdam alios, qui in dioecesi tua nonnullos seminasse dicuntur errores."

⁵⁰⁵ The Beguins imprisoned in Maguelone would be burned on 18 October 1321 in Lunel. Doat 27, fol. 27v: "Item Beguinos et Beguinas in carceribus episcopi Magalonensis detentos qui postea fuerunt in Lunello combusti in ipsis carceribus visitavit"; *ibid.*, fol. 20r: "(...) et demum captis et detentis eisdem in carcere domini Magalonensis episcopi eos visitavit"; Doat 28, fol. 26v: "(...) et tunc visitavit quinque Begguinos qui detinebantur in carcere domini episcopi Magalonensis"; Doat 27, fol. 16r: "confessum fuisse in curia domini episcopi Magalonensis."

⁵⁰⁶ On the basis of the *Chronica* of Nicholas the Minorite, which largely drew on the work of Michele da Cesena, Louisa Burnham notes that the archbishop of Narbonne was working alongside the inquisitor of Carcassonne from 1321 onwards, however, the case of Bernard Mauri allows us to move that date back to at least October 1319; cf. Burnham, *So Great a Light*, 169, n. 142. On this early conviction of Bernard Mauri, who was also supposed to appear before a papal penitentiary in Avignon before the following Easter and to provide penitential letters proving that he had fulfilled all penances, see Doat 35, fol. 24r–v: "(...) vicarios generales Reverendi in Christo Patris Domini Bernard Dei gratia archiepiscopi Narbonensis (...) fuit citatus, captus et detentus ac inquisitus in et super facto fidei et stetit captus in carceribus dicti Domini archiepiscopi Narbonensis per viginti quatuor septimanas vel circa (...) unacum religioso viro fratre Johanne de Belna ordinis prædicatorum inquisitore quondam hæreticæ pravitate de gente Carcassonæ sententialiter in dicto loco Narbona cruce signatus, et aliis poenitentiis astrictus."

⁵⁰⁷ According to his deposition, Mauri was sentenced to wear crosses from around the feast of Saint Luke, on 18 October 1319, up until the feast of Saint Martin (11 November) or Saint Catherine (25 November) of that same year, which would fit the date of the sermon; Doat 35, fol. 24v: "(...) quod a die dictæ latæ sententiæ quæ fuit ut sibi videtur vel ante vel post festum sancti Lucæ evangelistæ per quindecim die vel circa usque ad festum sancti Martini vel beatæ Katerinæ tunc proxime futurum portaret et portare tenetur duas cruces crocei coloris patenter in suis superioribus vestibus."

⁵⁰⁸ Giovanni Mansi, *Stephani Baluzii Tutelensis Miscellanea* (Paris: Riccomini 1761), vol. 2, 257: "Anno Domini millesimo nono decimo (...) die quartadecima Octobris. Noverint universi quod cum Reverendus in Christo Pater Dominus Bernardus divina providentia sanctæ Narbonensis Ecclesiæ Archiepiscopus et frater Iohannes de Belna Inquisitor hæreticæ pravitate a sede apostolica in regno Franciæ deputatus, sedentes pro tribunali in cimiterio Ecclesiæ Sancti Felicis Narbonensis, diffinitive pronuntiaverint Magtarellum de Brandis, Petrum Sartorem de

witnessed by many in the city but the news would also reach Beguin communities farther away. In Narbonne, Peire Esperendiu attended the execution, where he heard Bernard Mauri preach—not too publicly, one might presume—and Guilhema Civile used it as a time marker in her deposition.⁵⁰⁹ In Belpech and Saverdun, Bernard de Na Jacma and Mateu Terré saw them as martyrs, and nearby, in Cintegabelle, Raimon d’Antusan kept a piece of wood from the stake to which they had been bound when they were burned.⁵¹⁰ The archpriest Germà d’Alanh, who acted as archiepiscopal inquisitor from 1320 to 1323, was also involved in the early inquests into the Beguin movement, as attested by the later depositions of Guilhema Berenguer and the merchant Peire Montlaur, who confessed before the Dominican inquisitors Jean du Prat and Pierre Brun in December 1325 and January 1326, respectively.⁵¹¹

Other episcopal courts were also active in these early stages of the prosecution of Beguin communities. The harness maker Peire Massot and the tailor Peire Dayssan confessed first before the bishop of Béziers, the aforementioned Guilhem Frédol, and only later, in 1325, would they appear before Dominican inquisitors.⁵¹² All the inquisitions conducted by Bernard Gui on actors of the Beguin network were also presided over by the bishop of Pamiers, Jacques Fournier, and it was in the episcopal gaol of Pamiers that the members of the group of Cintegabelle and Belpech concocted their plan not to incriminate others. For instance, Bernarda d’Antusan declared that she and her husband Raimon were released after having complied with the will of the bishop of Pamiers and the inquisitor of Toulouse.⁵¹³

Fraxino, et Bernardum Raymundi de Monesco de Tolosa hæreticos (...) et ipsos reliquerint curiæ sæculari.”

⁵⁰⁹ Doat 28, fol. 250r: “Item quando frater Maduis et P. de Fraxino fuerant condemnati in cimiterio Sancti Felicis Narbonæ ipse loquens interfuit et a longe audivit frater Bernardum Maurini tunc prædicantem; ibid., 227v: “(...) in qua credentia stetit continue usquequo frater Madius fuit condemnatus.”

⁵¹⁰ Pales-Gobilliard, *Le livre des sentences*, 1332: “Item dixit se credidisse quod frater Madius et P. de Fraxino qui fuerunt per dominum archiepiscopum Narbonensem et inquisitorem Carcassonensem iudicati heretici et postea ut tales combusti (...) esse martires et sanctos”; ibid., 1378: “(...) credens fratrem Madium qui (...) condemnatus et combustus fuerat ut hereticus apud Narbonam esse martirem Christi”; and ibid., 1342: “Item quod habuit et recepit unam particulam de ligno seu de palo ad quem palum fuerat ligatus frater Madius vel frater P. de Fraxino quando fuerunt combusti, postquam fuerant tanquam heretici iudicati per iudicium domini archiepiscopi Narbonensis et inquisitoris Carcassonensis.”

⁵¹¹ Doat 28, fol. 208v: “(...) dicens se de prædictis antea confessa fuisse domino Germano de Alanhano, non tamen omnia supradicta dixerat coram ipso”; ibid., 224r: “(...) confessum se fuisse asserit dudum ante confessionem præsentem coram domino Germano de Alanhano, inquisitore per dominum Narbonensem archiepiscopum deputato (...) vero in dicta confessione sua contenta non coram ipso domino Germano confessus fuit (...) plenariam veritatem dicere voluit.”

⁵¹² Doat 27, fol. 14r: “(...) dicit se fuisse confessum in curia domini episcopi Bitterrensis”; Doat 28, fol. 214v: “(...) ad tempus quo ivit ad confitendum domino episcopo Bitterrensi (...) dixit tamen quod tunc non confessus fuit ita plene sicut nunc est in Carcassona.”

⁵¹³ Pales-Gobilliard, *Le livre des sentences*, 1356: “(...) et ipsa respondit eis quod capti fuerant et confessi, et fecerant voluntatem domini episcopi Appamiensis et inquisitoris Tholosani, et fuerunt relaxati.”

But the most effective episcopal court in this regard was doubtlessly Lodève. Under the direction of the bishop Jacques de Concoz many suspects of involvement in the “heresy of the Beguins” were captured in 1320 and forced to abjure. Several deponents testify to their previous appearance before the bishop, but the deposition of Manenta Rosa Maur is particularly telling, for she recounts how it was “public knowledge” that her neighbour Raimunda Rigaud had fled for fear of being captured by the bishop of Lodève along with other Beguins.⁵¹⁴ Jacques de Concoz, who occupied the episcopal see from 1318 to 1322, was himself a Dominican, and, furthermore, he was the confessor of John XXII. In 1320, it was he who answered on behalf of the Pope the request of an unnamed bishop who asked for guidance on how to identify and prosecute Beguins, and Concoz referred him to the expertise of the inquisitors of Carcassonne and Toulouse—Jean de Beaune and Bernard Gui at the time. Jean de Beaune’s response is recorded in Doat 37 (fols. 74v–81v) and provides the basis to understand the inquisitorial definition of this dissident movement in this early period.⁵¹⁵

When analysing inquisitorial records in search for the beliefs maintained by any dissident group we must be aware that since deponents were not giving a voluntary statement of their creed, it is only possible to learn about those beliefs that posed a concern for inquisitors. Furthermore, in the early stages of the persecution, repressing authorities did not yet have a clear picture of the specific features of the heretical movement in question, and needed to define these themselves before making decisions on who was and who was not a heretic or a sympathiser of heretics. This definition drew on two main sources, the official documents, regulations, and sentences pronounced by hierarchical authorities and the fieldwork experience of those officials in charge of suppressing heretical movements. Thus, the unnamed bishop who wrote asking for advice probably had access to the documents related to the inquisition conducted by Michel Le Moine against the Spiritual friars, but lacked the basis for a more practical approach to the problem of

⁵¹⁴ Berengaria Estorg, Bernard Durban, Bernard Malaura, the aforementioned Bernard Peyrotas, Jacma Lauret, and Martí de Sant Antoni were all deposed at the episcopal court of Lodève in 1320. See Manenta’s testimony on Raimunda Rigauda, Doat 27, fol. 80v: “(...) audiverat tamen antea dici ipsa loquens sicut dixit et fuit vox et fama inter gentes de Lodova cum dicta Raimunda recessit de Lodova quod recesserat propter timorem quem habuit quod caperetur in curia domini episcopi Lodovensium cum alii Beguini capiebantur.”

⁵¹⁵ Doat 37, fol. 74v: “(...) Verum quia scripsistis quod vobis scriptum fuerat per dominum episcopum Ludovensem de voluntate aut mandato domini nostri summi Pontificis quod in dubiis quæ scripsistis recurreretis ad inquisitores Carcassonæ vel Tholosæ, ea quæ mihi videntur super infrascriptis articulis seu dubiis per vos transmissis respondeo.” Although the response itself is not signed, it is clear that it had to be written by either the inquisitor of Carcassonne or the inquisitor of Toulouse. Sylvain Piron convincingly argues that it had to be the work of Jean de Beaune by noting the stark differences between this text and the writings of Bernard Gui on Beguins. For a detailed analysis of the production context and the inclusion of this response as part of a compilation made by Jean de Beaune as a result of his involvement in the prosecution of Beguins, see Sylvain Piron, “Un cahier de travail de l’inquisiteur Jean de Beaune,” *Oliviana* 2 (2006), accessed 5 October 2016, URL: <http://oliviana.revues.org/26>. The document is also edited in Mansi, *Stephani Baluzii*, vol. 2, 274–76.

their lay supporters. In this sense, the process of identification and definition of the Beguins of Languedoc by episcopal and papal inquisitors in the early 1320s went through several stages that kept adding more features to the whole picture of these communities.

The main argument in Jean de Beaune's 1320 reply to the bishop's request was papal authority, for, according to the inquisitor, refusing to submit to papal orders equalled heresy. Since papal power supersedes the Franciscan Rule, the pontiff had full authority to issue a bull such as *Quorundam exigit*, and was also allowed to suppress any religious order.⁵¹⁶ From this it followed that since the four friars burned in Marseille had rejected not only the content of the bull itself but also, and more importantly, the ability of the Pope to modify their Rule in any way, their condemnation as heretics had been fully justified, and so was their punishment. Thus, the attitude of suspects about this episode was key to judge whether they had trespassed the limits of orthodoxy.⁵¹⁷

Another more specific piece of evidence was also to be taken into account regarding this group, namely their defence of Olivian doctrine as Catholic, and of Olivian writings as revealed by the Holy Spirit.⁵¹⁸ Finally, Jean de Beaune also discussed the different ways to counteract the tactics used by the suspects to avoid convictions on the grounds of ignorance, false compliance, and allegedly twisted arguments. The inquisitor claims that it is not plausible that they remained ignorant when the errors for which the friars had been condemned had been so publicly exposed.⁵¹⁹ Furthermore, suspects were not to be trusted when they declared they believed what any Catholic should believe, for they were being purposefully and cunningly ambiguous given that "their sect" maintained that "the Catholics were those who refused to obey the Pope" in matters referring to the Franciscan conflict.⁵²⁰

⁵¹⁶ Doat 37, fols. 75v–76r: "(...) illi qui pertinaciter asseverunt quod Papa Romanus condendo et promulgando quandam constitutionem seu declarationem seu interpretationem regulæ fratrum minorum quæ constitutio incipit 'Quorundam' et hæc condemnauerat vitam Christi (...) et quod ideo est hæreticus et perdidit potestatem ecclesiasticam (...) Prædicta igitur asserentes pertinaciter credo esse velut hæreticos condemnandos"; *ibid.*, fol. 76 v: "Item asserentes quod Papa non potuit cassare regulam beati Francisci vel aliquam aliam quamvis eam potuerit confirmare expresse obviat potestati apostolicæ (...) ita potest eundem ordinem tollere."

⁵¹⁷ *Ibid.*, fol. 78v: "Item illi qui laudant approbant seu commendant damnatos hæreticos per Ecclesiæ iudicium et dicunt eos esse martyres iustos et sanctos tali iudicio non obstante, non video quin tales censendi sint credentes hæreticorum erroribus implicitorum et deffensorum eorum in crimine."

⁵¹⁸ *Ibid.*, fols. 76v–77r: "Item de doctrina insana fratris Petri Joannis de ordine fratrum minorum quam præfati insensati dicunt esse a Spiritu Sancto revelatam, et nullum errorem vel hæresim continere dicunt quod in his quæ scripsit super Apocalipsim beati Joannis inveniuntur quamplures continentes hæresim et errorem."

⁵¹⁹ *Ibid.*, fol. 79v: "(...) quod contra tales tamquam contra credentes hæreticorum erroribus sit procedendum, non obstante quod ad velamen suæ malitiæ dicant se tales nescivisse, nec credere eos errores tenuisse, quia propter errores esse condemnatos (...) non sit verisimile quod apud eos remanserit ignotum et ignoratum illud quod est tan famose publice divulgatum."

⁵²⁰ *Ibid.*, fol. 80v–81r: "(...) sed respondendo ambigue dicentes se credere de illis illud quod Catholicus de hoc

The analysis of the eighty-one depositions that include information about the beliefs in circulation within the Beguin network shows how these issues introduced by Jean de Beaune, which were in part a result of the earliest interrogations, kept coming up over the following decade. The injustice of the executions of friars and Beguins, the belief that they had died as glorious martyrs and were in Paradise, the issue of papal authority, the illegitimacy of *Quorundam exigit*, and the Catholic nature of Olivi's writings rank the highest among the different tenets that made up what we could call the Beguin belief system.

The most immediate consequence of the first inquisitions on the Beguin movement was the need to extend the original line of questioning regarding the burning of the friars in Marseille to encompass the executions that soon followed across Languedoc. Around 80% of these depositions include references to wrongful condemnations.⁵²¹ In the spring of 1322, in Cintegabelle, Bernarda d'Antusan admitted that she thought the four dead friars to be martyrs, adding that the same could be said about the Beguins that had been burned in the following years, and giving a quite accurate account of such executions in Narbonne, Capestang, Lunel, Lodève, and Agde.⁵²² Also in Cintegabelle, Peire Calvet commented how when they first heard about the deaths of the friars—probably in May 1318, according to other testimonies—they had all agreed that they were holy martyrs, and the following year, when Beguins started to be burned “in the province of Narbonne by prelates and by the inquisitor of Carcassonne,” Peire and others in his group claimed that they had been unjustly condemned too.⁵²³ Nearby, in Belpech, the “minister of Beguins” Peire de Mazères provided the motives that lay behind the execution of the friars, once again repeating that they had been unjustly condemned for claiming that the Pope could

debet credere, dico quod nisi expresse et clare respondeant in iudicio se aut credere aut non credere, eosdem talium responsio cum sit dubia et ambigua et suspecta pro non responsione est habenda. In quo caso censendi sunt se illos credere errores quos nolunt expresse negare se credere maxime cum secta illorum dicat esse Catholicos illos qui Papæ in supradictis articulis non consensimus (sic.).”

⁵²¹ The quantitative data that follow are based on the analysis of eighty-one depositions out of the total ninety-five introduced in the previous section.

⁵²² Pales-Gobilliard, *Le livre des sentences*, 1352: “(...) et credidit esse sanctos martires illos quatuor fratres Minores qui fuerunt apud Massiliam tanquam hereticos iudicati (...) et combusti per curiam secularem (...) Item credidit et credebat et dicebat esse sanctos martires et sustinuisse mortem injuste Beguinos de tercio ordine qui fuerunt condemnati tanquam heretici (...) et combusti per curiam secularem a tribus et a duobus et ab uno annis citra in diversis locis in provincia Narbonensi, videlicet Narbona una vice tres et altera vice XXIus inter viros et mulieres, et in Capite Stagno frater Jacobus de Rivo et Bernardus Leonis de Monte Regali cum quibusdam aliis, et in dyocesi Magalonensi apud Lunellum XVII tam viri quam mulieres, et apud Lodovam aliqui, et Bitteram una vice duo et altera vice VII, et aliqui in diocese Agathensi.”

⁵²³ Pales-Gobilliard, *Le livre des sentences*, 1366: “(...) et extunc ipse P. Calveti et alii Beguini inter se condampnatione predictorum fratrum multociens et in multis locis loquebantur (...) et tam ipse quam alii dicebant illos esse sanctos martires. Item duo anni cum dimidio sunt elapsi quod in ceperunt condemnari et fuerunt postmodum condemnati tanquam heretici in diversis locis in provincia Narbonensi per prelatos et per inquisitorem Carcassonensem multi Beguini (...) inter se pluries et in pluribus locis dicebant quod injuste et per ividiam erant condemnati.”

not dispense from vows of poverty, that forcing Franciscans to have cellars and granaries was against the evangelical Rule of St Francis, and that he should therefore not be obeyed.⁵²⁴

About three years later, in the fall of 1325, in Narbonne, the weaver Guilhem Quartier still confessed that he had discussed the matter many times with many people and that they all thought that the executed Beguins had been unjustly condemned—a *tort et a peccat*—that they had led a saintly life and were the light of the Catholic faith, and that, as such, they were already in Paradise as holy martyrs.⁵²⁵ Many linked the loss of papal authority precisely to the decisions the pontiff had made regarding the Spiritual Franciscans. For instance, also in Narbonne, Astruga de Rundaria declared that she had heard that John XXII had once held such authority but had lost it when he condemned the friars in Marseille.⁵²⁶ In the summer of 1325, in Montpellier, Bernard Castilló claimed that he had believed in the sanctity of the condemned Beguins until he was told that they erred against the articles of the Catholic faith and papal *potestas*.⁵²⁷ Also in Montpellier, Na Prous Boneta would attribute the pontiff's fall from grace to his sins, which were mainly betraying the Franciscans and condemning the writings of Peter of John Olivi, and which she likened to the sin of Adam.⁵²⁸

The failure, or better yet, the refusal to comply with *Quorundam exigit* was right at the root of the problem, not only for the authorities but also for the members of the Beguin network. During the earliest extant interrogations of March 1322, Maria de Serra summed it up in rather simple terms, the Pope should not have granted granaries and cellars to Franciscans, for Saint

⁵²⁴ Ibid., fol. 1310: "(...) credidit IIIor fratres Minores condempnatos in Massilia tanquam hereticos, de quibus audiverat quod dixerant et tenerant quod dominus papa non poterat dispensare in voto paupertatis contra regulam sancti Francisci, cum fratribus Minoribus quod haberent bladum et vinum in conmmuni in cellariis et granariis, quia hoc erat contra votum paupertatis regule evangelice sancti Francisci; tenerant etiam quod fratres Minores non debebant obedire domino pape nec tenebantur servare ordinacionem seu declaracionem quam fecerat per quamdam decretalem seu constitucionem que erat contra dictam regulam."

⁵²⁵ Doat 28, fol. 205v: "Item cum diversis personis de Narbona et aliunde quas nominat loquutus fuit et eas loqui audivit diversis vicibus, pluries et diversis temporibus et locis de facto Begguinorum, et fratrum minorum Massiliæ condemnatorum et combustorum dicendo adinvicem quod dicti Begguini fuerant homines de bonæ vitæ et sanctæ et erant lumen sanctæ fidei Catholicæ et quod *a tort et a peccat* fuerant condemnati, et quod erant salvi et sancti martires in paradiso."

⁵²⁶ Ibid., fol. 225r: "(...) a quibus audivit quod dominus Johannes Papa qui nunc est fuerat electus canonice et a principio habuerat potestatem papalem sed in illa hora qua fecit fratres minores Massiliæ condemnari perdidit suam potestatem papalem."

⁵²⁷ Doat 27, fols. 20v–21r: "Item audivit ab eis Beguinos Narbonæ in Capitestagno, Bitterris, et Lodova condempnatos et combustos reputari bonos homines et Catholicos sanctos et dici sanctos martires et hæc omnia credebatur tunc et credidit donec advertit quod dicti condempnati errabant contra articulum fidei de sancta Ecclesia Catholica et de potestate domini Papæ."

⁵²⁸ Ibid., fol. 59r–v: "Item dixit sibi Christus ut asserit quod ita magnum fuit peccatum istius Papæ quando tradidit morti fratres minores quam magnum fuit peccatum Adæ quando comedit pomum. (...) Item quod ita magnum fuit peccatum istius Papæ quando condempnavit scripturam fratris Petri Ioannis sancti Patris, quam fuit peccatum ipsius Adæ quando comederat pomum et ob accusavit fœminam, scilicet Evam."

Francis had not authorised it.⁵²⁹ Guilhem Ros went further and claimed that the Pope, who had lost his authority when he condemned the four friars in Marseille, had unjustly issued an edict on granaries and cellars, and upon doing so, he had become the mystical Antichrist who prepared the way for the Great Antichrist.⁵³⁰ In the inquisitions carried out in 1325, the issue of *Quorundam exigit* remained front and centre in the suspects' depositions. In Carcassonne, Jacma Sobiran recounted how even before the summoning to Avignon in 1317 the Franciscan Raimon de Johan had told her that the Spiritual friars did not want granaries and cellars.⁵³¹ In Montpellier, the aforementioned Bernard Castilló said that just as the Pope could not allow a priest to marry, neither could he allow Franciscans to have granaries and cellars, and therefore, he should not have made a decretal about it.⁵³² In Lodève, the butcher Bernard Malaura believed that the friars who had died for refusing to comply with said decretal were holy martyrs.⁵³³ And in Narbonne, whereas Berengaria Verrier thought the Pope had sinned when he ordered Franciscans to have granaries and cellars, her husband Guilhem Verrier outright believed the pontiff was a heretic and the mystical Antichrist for doing so.⁵³⁴ The weaver Guilhem Ademar added that such an edict diminished the evangelical perfection of the Rule, and the tailor Blas Boer claimed to have heard that it was an unjust constitution and that the friars did not have to abide by it.⁵³⁵ Finally, the testimony of Peire Esperendiu, an eyewitness to the execution

⁵²⁹ Pales-Gobilliard, *Le livre des sentences*, 1374: "(...) dominus papa qui nunc est non debuit concedere fratribus Minoribus granaria vel cellaria, nec poterat in hoc dispensare, quia, ut dicebant, sanctus Franciscus non concessit eis."

⁵³⁰ Ibid., 1360: "Item quod dominus papa Johannes XXIIus, faciendo constitutionem seu declarationem quod fratres Minores possent habere granaria et cellaria ad conservandum bladum et vinum in communi, fecit injuste et contra regulam sancti Francisci, et in hoc condemnavit paupertatem et vitam et Evangelium Jhesu Christi et fecit factum Anti-Christale et fuit factus mysticus Anti-Christus, preparator vie majoris Anti-Christi."

⁵³¹ Doat 28, fol. 212r: "Item dixit ipsa loquens se audivisse a dicto fratre Raymundo, et aliis antequam citati fuissent, quod non debebant nec volebant habere granaria nec cellaria, nec aliqua reservare."

⁵³² Doat 27, fol. 20v: "Item quod non potuerat dispensare quod unus cappellanus duceret uxorem nec quod fratres minores haberent granaria et cellaria. Item quod non potuerat nec debebat fecisse illam decretalem quam fecerat super granariis et cellariis."

⁵³³ Doat 28, fol. 17r: "(...) se audivisse a pluribus quod fratres minores qui noluerunt obedire constitutioni facte per dominum Papam et propter hoc fuerant incarcerati et puniti erant sancti et martires."

⁵³⁴ Ibid., fol. 121v: "(...) et quos iste dominus Johannes Papa vicesimus secundus qui nunc est peccaverat quia concesserat fratribus minoribus quod haberent granaria et cellaria"; ibid., fol. 242v: "Item habebant dictum dominum Johannem Papam suspectum quod esset hæreticus et mysticus Antechristus, pro eo quod condemnauerat quatuor fratres minores Massiliæ condemnatos et combustos vel quia fecit eos condemnari pro eo quod petebant puram observantiam votorum suorum, et quia dominus Papa fecerat decretalem super granariis et cellariis habendis per eos."

⁵³⁵ Doat 28, fol. 229v: "Item quod dictus dominus Papa non poterat in regula dictorum fratrum minorum dispensare sicut nec in Evangelio, quia totum est idem nec eis concedere granaria et cellaria, quin esset ad diminutionem Evangelicæ perfectionis et regula eorundem"; Doat 27, fol. 84r-v: "Item audivit ab eisdem quod constitutio facta super granariis et cellariis dictorum fratrum erat iniuste facta. Item audivit a quibusdam hominibus quos nominat quod dicti fratres non tenebantur dictæ decretaledi obedire."

of October 1319 in Narbonne, rather poignantly conveys the words he heard from the priest Bernard Mauri on that occasion, which were also a reference to the controversial bull, “Pour ordi et pour brun se voulent lassar cremar aqueste gent marida, sont bien mal estrut” (“For barley and undyed cloth they want to let these people burn to death, the poor wretches”); after which Peire whispered in the manner of a prayer “Sancta Maria, vere istae bonae gentes moriuntur a grant tort” (“Holy Mary, truly these good people die unjustly”).⁵³⁶

As shown in Section 3.1, the text of the sentence pronounced by Michel le Moine had blamed Olivian writings, and specifically the *Lectura super apocalypsim*, for the heretical errors of the Spiritual friars. His works would not be officially condemned by the papacy until 1326, but already in 1320, Jean de Beaune’s response makes it clear that the opinions of theologians provided a strong enough basis as to consider the doctrine of Brother Peter of John ‘demented’, and to assert that all those who thought that it was Catholic—and, furthermore, the result of divine revelation—were at the very least foolish and at the very worst heretics. Actually, around 40% of the deponents responded to this description. Not only did they consider Olivian writings in general as Catholic, but they provided further evidence that these had indeed played an important role in the definition of their belief system. In 1322, Peire de l’Hospital, an inhabitant of Montpellier, confessed that he believed what Olivi—whom he calls holy father—had written in his *Postilla*, which had been read to him over thirty times in the vernacular.⁵³⁷ Furthermore, he would not deem it condemned even if the Pope himself were to condemn it, and were he to be excommunicated for this, he would consider such excommunication as void.⁵³⁸

Bernarda d’Antusan admitted that she had heard Olivian writings read to her and other Beguins in the vernacular, especially the *Postilla*, and that she believed these to be Catholic.⁵³⁹

⁵³⁶ Doat 28, fol. 250r–v: “(...) a longe audivit frater Bernardum Maurini tunc praedicantem et inter caetera ab eo intellexit haec verba ‘pour ordi et pour brun se voulent lassar cremar aqueste gent marida, sont bien mal estrut’ (...) quod audito ipse loquens incepit murmurare et dixerit intra se ‘Sancta Maria, vere istae bonae gentes moriuntur a grant tort’.”

⁵³⁷ Pales-Gobilliard, *Le livre des sentences*, 1616: “(...) set de hoc et de aliis que frater P. Johannis Olivi de ordine fratrum Minorum, quem vocat sanctum patrem, scripsit in postilla sua super Apocalipsim de Anti-Christi et de tempore Anti-Christi credit sicut illi scripsit”; *ibid.*, 1618: “Item quod tota doctrina et tota scriptura fratris Petri Johannis Olivi de ordine fratrum Minorum tam in postilla super Apocalipsim quam alibi est fidelis et catholica, de qua postilla audivit ipse pluries legi etiam plus quam XXXa vicibus in vulgari et plura.”

⁵³⁸ *Ibid.*, 1610: “Item quod si aliquis papa condempnaret dictam postillam aut scripturam aut doctrinam, ipse non reputaret eam condempnatam, nec alicui pape in hoc obediret, nec reputaret se excommunicatum si propter hoc excommunicaretur per aliquem papa.”

⁵³⁹ *Ibid.*, 1354: “Item aliquando audivit legi sibi et aliis Beguinis de libris fratris P. Johannis in vulgari, et specialiter de postilla ejus super Apocalipsim (...) Item dictum fratrem P. Johannis audivit commendari ab aliis Beguinis sicut sanctum Patrem, et ejus scripturam et doctrinam esse veram et catholica et ita credebatur esse.”

Peire Domenge added that Olivian doctrine and writings were just as Catholic as the doctrine of Saint John the Evangelist, and that just like him, Olivi was a saint in Paradise, although he admitted that John had greater glory.⁵⁴⁰ Others, like Peire Calvet, believed that Olivian doctrine on the Apocalypse was good and Catholic and had been sanctioned by Clement V, in what was a clear reference to *Fidei catholicae fundamento* and the aftermath of the Council of Vienne.⁵⁴¹ A few years later, Berenguer Jaoul, a merchant from Lodève, still maintained that Beguins extracted their opinions from the doctrine of Brother Peter of John, and that they did so because of the goodness of said doctrine, which posed a stark contrast to the pomp and arrogance of Roman prelates.⁵⁴²

However, despite the fact that the opusculum entitled *Transitum sancti Patris*, in circulation among Olivi's followers after his demise, did mention that Olivi himself had admitted near the end that his knowledge had directly come from God, only a few deponents defended Olivian writings as a divine revelation of the Holy Spirit or of God.⁵⁴³ Mateu Terré granted Olivi the title of Doctor of the Church and believed that God had revealed the future to him;⁵⁴⁴ Guilhem Ros maintained that Olivian doctrine was the result of the illumination of the Holy Spirit;⁵⁴⁵ and the Beguin Peire Morés claimed that Olivian writings were Catholic—bar some articles censured in Vienne—and that together with Saint Paul's works, they were the only ones that had to be accepted by the Church without changing a single letter, for, again, they had been revealed by

⁵⁴⁰ Ibid., 1606: "Item asserit se credere et tenere quod tota doctrina et scriptura fratris Petri Johannis Olivi de ordine fratrum Minorum est vera et catholica secundum intellectum quem habuit in ea sicut credit esse fidelem et catholicam doctrinam sancti Johannis evangeliste (...) et addidit se credere quod sicut Johannes evangelista est in paradiso, ita credit fratrem Petrum Johannis predictum esse in paradiso, quamvis sanctus Johannes habeat majorem gloriam."

⁵⁴¹ Ibid., 1370: "Item quod Beguini communiter tenebant et dicebant et ipse idem credebat quod doctrina et scriptura fratris Petri Johannis super Apocalipsim erat bona et catholica et quod papa Clemens aprobaverat eam." Other Beguins also defended the Catholic nature of Olivian writings while mentioning the caveat of the propositions censured at Vienne; see the deposition of Peire Tort claiming that Olivian doctrine had been purged from all errors at the Council, *ibid.*, 1410: "Item dixit quod audivit predicari in publico sermone Narbone a quodam quem in sua confessione nominat, quod tota doctrina fratris Petri Johannis Olivi et ejus scriptura erat bona, fidelis et catholica et fuit in concilio Viennensi excusata ab omni errore et laudata et etiam persona ipsius, exceptis V articulis acceptis de dicta doctrina dubiis, quos sibi retinuerat dominus papa, non tamen declaraverat dictos articulos esse erroneos."

⁵⁴² Doat 28, fol. 19r: "(...) et ita dicebant se habere et colligere ex doctrina fratris Petri Johannis ordinis minorum et ista fierent ut dicebant propter seu bonitatem, et quia sequebantur bonam vitam adiciendo quod illi qui regunt Ecclesiam Romanam vinebant in pompis deliciis supervia et fastu."

⁵⁴³ Mollat, *Manuel de l'inquisiteur*, vol. 1, 192: "(...) circa finem sui transitus, post sacram inunctionem receptam, astante sibi conventu fratrum Minorum Narbone, dixit totam scientiam suam per infusionem recepisse a Deo."

⁵⁴⁴ Pales-Gobilliard, *Le livre des sentences*, 1380: "Item dixit se credidisse quod frater P. Johannis erat sollempnis doctor ecclesie, et quod illa que debebant contingere tempore isto finali ei fuerunt revelata per Deum."

⁵⁴⁵ Ibid., 1364: "Item quod tota doctrina fratris Petri Johannis Olivi est vera et catholica et habuit eam per illuminationem Spiritus Sanctus."

the Holy Spirit.⁵⁴⁶ In 1325, Na Prous Boneta's deposition stands out, among many other things, for her passionate defence of the works of Peter of John Olivi. According to her, the writings of Brother Peter of John were "written by the hand of divinity," and due to their destruction, that is, their condemnation, which the Pope enabled, "the sacrament of the altar" lost its virtue and power.⁵⁴⁷ Just as Saint Francis bore witness to Christ's poverty, Olivi bore witness to the presence of the divinity in holy scripture, which he did through the power of the Holy Spirit.⁵⁴⁸

Thus, as Figure 3.4.1 shows at the end of this section, all the tenets ranking highest in the belief system of the Beguin network according to the extant inquisitorial records were already included in Jean de Beaune's reply to the unnamed bishop back in 1320. However, this early definition of Beguins and their sympathisers evolved over the following years drawing on the fieldwork experience of inquisitors. The nature of the interrogations experienced a sort of snowball effect in the sense that, while all deponents were probably questioned on the aforementioned early set of issues, new information kept coming up that was promptly incorporated into the following questionings, especially if said information turned out to be controversial.

The perfect example of this situation is the episode that allegedly gave rise to the controversy on the poverty of Christ, one of whose protagonists was also Jean de Beaune. In the course of the proceedings that led up to the general sermon held in Narbonne on 28 February 1322, one of the suspects—whose name remains unknown—claimed that Christ and the apostles possessed nothing, neither individually nor in common.⁵⁴⁹ During the customary inquisitorial consultation that followed, Jean de Beaune presented this claim as one of the heretical errors

⁵⁴⁶ Ibid., 1326: "Item quod non fuit aliquis doctor excepto sancto Paulo et predicto fratre Petri Johannis cujus aliqua dicta non fuerint per ecclesia refutata, set scriptura et doctrina sancti Pauli et predicti fratris P. Johannis est tenenda totaliter per ecclesiam, nec est una littera dimittenda."

⁵⁴⁷ Doat 27, fol. 61r: "Item quod quia ipse Papa destruxit scripturam dicti fratris Petri Joannis quæ erat scripta per manum divinitatis sacramentum altaris perdidit suam virtutem et potestatem quam nunquam recuperabit."

⁵⁴⁸ Ibid., fol. 65r: "Ita videlicet quod sanctus Franciscus portavit testimonium pauperis vitæ quam Christus incepit et frater Petrus Joannis tulit testimonium divinitatis in sancta scriptura (...) per virtutem spiritus sancti qui datus erat sibi."

⁵⁴⁹ This episode is recounted in the *Chronica* of Nicholas the Minorite; see Gedéon Gál, and David Flood, eds., *Nicolaus Minorita: Chronica* (St. Bonaventure, NY: Franciscan Institute Publications, 1996), 62. An excerpt of the *Chronica* focusing on the controversy that followed can be found in Eubel, ed., *Bullarium Franciscanum*, vol. 5, 224, n. 1: "(...) quidam beguinus seu bisocus fuit captus in civitate Narbonae pro facto haeresis per archiepiscopum Narbonensem et fratrem Ioannem de Belna (...) Qui beguinus inter alia asserebat, quod Christus et apostoli viam perfectionis sequentes, nihil habuerunt iure proprietatis in speciali nec in communi." The historicity of the actual events has been questioned by historians; see the analyses in Felice Tocco, *L'eresia nel Medio Evo* (Florence: Sansoni, 1884), 519–22; José Pou y Martí, *Visionarios, beguinos y fraticellos catalanes (siglos XIII-XV)* (Alicante: Instituto de Cultura Juan Gil-Abert – Diputación provincial de Alicante, 1996), 345–48; Piron, "Censures et condemnation," 70–71; and Burr, *Spiritual Franciscans*, 263.

for which the accused was to be condemned. However, the lector of the Franciscan convent of Narbonne at the time, Berenguer Taló, who was among the experts, refused to comply with the inquisitor's assessment.⁵⁵⁰ Berenguer declared that not only was the idea that Christ and the apostles owned nothing not heretical, but it was also a truth held by the Franciscan Order and had been sanctioned by the bull *Exiit qui seminat*, issued by Pope Nicholas III in 1279.⁵⁵¹ Jean de Beaune immediately accused him of heresy and both of them presented their appeals before John XXII, a process that would end up with the promulgation of *Cum inter nonnullos* in November 1323, which, as seen in Section 3.1 above, stated that defending that Christ and the apostles never owned anything, individually or in common, was indeed heretical.

Accordingly, from March 1322 onwards, the issue of Christ's possessions—or more accurately, lack thereof—joined the list of the most frequently mentioned claims in the depositions of the actors of the Beguin network. Some of their testimonies were actually quite detailed in this regard, for instance, in May 1322 Peire Tort confessed to have heard some Franciscans in Narbonne preach that Christ and the apostles owned nothing; they had also said that Christ had advised the apostles not to carry gold or silver in their belts, and not to carry a pouch or a satchel, for anyone who refused to renounce their properties could not be his disciple.⁵⁵² Peire still added that Christ had no money for him or his apostles and that he didn't use money unless under extreme necessity, but instead appointed Judas to manage and distribute it to the poor.⁵⁵³ Around that time, Bernard de Na Jacma insisted that Christ and the apostles had not owned anything and that therefore Franciscans could not own anything either, and when asked whether

⁵⁵⁰ Eubel, ed., *Bullarium Franciscanum*, vol. 5, 224, n. 1: "Quare inquisitor, volens iudicare dictum beguinum, convocavit ad concilium omnes priores, guardianos, lectores conventuum religiosorum et quam plures alios viros sapientes Narbonae existentes, inter quos fuit frater Berengarius Taloni, lector in conventu fratrum Minorum de Narbona." Little is known about the figure of Berenguer Taló—whom Pou y Martí presents as the lector of the convent of Perpignan (see Pou y Martí, *Visionarios*, 345–47)—however, Sylvain Piron aptly notes that his appointment as a lector in this region and period proves that he was not a member of the Olivian faction, and was therefore not defending Spiritual positions but rather taking a stand for the whole Franciscan Order; see Piron, "Censures et condamnation," 71.

⁵⁵¹ Eubel, ed., *Bullarium Franciscanum*, vol. 5, 224, n. 1: "Praefatus vero frater Berengarius lector super dicto articulo requisitus respondit, quod hoc dicere non erat haereticum, sed dogma sanum, catholicum, fidele, maxime cum hoc esset per ecclesiam in decretali 'Exiit qui seminat' diffinitum."

⁵⁵² Pales-Gobilliard, *Le livre des sentences*, 1396–98: "(...) credidit quod Dominus Jhesus Christus et apostoli ejus, quamdiu in hoc mundo vixerunt, non habuerunt aliquid in proprio vel communi, quia, ut dixit, audivit predicari in Narbona per fratres Minores quod Christus precepit apostolis quod non possiderent aurum nec argentum nec es in zonis et quod non portarent sacculum neque peram et quod 'Nisi quis renunciaverit omnibus que possidet non potest esse meus discipulus'."

⁵⁵³ Ibid., 1398: "(...) dicentes quod Christus pro se vel pro apostolis suis non habuit loculos set distributorem pecuniarum missarum Christo constituit Judam ut distribueret pauperibus, et quod dicta pecunia Christus non fuit usus nisi pro presenti necessitate."

that meant that the Pope could not dispense them from such obligation, he referred to the ruling of Pope Nicholas IV on the matter.⁵⁵⁴

Different versions of this same belief kept appearing in the inquisitions conducted in the late summer and fall of 1325. In Carcassonne, Narbonne, and Montpellier members of the Beguin network admitted that they had heard and believed that Christ and the apostles had no possessions, either individually or in common, and some, as Guilhem Ademar, even added the Virgin to this group.⁵⁵⁵ Moreover, most of the testimonies drew a more or less explicit parallel between Christ's poverty and the poverty of the Franciscan Order, a comparison that, according to Na Prous Boneta, was also established by Christ himself, who told her that Saint Francis began his order in the same perfection and altitude that Christ had when he adhered to poverty with his apostles.⁵⁵⁶ Thus, as Peire de l'Hospital put it, claiming that Christ did have possessions was deemed as heretical by some, and, in Na Prous's words, even tantamount to branding Christ himself as a sinner.⁵⁵⁷ As Guilhem Verrier concluded in a remarkably flawless logical display, according to Beguin views Christ did not own anything, for otherwise Francis would have been more perfect than him, which could not be true.⁵⁵⁸

The framing of the inquisitorial questioning of the Beguins of Languedoc kept evolving in parallel with the very definition of the group by the prosecuting authorities. Whereas the main concern of the provincial council back in 1299 had been the public display of a sort

⁵⁵⁴ Ibid., 1334: "Item dixit se credidisse quod dominus Jhesus Christus et apostoli ejus nunquam habuerunt aliquid in proprio vel communi, et quod professores regule sancti Francisci que est regula evangelica nichil debent habere nec in proprio nec in communi, et si dominus papa possit dispensare vel non quod fratres Minores possint habere aliquid in communi credit illud quod super hoc dixit dominus Nycolaus papa IIIus." Nicholas IV, the first Franciscan pope, was behind the promulgation of *Supra montem*, the de facto rule of the Third Order of Saint Francis. Given that Bernard de Na Jacma was a Franciscan tertiary, his mention of the pontiff is not surprising, however, the fact that Nicholas IV was one of the first censors of Olivian works and that, furthermore, the most common references in this regard were in fact to Nicholas III and *Exiit qui seminat*, a mistake in the copy or in the transcription cannot be completely ruled out.

⁵⁵⁵ Doat 28, fol. 230r: "Item quod Christus et apostoli et beata Virgo Maria nunquam habuerant aliquid nec in proprio nec in communi."

⁵⁵⁶ Doat 27, fol. 61v: "Item quod Jesus Christus di, quod xit sibi quod in illa perfectione et altitudine quibus sanctus Franciscus incepit ordinem suum in illa perfectione et altitudine incepit Christus cum suis Apostolis tenere paupertatem."

⁵⁵⁷ Pales-Gobilliard, *Le livre des sentences*, 1614: "Item credidit et adhuc credit et reputat esse hereticum omnem hominem qui dicit et credit quod Christus et apostoli habuerunt aliquid seu aliquas divicias in proprio vel communi"; Doat 27, fol. 61r-v: "(...) iste Papa confessus est Christum esse peccatorem in hoc quod dixit Christum habuisse in proprio et in communi."

⁵⁵⁸ Doat 28, fol. 243v: "Item dixit quod si Christus habuerit in proprio vel in communi sanctus Franciscus esset perfectior Christo quod non est verum."

of alternative religiosity, the events of the early decades of the fourteenth century drew the attention of Dominican and episcopal inquisitors to the association of these groups with Spiritual Franciscans and, especially, to their involvement in Olivian circles. The apocalyptic expectations apparent in the earliest account of the activities of these communities were further proof of their ties to Olivian positions, and, as Jean de Beaune's 1320 text suggests, the circulation of the *Lectura super apocalipsim* among them was also considered as incriminating evidence. The previous pages have already shown how the *Lectura* or *Postilla* was viewed as a seminal text for the Beguin belief system. Around twenty deponents mention how they saw, kept, read, or heard reading from Olivi's last work, which had been translated into the vernacular. It was there that they found the background for the apocalyptic scenario that was already perceived as imminent at the turn of the century. In the developments that were to follow, the Antichrist was expected to play a preeminent role, but in his *Lectura*, Olivi had foreseen the advent of two such figures, the mystical and the great Antichrist, and the members of the Beguin network were well aware of this fact and had their own candidates in mind.

Among many other examples, the Franciscan tertiary Raimon Esteve confessed in March 1322 that he had been read the *Postilla* many times and that it said that there was a double Antichrist coming, namely, the mystical and the great Antichrists.⁵⁵⁹ Given that according to Olivi, the mystical Antichrist would be a false pope who would persecute the righteous from his position at the head of a corrupt Church, pointing the finger at John XXII, the Pope who had initiated the official persecution of Spiritual Franciscans, was not exactly jumping to conclusions, and over twenty deponents did so. The also tertiary Mateu Terré declared that, just as John the Baptist paved the way for Christ, John XXII was doing the same for the great Antichrist, for he persecuted the Spirituels who wanted to defend the Rule of St Francis.⁵⁶⁰ In fact, according to him, the actions of the Pope showed the signs of the Antichrist for he first appeared to defend poverty and humility only to end up persecuting the poor.⁵⁶¹

In contrast, there was not so much consensus on the identity of the great Antichrist, nor on the timeline of the upcoming events. The idea present in Olivi's *Lectura* that this second

⁵⁵⁹ Pales-Gobilliard, *Le livre des sentences*, 1388: "(...) quamvis recognoverit se audivisse legi pluries et plura de dicta postilla (...) et de Anti-Christo duplice, videlicet mistico et alio majori."

⁵⁶⁰ Ibid., 1378: "Item quod dominus papa Johannes XXIIus qui nunc est esset preparator vie Anti-Christi majoris, sicut beatus Johannes Bapista fuit preparator vie Domini Jhesu Christi pro eo, quia persequabatur fratres Minores vocatos Spirituales qui volebant regulam sancti Francisci servare."

⁵⁶¹ Ibid.: "Item dixit se credidisse quod dominus papa qui nunc est videbatur habere opera Anti-Christi, quia in principio floruit manutendo paupertatem et humilitatem set modo erectus erat in vanitatem (...) et persequabatur pauperes et paupertatem."

Antichrist would also be a sort of pseudopope, fostered the belief that he would falsely appear as the most pious of men, which in turn prompted some of the members of the Beguin movement to expect him to rise from within their own ranks. Maria de Serra, who in 1322 thought that the great Antichrist was already about twenty years old, believed that he was a member of the Order of St Francis, who would thus appear under the guise of perfection and sanctity.⁵⁶² In this same vein, Peire Tort claimed that said Antichrist would come from the Franciscan Order, which he deemed as the highest status within the Church, and also provided some candidates, that is, Angelo Clarenó and Felip of Majorca.⁵⁶³ Moreover, Peire's deposition exemplifies the uncertainty about the time when these events would come to pass, for he admitted that the Antichrist would have completed his course within three years according to some, and within thirteen years according to others.⁵⁶⁴ Thus, on the one hand, Bernard de Na Jacma—who also saw Felip of Majorca as the most likely candidate—believed that the great Antichrist would have run his course by 1330, Mateu Terré pointed to 1325, and Raimon d'Antusan to the thirteenth centennial of Christ's Passion, that is, around 1333.⁵⁶⁵ On the other, both Raimon de Bosch and Peire de l'Hospital referred to the *Postilla* to claim that the persecution led by the great Antichrist would conclude within the following fourteen years.⁵⁶⁶

As a matter of fact, the loose temporal framework provided by Olivi left enough leeway for such speculation. Olivi's take on the history of salvation—which, as discussed in Section 3.1, was based on the combination of the Joachite system of ages and the traditional seven-period division—implied that the advent of Joachim and, especially, Francis at the end of the fifth period of the second age, and the decline of the Church would lead to the dawn of the sixth

⁵⁶² Ibid., 1372: "(...) et quod Anti-Christus major natus erat et habebat ultra XX annos etatis, et erat ejus opinio quod dictus Anti-Christus primo esset religiosus et esset de ordine fratrum Minorum et quod veniret in specie sanctitatis et perfeccionis."

⁵⁶³ Ibid., 1414: "Quem Anti-Christum dicunt esse aliquem apostatam ordinis Minorum, quia est alcior status ecclesie, ut dicunt, dicentes quod erat frater Angelus qui est apostata ordinis fratrum Minorum, alii dicunt dominum Philippum de Majoricis esse Anti-Christum."

⁵⁶⁴ Ibid.: "Dicunt etiam quod dictus Anti-Christus finierit cursum suum secundum aliquos infra tres annos, secundum alios infra XIII."

⁵⁶⁵ Ibid., 1336–38: "Item dixit se credidisse quod infra annum quo computabitur incarnacio Domini M CCC XXX, Anti-Christus major fecerit cursum suum et erit mortuus (...) determinant etiam personam que erit major Anti-Christus, scilicet dominum Philippum de Majoricis"; ibid., 1378: "Item credidit quod anno quod computarentur incarnacio Domini M° CCC° XXV°, Anti-Christus major esset in Jerusalem vel fecisset cursum suum"; ibid., 1348: "(...) et de dupplici Anti-Christo, videlicet de mistico et de magno, qui debet venire in tercio decimo centenano annorum computando a Passione vel Resurreccione Christi."

⁵⁶⁶ Ibid., 1300: "Item credidit, informatus per scripturam dicti fratris P. Johannis, quod infra XIII annos computandos a presenti tempore, Anti-Christus major conplevisset cursum suum"; ibid., 1616: "Item credit et asserit quod Anti-Christus et ejus persecucio erit et fiet infra breve tempus, set de tempore determinato dicit se non esse certum, opinatur tamen quod erit infra annos XIII consummata."

period and to the transition between the second and the third age, the Age of the Holy Spirit.⁵⁶⁷ The arrival of the mystical Antichrist at the head of the so-called carnal Church, the epitome of corruption, would mark the beginning of the persecution of the true evangelical Church. This carnal Church, which he likened to Babylon, would then be destroyed, giving way to the time of the great Antichrist, who would in turn persecute Christianity until finally Christ put an end to his reign. It is only then than the seventh and last period of history and the third age would truly begin, and according to Olivi, this would not happen until the middle of the fourteenth century.

Having read or been read Olivi's work, Beguins were roughly aware of this sequence of events. Raimon de Bosch, who testified several times between 1321 and 1322, had heard read in the vernacular translation of the *Postilla* that at the end of the first age of the Church the synagogue, which crucified Christ, fell and was destroyed; at the end of the second age, with the advent of the Antichrist, the carnal Church, which according to him persecuted the Spirituals who wanted to follow a life of poverty after St Francis, would also be destroyed; and finally, after the death of the Antichrist, the third age would bring about the rule of the *virii spirituales*.⁵⁶⁸ In turn, Guilhem Ros introduced the idea of the periods of history when he claimed that, just as the synagogue had been destroyed by Christ's Passion, so would the carnal Church be destroyed by the spiritual Church—founded by poor Franciscans—at the end of the sixth period.⁵⁶⁹ There was in general little discussion about the definition of said carnal Church, the corrupt Babylon that all of them identified with the Roman Curia of Avignon, again referring to the authority of the Olivian text while doing so. Peire Domenge affirmed that the Roman Church, that is, Babylon, was to be destroyed by Christ in the sixth period in which they lived, and the spiritual Church would then rise and subdue the carnal one just as Christ had subdued the synagogue.⁵⁷⁰ Raimon Esteve was even more explicit when he declared that he had heard

⁵⁶⁷ For a detailed account of the Olivian timeline, see Burr, *Olivi's Peaceable Kingdom*, 75–178.

⁵⁶⁸ Pales-Gobilliard, *Le livre des sentences*, 1298: "(...) recognovit quod ipse audivit legi in postilla fratris Petri Johannis Olivi super Apocalipsim (...) et subdit in dicta postilla quod, sicut in fine primi status ecclesie fuit factum iudicium de synagoga, quia Christum crucifixerat, propter quod fuit destructa et dejecta, sic in fine secundi status ecclesie, qui durat usque ad Anti-Christum, fiet iudicium de ecclesia carnali, quia persequitur vitam Christi in viris spiritualibus, qui volunt tenere paupertatem Christi secundum regulam sancti Francisci, et destructa ecclesia carnali, post mortem Anti-Christi erigetur ecclesia tercii status in viris spiritualibus."

⁵⁶⁹ Ibid., 1362: "Item quod, sicut synagoga Judeorum fuit exterminata et rejecta post Passionem Christi quia Christum crucifixit, sic ecclesia carnalis in fine sexti status ecclesie in quo dicunt nos esse terminabitur et reicietur, quia ipsa persequitur pauperes evangelicos, et rejecta ecclesia carnali tunc ecclesia spiritualis succedet que pro majori parte fundabitur per fratres Minores pauperes."

⁵⁷⁰ Ibid., 1606: "Item eandem ecclesiam Romanam sub nomine Babilonis dicit esse dampnandam et reiciendam et exterminandam a Christo in isto sexto statu ecclesie quem dicit nunc esse, et dicit ecclesiam spiritualem esse incipiendam et reformandam rejecta ecclesia carnali sicut vetus synagoga Judeorum fuit rejecta a Christo incipiente Evangelio Christi et statu ecclesie primitive."

many times in the *Postilla* about the three ages of the world and the seven periods of the Church, and the condemnation of Babylon, the great prostitute, which said *Postilla* identified with the carnal Roman Church.⁵⁷¹ Whereas *Sancta romana* had not included any mention of Olivian apocalyptic views in its censure of Languedocian Beguins, the notion of the two Churches did appear in January 1318 in *Gloriosam ecclesiam*, aimed at the *fraticelli* of Sicily.⁵⁷² But be that as it may, the earliest extant depositions of the members of the Beguin network evince that this was a rather widespread subject among them.

Despite the strong presence of apocalyptic narratives in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century, it is clear that Olivi's *Postilla* was the source for the apocalyptic imagery described by the deponents. For instance, Bernarda d'Antusan confessed that she had heard Olivian works read to her and other Beguins in the vernacular, especially the *Postilla*, where she learned that Babylon, the great prostitute that rode a many-headed beast with ten horns and was the mother of fornication, held a golden goblet full of abominations in her hand, and that this woman was none other than the carnal Church.⁵⁷³ This image was frequently brought up and elaborated on, as in the aforementioned deposition of Guilhem Ros, where he stated that, according to Olivi's *Postilla*, the Roman Church was Babylon, the great prostitute who sat on the seven-headed, ten-horned beast that was drunk on the blood of the saints, fornicating and abandoning the cult of Christ, her legitimate spouse, for the delights and riches of the world.⁵⁷⁴ Peire de l'Hospital in turn claimed that he had learned in the *Postilla* that the Roman Church was Babylon, the great prostitute who rode the beast that Saint John execrated in the Apocalypse;⁵⁷⁵ and the aforementioned Raimon de Bosch carried on saying that the vernacular

⁵⁷¹ Ibid., 1388: "(...) quamvis recognoverit se audivisse legi pluries et plura de dicta postilla, et specialiter et expresse de tribus temporibus generalibus mundi et de septem statibus ecclesie, et de condempnacione Babilonis, meretricis magne, per quam intelligitur et exponitur in dicta postilla carnalis ecclesia Romana."

⁵⁷² Eubel, ed., *Bullarium Franciscanum*, vol. 5, 139: "Primus itaque error, qui de istorum officina tenebrosa prorumpit, duas fingit ecclesias: unam carnalem, divitiis pressam, effluentem deliciis, sceleribus maculatam, cui Romanum praesulem aliosque inferiores praelatos dominari asserunt; aliam spiritualement, frugalitate mundam, virtute decoram, paupertate succintam."

⁵⁷³ Pales-Gobilliard, *Le livre des sentences*, 1354: "Item aliquando audivit legi sibi et aliis Beguinis de libris fratris P. Johannis in vulgari, et specialiter de postilla ejus super Apocalipsim in qua inter cetera audivit legi de Babilone quam vocat meretricem magnam sedentem super bestiam, matrem fornicacionum, habentem ciphum aureum in manu sua plenum abhominacionibus, et inde potabat alios, et habebat multa capita et X cornua, et exponebat predictam mulierem esse ecclesiam carnalem."

⁵⁷⁴ Ibid., 1362: "Item quod Romana ecclesia est illa Babilon, meretrix magna, que sedet super bestiam habentem capita VII et cornua X et est ebria de sanguine sanctorum et est fornicata quia recessit a cultu fidei et deliciis Christi, sponsi sui, propter delicias et divicias hujus mundi, sicut exponit frater P. Johannis in postilla sua super Apocalipsim."

⁵⁷⁵ Ibid. 1630: "Romanam vero ecclesiam dicunt esse illam Babilonem, meretricem magnam, quam Johannes in Apocalipsi detestatur, applicantes ad hoc expositionem reprobam et hereticam prefati Petri Johannis super Apocalipsim."

translation of Olivi's *Postilla* described a woman dressed in gold with a golden cup in her hand who sat on a beast with seven heads and ten horns, and on top of her head one could read the words "Babylon, the great prostitute, mother of fornication," to which he added that this woman was the Roman Church, although admittedly only its reprobate members.⁵⁷⁶

The allegedly upcoming Age of the Spirit was less popular in these early depositions, but its descriptions still share some common features that recall the notion of a peaceful era of unmediated access to the divinity and *intellectus amoris*. Thus, Peire Morés claimed to stand by the text of the *Postilla* when he declared that Spiritual Franciscans would renew the Church after defeating the Antichrist, and that the Holy Spirit would then descend upon them as if in a sort of new Pentecost.⁵⁷⁷ As Maria de Serra elaborated, in said age, the Holy Spirit would provide its gifts in such abundance that it would almost be possible to touch it with the hand.⁵⁷⁸ In fact, only a little over 10% of all the extant testimonies deal with this matter, and most of them date from 1325 and are related to Na Prous Boneta, who presented herself as the incarnation of the Holy Spirit and the herald of the new era, which she also linked to the figure of Peter of John Olivi.⁵⁷⁹

The confessions cited in the previous pages, extracted by Bernard Gui between 1321 and June 1322—sometimes in collaboration with the bishop Jacques Fournier—informed the inquisitor's elaborate description of the Beguins of Languedoc in his *Practica inquisitiones heretice pravitatis*. Much more thorough than Jean de Beaune's aforementioned account of the defining traits of the group, Gui incorporated into the sections of his work devoted to the "erroneous articles of the Beguins and their followers" and to the proper way of interrogating them, most of the information provided by the fourteen men and two women whose *culpae* appear recorded in his book of sentences. The *Practica* insists on the same issues discussed by Jean de Beaune

⁵⁷⁶ Ibid., 1298: "(...) de muliere vestita auro, habente poculum aureum in manu sua, sedente super bestiam, habente capita VII et cornua X et habebat super se scriptum misterium: 'Babilon, meretrix magna, mater fornicacionum, et cetera'; ubi exponit quod per dictam meretricem magnam intelligitur Romana ecclesia, non quantum ad fideles et electos, set quantum ad reprobos."

⁵⁷⁷ Ibid., 1328–30: "Item credidit et credebatur quod rejecta ecclesia carnali Romana, eligerentur pauci viri Spirituales in quibus fundaretur ecclesia tercii status qui pugnarent contra Anti-Christum, super quos equaliter vel in majori habundacia infunderetur Spiritus Sanctus sicut super apostolos venit et descendit in die Pentecostes, et in dictis viris Spiritualibus Spiritus Sanctus infunderetur sicut flamma ignis in fornace."

⁵⁷⁸ Ibid., 1372: "Dicebat tamen quod illi tempore in tanta habundacia daretur Spiritus Sanctus illis hominibus qui se tenerent cum Deo, quod videretur eis quod quasi palpando manibus sentirent eum."

⁵⁷⁹ Doat 27, fol. 53v: "(...) subiungens tunc ipse Deus sic, 'Sanctus Ioannes Baptista fuit prece adventus baptismi sacri Iesu Christi, et tu es prece adventus Spiritus Sancti';" ibid., fol. 57r: "Item quod Deus dixit sibi 'Beata virgo Maria fuit donatrix Filii et tu eris donatrix Spiritus sancti';" ibid., fols. 76r–v: "(...) asserens quod tempus novum dicti Spiritus Sancti et novus status Ecclesie habuit initium in dicto Fratre Petro Ioannis, et consequitur in ipsa qua loquitur, sicut dixit, et sic nunc est status Ecclesie novus in quo credere oportet in opere Sancti Spiritus quod superius declaratur."

in 1320, namely papal authority and power over the Franciscan order, the rightfulness of the condemnation of the four Franciscan friars in Marseille and of the Beguins executed later on in Languedoc, and the erroneous and heretical nature of Olivian writings—especially the *Lectura*. However, the Beguin belief system presented in Gui's manual also adds the controversy on Christ's poverty—which only came up in 1321—the different practices related to the cult of the Beguin martyrs, and, in sum, the answers obtained during the interrogations conducted by the inquisitor down to the last detail. For instance, according to Gui, some Beguins believed that after the wars that would ensue from the advent of the great Antichrist, most men would die and the surviving women, moved by concupiscence, would then turn to trees.⁵⁸⁰ However, only one of the extant depositions, that of the tertiary Bernard de Na Jacma, actually mentions this rather unusual—in Gui's words, "fabulous"—opinion.⁵⁸¹

The same pattern can be found in relation to another more far-reaching topic, that is, the wound in Christ's side, specifically the question whether the spear pierced Christ's body before or after he was dead. According to John 19:33–34, Christ was already dead, "But when they came to Jesus and saw that he was already dead, they did not break his legs. But one of the soldiers pierced his side with a spear, and at once there came out blood and water." However, in his *Lectura super Iohanne*, on the basis of the mystical experiences of several female visionaries he was acquainted with, Olivi had left the door open for a new interpretation of the scene of the crucifixion in which Christ was still alive.⁵⁸² In 1312, *Fidei catholica fundamento*—which was partly the result of the examination of Olivian views by a commission of theologians—clarified the Church's stance on the matter, namely, that Christ's spirit had already left his body when the soldier came along.⁵⁸³ More than a decade later, Gui still cited the Olivian interpretation of the episode, albeit somewhat distorted, as part of the Beguin belief system.⁵⁸⁴ The Dominican inquisitor included in his description of this specific article an alternative version in which

⁵⁸⁰ Mollat, *Manuel de l'inquisiteur*, vol. 1, 150: "(...) quod, viris quasi omnibus mortuis, mulieres christiane que remanserit pre amore et concupiscentia virorum amplexabuntur arbores."

⁵⁸¹ Pales-Gobilliard, *Le livre des sentences*, 1338: "(...) ante tamen essent magne strages hominum in bellis in quibus tot homines morentur quod postea mulieres propter virorum concupiscentiam arbores amplexarentur."

⁵⁸² For further discussion on this issue see Marvyn Roy Harris, *The Occitan Translations of John XII and XIII-XVII from a Fourteenth-Century Franciscan Codex (Assisi, Chiesa Nuova MS. 9)* (Philadelphia, PA: American Philosophical Society, 1985), 27–28; and David Burr, "Olivi, Apocalyptic Expectation, and Visionary Experience," *Traditio* 41 (1985): 273–88.

⁵⁸³ Eubel, ed., *Bullarium Franciscanum*, vol. 5, 86: "(...) sed etiam, emisso iam spiritu perforari lancea sustinuit latus suum."

⁵⁸⁴ Mollat, *Manuel de l'inquisiteur*, vol. 1, 138: "Item, aliqui ex eis dicunt eundem fratrem Petrum Johannis veritatem tenuisse et dixisse in eo quod dixit et tenuit quod Christus vivebat quando fuit pendens in cruce in latere lanceatus, dicentes quod anima Christi secundum rei veritatem adhuc erat in corpore."

Christ, although appearing dead, was still alive and that, according to Beguins, would have been provided by the original Gospel of Matthew.⁵⁸⁵ This argument in fact echoes Ubertino da Casale's attempted defence of the Olivian position back in 1311, but, more importantly, reproduces almost to the letter the record of the deposition of the Beguin of Belpesch Peire Morés on this point.⁵⁸⁶ In the words of the said Peire, according to Matthew, Christ was still alive when the spear pierced his side, and his soul was still in his body, but John the Evangelist did not record it that way because Christ indeed seemed dead; therefore the Church removed it from the Gospel of Matthew so that the Gospels did not contradict each other.⁵⁸⁷ Only one other deponent questioned by Gui, Peire Tort, mentioned the spear wound in Christ's side, although he merely claimed not to have believed that Christ was still alive at that moment.⁵⁸⁸ In 1325, only Guilhem Ademar would answer affirmatively when asked about this particular tenet, but his deposition did not include any reference to the Gospels.⁵⁸⁹

Gui's extremely accurate account of Beguin beliefs strongly suggests that as far as the Beguins of Languedoc are concerned, the *Practica* is mostly a structured exposition that put together the different doctrinal points, expressions, and practices that came up during the interrogations carried out between 1321 and 1322. This idea is reinforced by his description of the rituals involving the worship of the bones of the dead Beguins, where Gui states that he himself had touched such alleged relics, thus legitimising this particular piece of information through his own inquisitorial authority.⁵⁹⁰ In contrast, a few specific articles of faith listed in the section devoted to Beguin errors cannot be found anywhere in the extant depositions, which

⁵⁸⁵ Ibid.: "(...) set quia Christus erat multum exinanitus, ideo aspicientibus mortuus videbatur. Johannes autem evangelista ideo dixit eum tunc esse mortuum quia mortuus apparebat; Matheus autem evangelista scripsit quod Christus vivus erat, quia secundum rei veritatem ita erat; set Ecclesia abrasit hoc de evangelio Mathei ne Johannis evangelio contrarius videretur."

⁵⁸⁶ Although Olivi was quite vague on this point, in order to defend his allegedly heretical views Ubertino claimed to have seen one manuscript of the Gospel of Matthew containing this version of events; see Burr, *Spiritual Franciscans*, 154–55.

⁵⁸⁷ Pales-Gobilliard, *Le livre des sentences*, 1328: "Item credidit et credebat ex doctrina predicti fratris P. Johannis non obstante in contrarium determinacione generalis concilii Viennensis, quod Christus pendens in cruce adhuc vivus erat quando fuit lancea perforatus, set Johannes evangelista ideo scripsit ipsum tunc esse mortuum qui aspicientibus cum esset nimium exinanitus mortuus videbatur. Matheus autem evangelista scripsit quod tunc vivus erat, quia secundum veritatem adhuc anima in corpore ejus erat, set ecclesia abrasit hoc de Evangelio Mathei, ne Johannis Evangelio contrarius videretur."

⁵⁸⁸ Ibid., 1412: "Dixit etiam quod nunquam credidit Christum esse vivum quando fuit cum lancea in latere percussus."

⁵⁸⁹ Doat 28, fol. 229r: "Item quod Jesus Christus erat adhuc vivus quando fuerat in cruce lancea percussus."

⁵⁹⁰ Mollat, *Manuel de l'inquisiteur*, vol. 1, 132: "(...) sic quoque nos inquirentes de talibus reliquiis apud eos inventis palpavimus et vidimus et fide probavimus oculata."

could hint at the existence of other depositions whose records are now lost.⁵⁹¹ This is the case of Olivi being referred to as the light of the world without which all would walk in darkness.⁵⁹² Here, Olivi is presented as a new Christ through a reference to the verses in John 8:12, “Again Jesus spoke to them, saying, ‘I am the light of the world. Whoever follows me will not walk in darkness, but will have the light of life’.”⁵⁹³ Although this image does not explicitly appear in any of the depositions, it is in line with Na Prous’s statement that the writings of Peter of John, inspired by the Holy Spirit, were the same as Christ’s own Gospel.⁵⁹⁴ Furthermore, this particular biblical passage is followed by the verses where the Pharisees rebuke Christ’s testimony (John 8:13), which did have a presence in the depositions, for several among the members of the Beguin network sentenced by Gui did liken said Pharisees to the persecutors of the Spiritual Franciscans and their followers.⁵⁹⁵

Finally, despite the heavy apocalyptic imagery in the depositions given in 1321 and 1322, none of the extant records from this period explicitly distinguish between the two beasts featured in the Apocalypse. As shown above, all mentions refer to the seven-headed ten-horned beast that first appears in Apocalypse 11:7 as coming out of the abyss—“And when they have finished their testimony, the beast that rises from the bottomless abyss will make war on them and conquer them and kill them.” However, none of the deponents actually alluded to said abyss, and neither did they describe the so-called beast from the earth of Apocalypse 13:11, nor identified the two Antichrists with the heads of the beast. In fact, it is only the section of the *Practica* devoted to the proper questioning of suspects in order to assess their degree of involvement in the Beguin community that includes such details.⁵⁹⁶

⁵⁹¹ The only known extant copy of the *Liber Sententiarum* is not complete. The records of the general sermon held in Pamiers on 19 June 1323, which at least included the conviction of one Beguin, Raimon Julià, only includes a list of sentences and no *culpa*e,

⁵⁹² Ibid., 140: “Item, dicunt quod dictus frater Petrus Johannis est lumen et lux quam Deus misit in mundum, et propter hoc illi qui non vident istud lumen ambulant in tenebris.”

⁵⁹³ “Iterum ergo locutus est eis Jesus, dicens, ‘Ego sum lux mundi, qui sequitur me, non ambulat in tenebris, sed habebit lumen vitae’.”

⁵⁹⁴ Among many other passages in Na Prous’s deposition, see Doat 27, fol. 57v: “(...) quod illo tunc quando destructum fuit Evangelium Christi tunc incepit deficere in parte gratia Dei scilicet quando scriptura fratris Petri Joannis fuit condempnata.”

⁵⁹⁵ According to Bernard de Na Jacma, Dominicans and Franciscans—presumably, moderate Franciscans—were like Pharisees for they persecuted Christ’s poverty; see Pales-Gobilliard, *Le livre des sentences*, 1336: “Item dixit quod ipse et alii Beguini vocabant communitatem fratrum Minorum et Predicatores phariseos (...) quia persequebantur paupertatem Christi in Beguinis.”

⁵⁹⁶ Mollat, *Manuel de l’inquisiteur*, vol. 1, 172–74: “Item, si audivit exponi (...) quod per bestiam ascendentem de terra in Apocalipsi intelligitur pseudopapa cum suis pseudo-prophetis, qui non immediate exercebit corporales interfectiones hominum, sicut bestia ascendens de abyssio secularium laycorum que occidet sanctos, quod Bequini

Other doctrinal points that had already been noted by Bonagratia of Bergamo in 1311 kept appearing in the early interrogations conducted by Gui, especially the identification of Olivi with the angel of Apocalypse 10:1.⁵⁹⁷ Peire Gastaud read in the vernacular translation of the *Postilla* that Olivi was the angel whose face was like the Sun, who held an open book in his hand that contained the truth of Christ and the key to understanding the Apocalypse;⁵⁹⁸ in turn, Guilhem Ros claimed that Olivi was the angel with the face like the Sun and the open book in his hand;⁵⁹⁹ and this image is also present in the deposition of Peire Tort.⁶⁰⁰ Although in the *Lectura super apocalipsim* said angel was actually identified with Saint Francis, Olivi himself eventually became a figure of apocalyptic significance for his followers.

A Catalan version of Olivi's commentary on the Apocalypse that seems to have included such elements was censured at some point between 1318 and 1321 by the Carmelite bishop of Mallorca, Guiu Terrena, and the Dominican Pierre de Palud—both of whom were also part of the group of theologians that John XXII entrusted with the examination of the *Postilla*.⁶⁰¹ According to their work, the Catalan opuscle presented Francis as the angel bearing the seal of the living God in Apocalypse 7:2, but it also described Olivi as the angel whose face was like the Sun and, in a turn of phrase reproduced in the depositions quoted above, it added that the truth of the Scriptures and the understanding of the Apocalypse had been singularly bestowed on him.⁶⁰² Given the role Olivi is granted in most of the depositions between 1321 and

exponunt de se ipsis; item, quod sextum caput drachonis ibidem exponit esse mysticum Anti-Christum papam, septimum vero caput exponit magnum Anti-Christum cum rege monarcha sibi coerente.”

⁵⁹⁷ Ibid., 138: “Item, dicunt et exponunt quod dictus frater Petrus Johannis fuit spiritualiter ille angelus de quo scribitur Apocalipsis X quod facies ejus erat sicut sol et habebat librum apertum in manu sua.”

⁵⁹⁸ Pales-Gobilliard, *Le livre des sentences*, 1396: “(...) et audivit dici seu legi inter Beguinos ipsum fuisse et esse spiritualiter illum angelum de quo scribitur in Apocalipsi quod facies ejus erat sicut sol et habebat librum apertum in manu sua, quia singulariter inter omnes alios doctores fuerat ei aperta veritas Christi et intelligentia libri Apocalipsis.”

⁵⁹⁹ Ibid., 1364: “(...) quod est ille angelus de quo scribitur in Apocalipsi quod facies ejus erat ut sol et habebat librum apertum in manu sua.”

⁶⁰⁰ Ibid., 1412: “Item dixit se legisse quod dictus frater P. Johannis est ille angelus de quo dicitur in Apocalipsi quod facies ejus erat sicut sol et habebat librum apertum in manu sua.”

⁶⁰¹ The Catalan text is not extant but its Latin refutation is recorded in Biblioteca Vaticana MS 1106, fols. 198r–205v. An edition can be found in Pou y Martí, *Visionarios*, 661–697; see, *ibid.*, 661: “Isti sunt articuli extracti per fratres Guidonem, Priorem Generalem beate Marie de Monte Carmeli, et fratrem P. de Palude, Ordinis Fratrum Predicatorum, magistros in Theologia, quos de mandato domini Pape extraxerunt de quodam libello de papiro scripto in vulgari catalonico, ‘De statibus Ecclesie secundum expositionem Apocalypsis’.”

⁶⁰² Ibid., 681: “XIII articulus sive error. In XX pagina dicit, ‘Et sciendum quod beatus Franciscus est ille angelus quem vidit Iohannes ascendentem ab ortu solis, habentem signum Dei vivi’; *ibid.*, 684: “XXII articulus. In XXVIII pagina dicit, ‘quod credit fratrem Petrum Iohannis esse illum angelum fortem descendentem de celo, Apoc. X, quia inter omnes alios doctores singulariter est sibi aperta veritas scripture et notitia ac intelligentia Apocalypsis’.”

1322, it is likely that the vernacular translations of the *Postilla* that were read during Beguin gatherings were quite similar to this Catalan version. This texts kept circulating among Beguin communities in the following years, and the testimony of Na Prous Boneta in 1325 confirms this addition of elements to the apocalyptic narrative by the members of the network. Thus, she claimed that God told her that Saint John saw three angels: the first of them—Saint Francis—bore the sign of the living God, the second—Olivi—had a face like the Sun, and the third—Na Prous herself—carried the keys of the abyss.⁶⁰³

This is not the only Olivian belief that appears distorted in inquisitorial records, on the contrary, another clear example of such transformation is the aforementioned declaration that marriage was but a private brothel. Back in 1283, Olivi had been censured, among other things, for his notion of marriage, namely, that it was not so much a sacrament but rather a sort of state, just as virginity.⁶⁰⁴ This was not such a foreign statement, for it was shared by other theologians of the time—like Ubertino da Casale—and despite what Bonagratia of Bergamo and his other detractors alleged in their appeal of 1311, nowhere in his writings did Olivi liken marriage to prostitution.⁶⁰⁵ However, according to said appeal, by 1311 Olivi's followers had already adopted the idea that marriage was indeed a sort of “lupanar occultum.” These early controversial positions are also documented in the Catalan area, albeit in later sources.

On the one hand, according to a sixteenth-century account based on the archival sources of the Dominican convent of Santa Caterina in Barcelona, on 16 February 1317 the Dominican inquisitor Arnau Burguet participated in a provincial council held in Tarragona where he asked for advice on the inquisitions he had conducted against some Beguins who maintained “heretical views” on marriage, among other things.⁶⁰⁶ On the other hand, Nicolau Eimeric's *Directorium*

⁶⁰³ Doat 27, fol. 79r: “Item dixit sibi dominus ut asserit quod sanctus Joannes vidit tres angelos quorum primus portabat signum Dei vivi et hic erat sanctus Franciscus, secundus vero habebat faciem solis et erat frater Petro Joannis, tertius vero portabat claves abyssi et hic est Sanctus Spiritus quod Deus dedit sibi loquenti.

⁶⁰⁴ On Olivi's stance on marriage, see Burr, *Persecution of Peter Olivi*, 42–46; David Burr, “Olivi on Marriage: The Conservative as Prophet,” *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 2 (1972): 183–204; and, more recently, Philip Reynolds, *How Marriage Became One of the Sacraments: The Sacramental Theology of Marriage from its Medieval Origins to the Council of Trent* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 608–16.

⁶⁰⁵ Ehrle, “Anklageschrift der Communität,” in *Archiv*, vol. 2, 369: “Item docuit, quod sacramentum matrimonii non videtur habere aliam rationem sacramenti quam serpens eneus vel tabernaculum federis vel arca Moisy vel similia.”

⁶⁰⁶ Francisco Diago, *Historia de la Provincia de Aragón de la orden de Predicadores, desde su origen y principio hasta el año de mil y seiscientos: dividida en dos libros* (Barcelona: impressa por Sebastian de Cormellas en Sancta Catherina martyr de Barcelona, 1599), fols. 27v–28r: “Y añadiendo fray Arnaldo Burguet diez lectores Theologos, se vieron los processos de dos Beguinos, y vistos y reconocidos se determino que en ellos avia muchas proposiciones hereticas. Por lo que el vno de los dos desatinava sin termino acerca de los Sacramentos del matrimonio y de la confession (...) De solos estos dos se trato por entonces, por no dar lugar el tiempo para tratar de otros siete o ocho

inquisitorum—a more contemporary source, albeit also indirect—records the presence of the same Arnau Bruguet in charge of the proceedings against a Beguin from Girona called Duran de Baldach, who was executed in the city on 12 July 1321 for teaching the errors of the Beguins and also for claiming that marriage was but covert prostitution, “meretricium occultatum.”⁶⁰⁷ In contrast, neither the depositions of Languedocian suspects between 1321 and 1322, nor Gui’s *Practica*, largely based on them, listed this issue as part of the Beguin belief system. It should be noted that in his much cited *Visionarios, beguinos y fraticellos catalanes*, José M^a Pou y Martí claimed that Bernard Gui did include the Beguin heretical views on marriage in his *Practica*.⁶⁰⁸ He did so on the basis of the passage where Gui described the Beguin article of faith according to which the Pope was not allowed to dispense from a vow of virginity even if the survival of humankind was at stake, that is, if all but one women were dead, and this woman had taken such a vow.⁶⁰⁹ In my opinion, this article of faith and its variants, which are indeed present in all the depositions given before Gui, are not so much related to the status of marriage as a sacrament but aim at further undermining the authority of Pope, who was thereby denied the power to dispense from a vow of virginity even in the most dire of circumstances.

A few sparse mentions to an allegedly Olivian notion of marriage can be found in later inquisitorial records. In January 1323, Guilhem Sacourt, a layman from Bize-Minervois, confessed that, moved by wrath, he beat his wife in public, and when others rebuked him for it, he told them that marriage was nothing but prostitution, a private brothel.⁶¹⁰ Guilhem had a brother, the cleric Raimon Sacourt, who in August 1325 also appeared before the inquisitorial court and confessed that some years back, while discussing the rightfulness of “old women of forty, fifty, or sixty years old” getting married again in second and third nuptials, he argued

Beguinos y Beguinas que tenian casi las mismas proposiciones y otras (...) De todo lo qual he visto instrumento publico en el Archivo de Santa Catherina martyr de Barcelona, que se hizo en el dicho tiempo.”

⁶⁰⁷ Eimeric, *Directorium inquisitorum*, fol. 104v: “Item, tempore eiusdem domini Johannis .xxii. insurrexit in pertibus illis, in civitate Gerunde, quidam vocatus Durandus de Baldech, civis Gerunde, cum quodam suo complice, qui dogmatizavit hereses et errores begardorum de proprio scilicet et comuni; et ulterius, quod matrimonium non erat nisi meretricium occultatum. Tandem Gerunde, presente domino Iacobo, rege Aragonie bone memorie, eius hereses fuerunt condemnate per dominum episcopum Gerundensem de Vilamarino et fratrem Arnaldum Burgueti, inquisitorem heretice pravitatis; et ipsi, ut impenitentes, fuerunt traditi curie seculari et igni-bus concremati.”

⁶⁰⁸ Pou y Martí, *Visionarios*, 288.

⁶⁰⁹ Mollat *Manuel de l’inquisiteur*, vol. 1, 134: “Item, addunt circa hoc quod, etiamsi omnes mulieres essent mortue, excepta una que vovisset castitatem aut virginitatem Deo, etiamsi genus humanum deficeret nisi talis mulier contraheret, papa non posset cum tali muliere dispensare nec talis mulier teneretur obedire pape precipienti ut contraheret.”

⁶¹⁰ Doat 28, fol. 200r: “(...) motus ad iram verberans uxorem suam præsentiibus aliquibus personis (...) redargutusque et increpatus per ipsas personas super eo quod dictam uxorem suam verberabat, dixit quod matrimonium non erat aliud nisi meretricium, vel lupanar privatum.”

that such marriages did not please God, nor were they true marriages but private brothels.⁶¹¹ Also in 1325, Guilhem Martí, a Franciscan tertiary from Escueillens confessed that he had heard someone read from a book containing the doctrine of friar Peter of John, and that person had told him that Olivi claimed that marriage was a private brothel, “*bordel privat*”; moreover, Guilhem believed that when a man knew his wife carnally, he was committing a mortal sin.⁶¹²

All of the above points to the fact that Olivian doctrine indeed provided an ideational basis for the Beguin belief system, but that is not to say that Olivian writings were read and taken at face value by his followers. His works were translated, reworded, and interpreted by active and passive readers alike who thus added their own views to the doctrinal corpus of the Franciscan theologian. But, furthermore, Olivi’s detractors and the repressors of the lay movements that blossomed around radical Franciscanism also contributed to the formation of said corpus, or, at the very least, to our current idea of it. Either the actors of the Beguin network who stood before Bernard Gui were not asked about the concept of the “*lupanar privatum*,” or, if they were, they answered in the negative, which in turn resulted in Gui not including this tenet among the features that defined Beguins and their sympathisers. In contrast, as shown above, later inquisitors did ask about this issue, even if sometimes, the answer was not what they expected. Thus, whereas the Sacourt brothers had scorned marriage for their own purposes, Na Prous Boneta, who fearlessly declared that Eucharist and confession were no longer valid, supported the idea of marriage presented in the Scriptures.⁶¹³ The Beguin belief system was by no means monolithic, it had fluid borders and provided room for the creation of varied narratives. However, inquisitors needed a standstill picture of what being a Beguin meant in order to uproot this form of dissent. The result was, as it generally is, a system of beliefs and, in turn, a specific dissident Beguin identity that were co-constructed by both the persecuted and their persecutors.

⁶¹¹ Ibid., fol. 215r–v: “(...) et loquerentur invicem de matrimonio et de mulieribus illis antiquis quadraginta, vel quinquaginta, vel sexaginta annorum (...) et tamen iterato semel aut pluries matrimonium contrahebant, et ad secundas nuptias procedebant (...) Raymundus dixit quod non credebat quod tale matrimonium secundum vel tertium esset Deo gratum, vel placitum, nec quod esset verum matrimonium imo credebat quod esset *lupanar privatum*.”

⁶¹² Doat 28, fols. 126v–127r: “(...) audivit semel quendam personam quam nominat legentem in quodam libro de doctrina fratris Petri Johannis quondam ordinis minorum, ut dicebatur, et dicebat dicta persona quod ipse frater Petrus Johannis scripserat in ipso libro quod matrimonium erat *lupanar privatum gallicæ ‘bordel privat’* (...) credebat etiam quod homo cognoscendo carnaliter propriam uxorem peccaret mortaliter.”

⁶¹³ Guilhem used being angry as an excuse, and Raimon argued that he said such things when he saw a fight between a man and his old wife, possibly his brother and sister-in-law; see *ibid.*, fol. 216r: “Interrogatus quare fuit motus ad dicendum talia verba respondit quia unus de astantibus litigabat cum uxore sua quæ erat multum antiqua.” On Na Prous, see Doat 27, fol. 77r: “Item dixit interrogata quod sacramentum matrimonii mandat Deus teneri et observari per illum modum per quem factum fuit inter Adam et Evam et in Sancto Joanne et per eundem modum per quem fuit factum illud matrimonium quando Christi interfuit in nuptiis cum beato Joanne.”

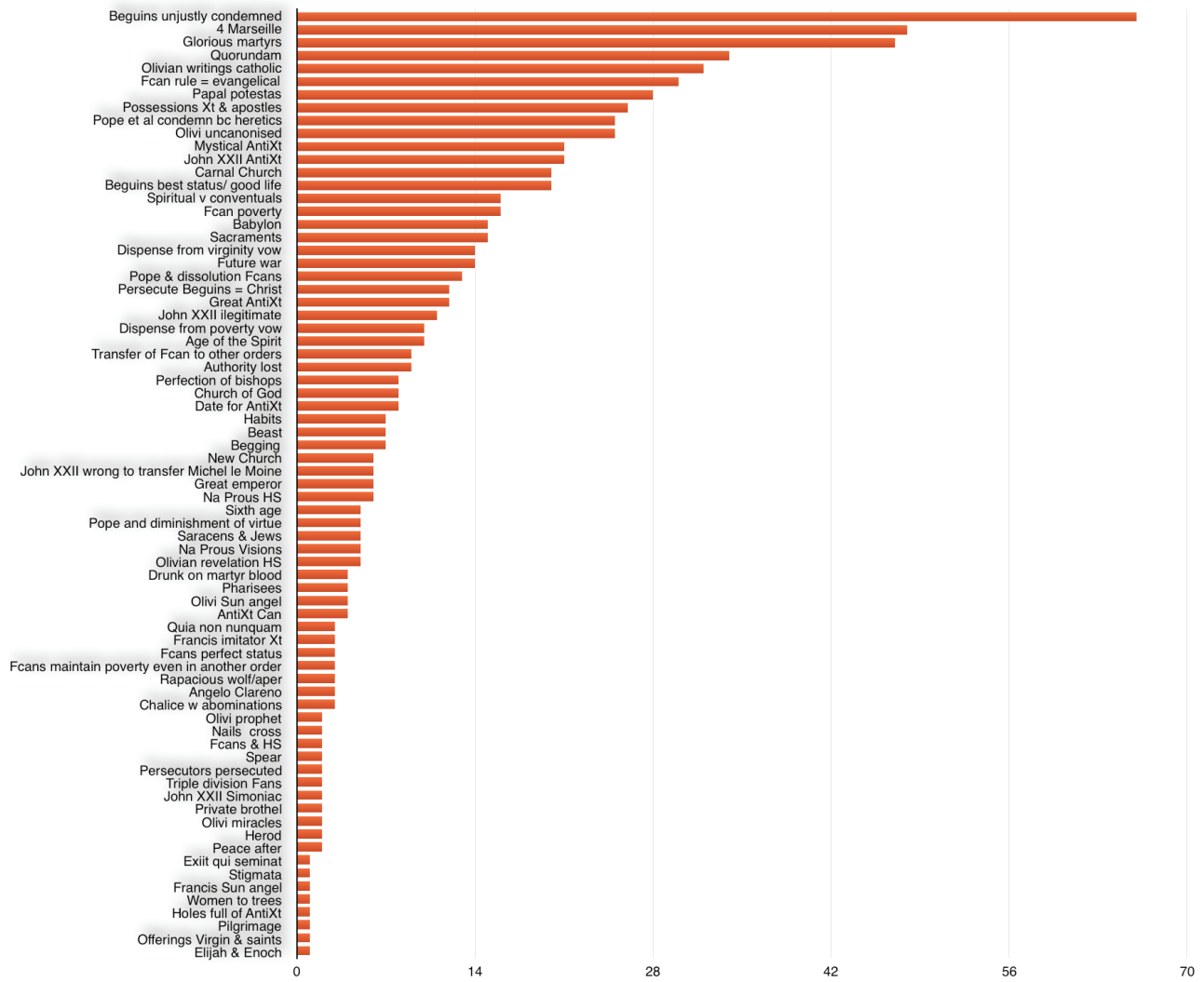


Figure 3.4.1. Distribution of Beguin beliefs

3.5 Supporting the Network: The Strength of Material Ties

The question list in the earliest inquisitor's manual known to date, the *Ordo processus Narbonensis*, focused on the actions of the suspects in relation to heretics and not so much on doctrinal aspects.⁶¹⁴ Some of these actions were connected to devotional practices, such as seeking confession and different instances of worship, but an important part of the interrogation was devoted to uncover and ultimately uproot the material support that heretical groups received from the rest of the population. Inquisitors were particularly interested in knowing whether deponents had provided heretics with food, drinks or any other kind of assistance.⁶¹⁵ At this point, the reasons for such concern need little further explanation; forced into clandestinity, dissident persecuted movements could not survive without material support, but, furthermore, these interactions were intertwined with the strengthening of pre-existing social ties, on which they heavily relied. Ecclesiastical authorities were perfectly aware that family, friendship, and even acquaintanceship connections lay the groundwork for the transmission of beliefs, practices, and information. Therefore, for them, mapping these material exchanges had the potential of revealing the full extent of the social fabric that needed to be cleansed from heretical tendencies.

In contrast, the interrogation procedures included in Bernard Gui's *Practica inquisitionis heretice pravitatis* were fully centred on the matter of beliefs, to the point that, in the specific case of the Beguins of Languedoc, most of the issues included in the extensive question list start with a variant of the formula "has [the accused] believed or does [the accused] still believe or has [the accused] heard."⁶¹⁶ The fact is that none of the various interrogation techniques featured in the *Practica*—and specially designed to identify the

⁶¹⁴ As mentioned in Section 2.2, the *Ordo processus Narbonensis* was composed in the mid-thirteenth century and its main concern were the *bons omes* and *bonas femnas*, which are referred to as 'heretics', and the Waldensians.

⁶¹⁵ Tardif, "Document pour l'histoire du *processus*," 672: "Deinde requiritur si vidit hereticum vel Valdensem et ubi et quando, et quoties et cum quibus, et de aliis circumstantiis diligenter (...) et eos hospitio recepit aut recepit fecit. Si de loco ad locum duxit seu aliter associavit, aut duci vel associari fecit. Si cum eis comedit aut bibit (...) Si dedit vel misit eis aliquid. Si fuit eorum questor aut nuntius, aut minister. Si eorum depositum vel quid aliud habuit."

⁶¹⁶ Among countless examples, see Mollat, *Manuel de l'inquisiteur*, vol. 1, 158: "Item, si credidit, aut credit vel audivit."

members of the different groups—contain the characteristic set of questions related to material support. It is likely that by the early fourteenth century these questions were so commonplace among inquisitors that Gui, who was after all composing a highly specialised manual, didn't feel the need to insist on them. This idea is also supported by the analysis of the *culpae* recorded in Gui's *Book of Sentences*. Indeed, the actors of the Beguin network interrogated between 1321 and 1322 were not only asked about their beliefs, but also about their social interactions with other members of the community, as well as about the assistance they had provided for them.

Mirroring the questions in the *Ordo processus Narbonensis*, Guilhem Ros was asked whether he had shared meals with heretics, accompanied them from one place to another, and provided them with food and drinks. In particular Guilhem, who was deposed twice, in March and June 1322, ate and drank with seven fugitive apostates, with whom he also travelled, and drank wine, which he paid for, with two convicted Beguins, Peire Arrufat and Peire Tort.⁶¹⁷ Maria de Serra, who was sentenced to life imprisonment in July 1322, confessed that she had shared meals with many Beguins and Beguines, and that she had provided them with bread, wine, eggs, and money.⁶¹⁸ Bernarda d'Antusan confessed in March 1322 that she had received fugitive apostates and Beguins in her family house and that she gave them food and drinks. This was precisely the house where Guilhem Ros had met the aforementioned convicted Beguins and shared wine with them. When they left in a hurry trying to avoid capture, Bernarda still gave them a big piece of flat cake and two pieces of *rosolas*, a sort of stuffed pastry.⁶¹⁹

⁶¹⁷ Pales-Gobilliard, *Le livre des sentences*, 1366: "(...) et semel scivit esse VII fugitivos apostatas (...) cum eis comedit et bibit et participavit et aliquos ex ipsis multociens associavit de loco ad locum"; *ibid.*, 1594: "Item ipse misit pro vino et bibit cum eis in dicta domo."

⁶¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 1374: "Item multos alios Beguinos et Beguinas de erroribus predictis et aliis loquentes et suspectos et suspectas existentes et fugitivos pro heresi vidit, associavit et cum eis comedit, et panem et vinum et ova et pecuniam dedit eis."

⁶¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 1354: "Item plures et pluries recepit et receptavit in domo sua et viri sui aliquos quos in confessione sua nominat discurrentes, et aliquos apostatas fugitivos (...) et talibus dedit ad comedendum et bibendum de bonis domus sue"; *ibid.*, 1356: "Item dictis duobus hominibus existentibus tunc in domo ejus venit Guillelmus Ros et dixit sibi quod diceret illis hominibus qui erant intus quod cito exirent de dicta domo pro utilitate sua (...) et tunc recesserunt inde, et in recessu ipsa dedit dicto Petro Tort unum magnum cautellum de placenta et duo frusta de *rosolas*." Although Louisa Burnham translates 'rosolas' as 'roast meat' (Burnham, *So Great a Light*, 70) I thank Dr Maria Soler for her help in identifying these as the 'resoles' described in the earliest surviving Catalan culinary text, the *Llibre de Sent Soví*. The recipe for the 'resoles' appears in Chapter CL of Rudolf Grewe, ed., *Llibre de Sent Soví* (Barcelona: Barcino, 1979), 168 under the title "Qui parla con se ffan resoles de paste e d'ous e de fformatge."

In May 1322, after his capture, the same Peire Tort declared that he had also received Franciscan apostates and convicted Beguins in his home in Montréal, had given them from his own goods, and hid them.⁶²⁰ In turn, Bernarda's husband, Raimon, who also admitted to having received fugitives in the family house, added that he had provided them with supplies and a rather remarkable amount of money, a hundred silver *tournois* and fifty *sous* of Toulouse.⁶²¹ Meanwhile, in Belpech, Bernard de Na Jacma also received fugitives in his home, supplied them with food and drinks, and sent ten *sous* of Toulouse and nine silver *tournois* to the Beguins that remained imprisoned in the archiepiscopal gaol of Narbonne.⁶²² In the several depositions that Raimon de Bosch gave between 1321 and 1322, he admitted to having visited this same group of imprisoned Beguins that ended up at the stake in February 1322, and he confessed that he had received apostates in his home and accompanied them from place to place in disguise.⁶²³ Raimon was one of the deponents described as wearing the habit and cloak of Franciscan tertiaries, and once the inquisitorial persecution started, moving around in such clothing was probably dangerous.

Thus, most of the Beguins interrogated by Bernard Gui were asked about their material involvement in the clandestine workings of the struggling community. Despite the absence of such questions in the section of the *Practica* devoted to the *interrogatoria propria ad Bequinos moderni temporis*, these cases evince that this was still a matter of utmost concern for inquisitors. However, the need to have deponents confess on material exchanges was probably widespread enough and was left to what Gui called the experience, cunning, and ingenuity with which inquisitors had to conduct interrogations.⁶²⁴ Furthermore,

⁶²⁰ Ibid., 1414: "Predictus autem P. Tort multos apostatas ordinis fratrum Minorum quos sciebat fugitivos pro facto heresis, etiam quosdam etiam Beguinos fugitivos qui propria temeritate cruces dimiserant (...) receptavit in domo sua et alibi, de suo etiam dedit eis, quos non revelavit, nec cepit, nec capi fecit, set eos celavit ac celari fecit."

⁶²¹ Ibid., 1346: "(...) et de bonis suis dedit et expendidit semel centum turonenses albos argenteos, et semel quinquaginta solidos Tholosanorum."

⁶²² Ibid., 1330–32: "(...) receptavit diversos apostatas ordinis fratrum Minorum de fratribus vocatis Spiritualibus et diversos Beguinos (...) et dedit eis comedere et bibere, et misit semel X solidos Tholosanos Beguinis captis in Narbona, et alia vicem novem turonenses argenteos."

⁶²³ Ibid., 1308: "Item scivit plures alios esse credentes et consencientes in facto predictorum condempnatorum et ivit cum eis de loco ad locum in habitu dissimulato et visitavit illos Beguinos qui detinebantur in carcere Narbone et fuerunt postmodum tanquam heretici condempnati."

⁶²⁴ Mollat, *Manuel de l'inquisiteur*, vol. 1, 8: "Curet igitur sapiens inquisitor occasionem accipere sive ex deponentium responsis sive ex attestationibus accusantium sive ex hiis que experientia docuit sive ex proprii acumini ingenii sive ex sequentibus questionibus seu interrogatoriis."

it is true that the *culpae* of these Beguins and sympathisers mainly record doctrinal tenets, but the information they provide runs the gamut of the different instances of material support that served both as the social basis and as the means of survival of the Beguin network.

One possible approach to understanding the structure of dissident networks is to picture beliefs and devotional practices flowing through a web of basic social interactions. Among these we can roughly distinguish between relations based on intangible and tangible means. According to this model, being acquainted or blood related to someone, teaching, learning, engaging in conversation, or meeting someone at a certain event would fall into the intangible category, whereas instances of material exchange would be treated as tangible actions. This is of course a simplification, for there are several situations in which the boundary between tangible and intangible is by no means clear-cut, especially in relation to religious knowledge. In this sense, the distribution of things such as food, drinks, and money among the members of any network can be straight-forwardly treated as a material relation, while the circulation of relics involves a whole spiritual dimension that needs to be considered separately.

The purpose of monitoring the exchanges of food and drinks among deponents and suspects was twofold. On the one hand, these supplies provided essential sustenance for the survival of the persecuted network. In the previous sections I have already noted how living on alms was deemed as praiseworthy among Beguins, but furthermore, once many of them became fugitives, the material support of their co-religionists was sometimes their only chance to stay away from inquisitorial reach. On the other hand, food and drinks can also involve commensality, which is far more dangerous for the spread of beliefs. Inquisitors were aware of these aspects from the very beginning, and therefore included both sustenance—“*si dedit vel misit eis aliquid*”—and commensality—“*si cum eis comedit aut bibit*”—in their question lists.

Over a third of the actors of the Beguin network whose depositions are extant confessed to having provided other members of their spiritual community with supplies. Interestingly, the percentage of women among these material supporters almost doubles the general gender ratio of the deponents, which would suggest that women were remarkably

more involved in this activity than men (Figure 3.5.1). This is further confirmed by analysing the participation of men and women separately, which shows that over 65% of female deponents gave or sent food and drinks to other actors, while only a fifth of male deponents were charged on these grounds (Figure 3.5.2).

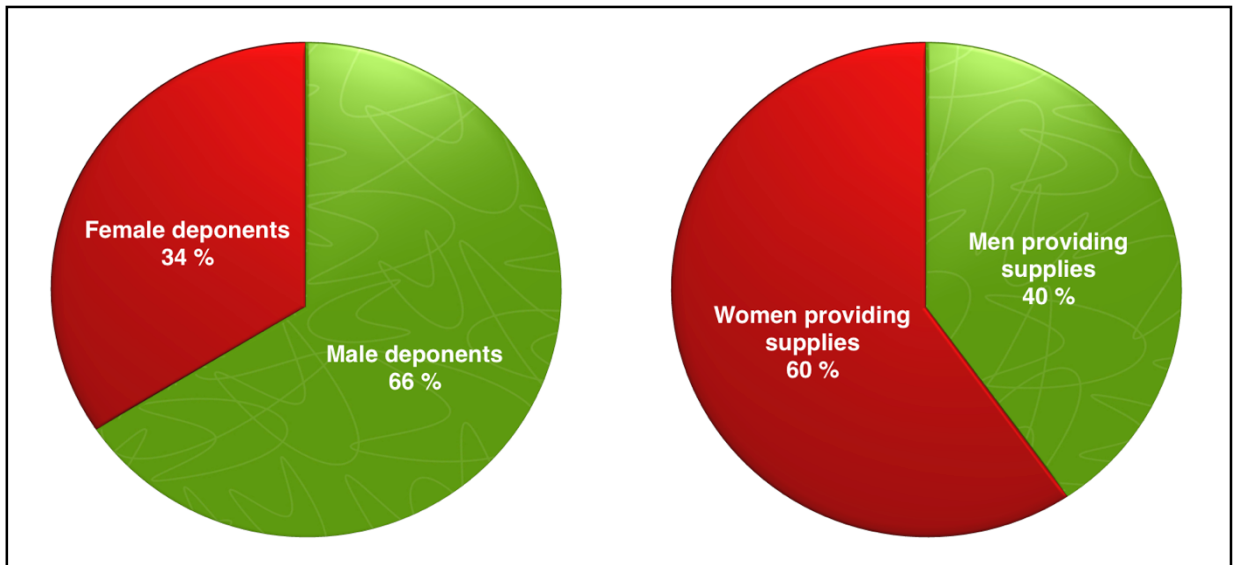


Figure 3.5.1. Gender distribution of deponents compared to gender distribution of suppliers

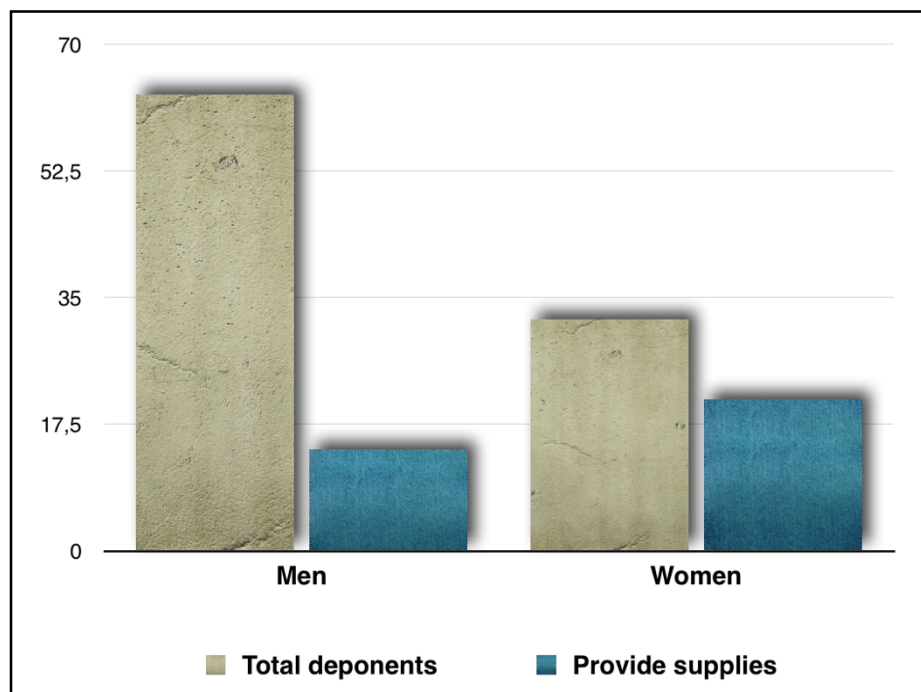


Figure 3.5.2. Relative distribution of suppliers by gender

As for the religious status of the people that provided food and drinks to others, although most of them were lay men and women who had taken no orders, Figure 3.5.3 shows that their overall distribution is not significantly different from the one we find when analysing the total sample of deponents. This would in turn suggest that the assumption that lay involvement in dissident networks was mostly concerned with logistic support needs to be reconsidered. In other words, with the only exception of actual priests, whose number is quite low and therefore lacks statistical significance, the difference between the proportion of lay people involved in this practice (around 40%) and the proportion of the priestly elite of the movement—Beguins and / or Franciscan tertiaries—who did the same (31%) is not enough as to assume that this variable was relevant in this case (Figure 3.5.4).

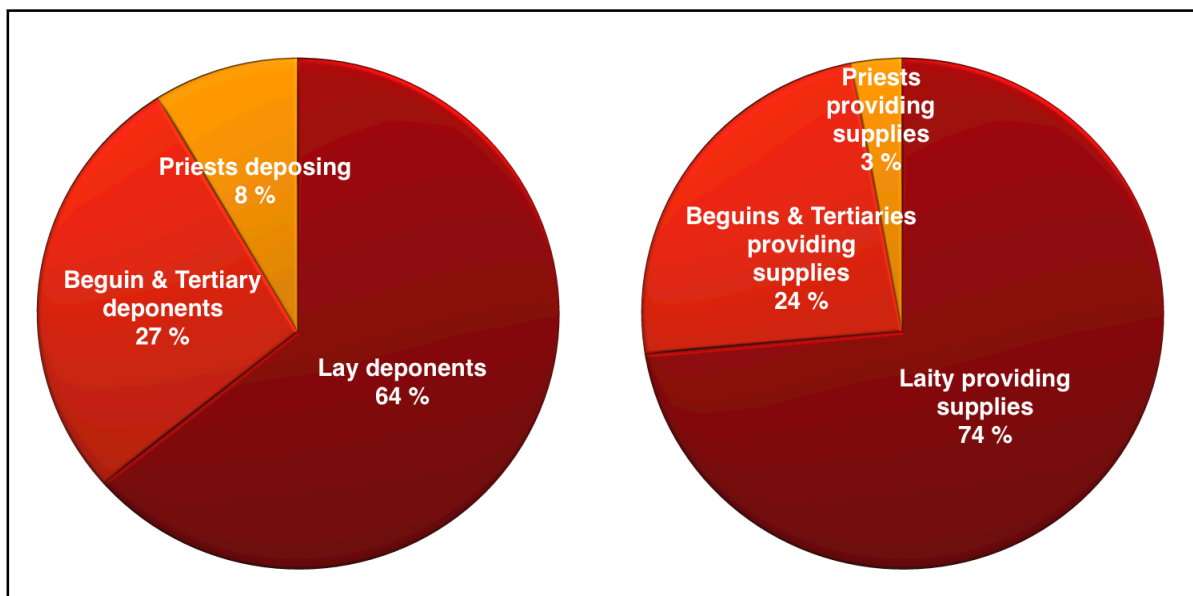


Figure 3.5.3. Distribution of religious status of deponents compared to distribution of religious status of suppliers

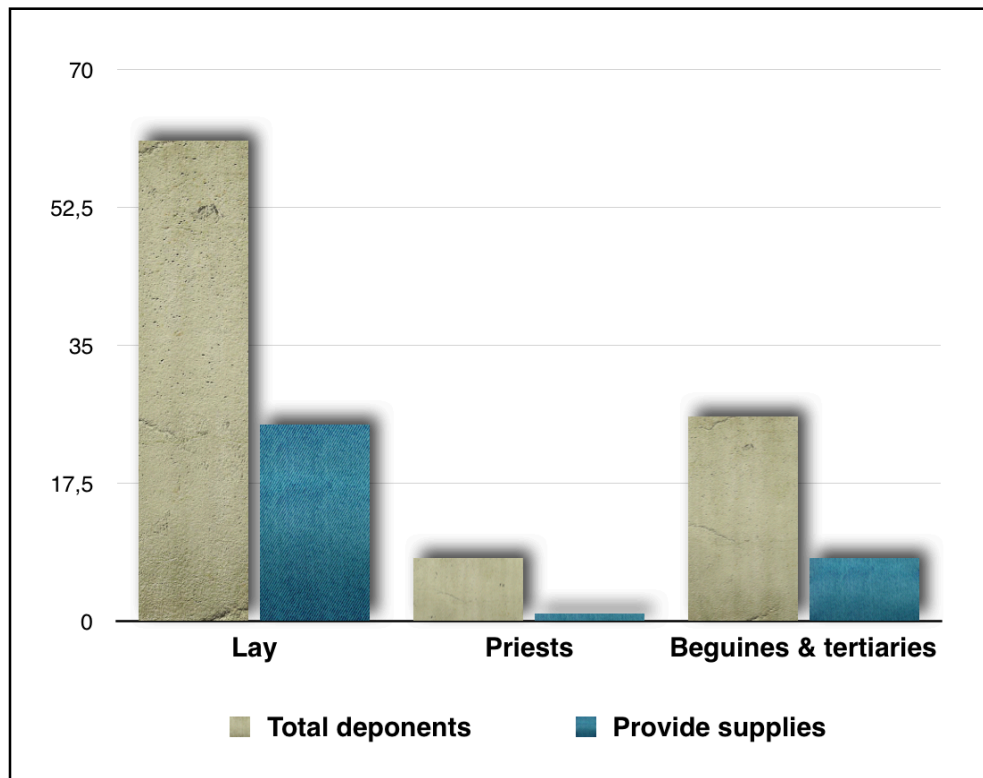


Figure 3.5.4. Relative distribution of suppliers by religious status

In contrast, it is much more difficult to single out the recipients of this material support. Most of the deponents confessed to providing food and drinks not to individuals but to groups of fugitive and imprisoned members of the network whose identities remain mostly unknown. Several groups of unnamed Franciscan rebels who decided to go back to their region of origin instead of complying with the penances imposed by Michel Le Moine were among the main recipients of victuals. For instance, and besides the examples shown above, Agnès Berenguer and her husband Andreu provided with food and drinks some Franciscans that came to their house in Montagnac disguised as secular priests, even though they knew them to be “of those who wore short habits.”⁶²⁵ The priest Johan Vascon, a long-time inhabitant of Narbonne who originally came from the same Montagnac, gave drinks to two friars “of those called Spirituals who had been summoned to Avignon and later punished

⁶²⁵ Doat 27, fol. 12r: “(...) prædictos apostatas in domo sua receptavit credens eos esse a principio capellanos seculares ut dixit (...) et de bonis suis et dicti mariti sui ad manducandum et bibendum eis dedit sciens fuisse de illis portantibus habitum curtum.”

by the inquisitor of Marseille.”⁶²⁶ Also in Narbonne, the merchant Peire Montlaur took victuals that he had received from other people to the hiding places of certain fugitive Franciscans who had been given penitential letters in Marseille but decided not to abide by them.⁶²⁷

Beguin fugitives also feature prominently in this category of collective recipients. I have already mentioned the examples of Maria de Serra and Bernarda d’Antusan in Cintegabelle, and Bernard de Na Jacma in Belpech. Meanwhile, in Narbonne, Berengaria Verrier received in her home several Beguins that were later burned as heretics and supplied victuals for them;⁶²⁸ and Berengaria Donas personally brought food to fugitive Franciscans, Beguins, and Beguines who were hiding not only in Narbonne, where she lived, but also in Montpellier and as far away as in Saint-Maximin-la-Sainte-Baume, near Marseille.⁶²⁹ However, most instances of collective material support refer to groups of Beguins who were imprisoned in inquisitorial and episcopal gaols waiting for their sentences.

Thus, Isabel de Bourges received money to buy food for the Beguins imprisoned in the *mur* of Carcassonne, the city where she lived;⁶³⁰ and those same Beguins were repeatedly provided with hens, bread, money, and other kinds of food and drinks by Pons Elies, who came all the way from his hometown of Laure-Minervois, a day’s travel from Carcassonne.⁶³¹ In turn, Maria de Rundaria was acquainted with three Beguines who used to bring food to other Beguins who were imprisoned in the archiepiscopal gaol of Narbonne,

⁶²⁶ Doat 28, fol. 232v: “Item duos apostatas de illis fratribus minoribus spiritualibus qui appellaverant et iverant ad Romanam curiam et postea fuerant per inquisitorem Massiliæ pœnitentiati et ad diversa loca transmissi in quadam domo quam regebat receptavit, eisque ad bibendum dedit.”

⁶²⁷ Ibid., fol. 223r: “(...) quosdam apostatas ipsius ordinis qui fuerant pœnitentiati pro facto hæresis in Massilia, et pœnitentias eis impositas non compleverant in diversis locis visitavit et ad alia loca associavit pro ipsisque a diversis personis victualia et alia recepit quæ eis in locis ubi latitabant deportavit.”

⁶²⁸ Ibid., fol. 121r: “(...) Begguinis qui postea fuerunt combusti (...) familiaritatem habuit et notitiam ac amicitiam de bonis suis multotiens eis dedit eosque in domo sua receptavit.”

⁶²⁹ Ibid., fol. 220v: “Item eosdem apostatas et quosdam alios et etiam aliquos Begguinos fugitivos et Begguinas in Narbona et in Montepessulano et in Sancto Maximino et alibi visitavit eisque comestibilia et alia victualia transmisit.”

⁶³⁰ Ibid., fol. 117r: “(...) quia sic audiverat dici ab illis duobus hominibus qui apportabant ipsi loquenti et aliis duabus sociis suis pecuniam unde dictis Begguinis in muri detentis necessaria cibaria ministrabant.”

⁶³¹ Ibid., fol. 119r: “Item Begguinis in muro Carcassonnæ detentis gallinas, panem, et argentum multotiens apportavit et misit ad comendendum et bibendum.”

which again points to the fact that what I have been calling the priestly elite of the movement was not just at the receiving end of the supply network.⁶³² The merchant Bernard Castilló, from Montpellier, provided supplies for the Beguins imprisoned in the gaol of the bishop of Maguelone;⁶³³ and the draper Johan Orlach, also from Montpellier, visited this same group, whose members would be executed in Lunel in October 1321, and brought them wine.⁶³⁴

Only eight individuals can be distinctly identified among the beneficiaries of these material exchanges. The number is too small as to ascribe any significance to the features of this group, but it is nonetheless interesting to note that it is formed by three Franciscans, four Beguins, and one layman. The three Franciscans had formerly belonged to the convent of Narbonne, and while two of them—Bernard d’Antinhan and Raimon Carlat, from Alet-les-Bains—only appear in the testimony of Raimon d’Antusan, who received them in his home and gave them victuals, the third one is the renowned Raimon de Johan, originally from Montréal.⁶³⁵ Raimon de Johan in fact received different kinds of supplies from as many as eleven actors of the Beguin network who lived across the Beguin area of influence. As for the four Beguins, Peire de l’Hospital, from Montpellier, Peire Domenge, from Narbonne, Peire Guiraud, from Gignac, and Peire Tort, from Montréal, they all received help from the same Raimon d’Antusan or his wife Bernarda, which mostly bespeaks the far reach and the importance of the Antusans as benefactors as well as members of the Beguin network.⁶³⁶ Finally, the sawyer Guilhem Serraller, who was originally from Lodève but hid for a while in Montpellier, received victuals from four different people in both towns.

⁶³² Ibid., fol. 204r: “(...) cum tribus Begguinabus quæ morabantur Narbonæ et quæ parabant cybaria pro Begguinis dudum detentis in carceribus domini archiepiscopi Narbonensis, quæ Begguinæ postea combustæ fuerunt tanquam hæreticæ, familiaritatem habuit.”

⁶³³ Doat 27, fol. 20r: “(...) et demum captis et detentis eisdem in carcere domini Magalonensis Episcopi eos visitavit et de suis bonis misit.”

⁶³⁴ Ibid., fol. 24v: “(...) quosdam Beguinos habitatores tunc Montepessulano visitavit et ex tunc eorum noticiam et familiaritatem habuit qui Beguini fuerant postmodum in Lunello combusti eosdem Beguinos in carcere primo detentos vidit et vinum eis dedit.”

⁶³⁵ Pales-Gobilliard, *Le livre des sentences*, 1346: “(...) et dedit ad comedendum et bibendum pluries de bonis suis, et specialiter fratrem Raymundum Johannis de Monte Regali et fratrem Raymundus Carlati de Electo et fratrem Bernardi de Antinhano apostatas ordinis Minorum et fugitivos.”

⁶³⁶ Ibid.: “(...) item Petrum Hospitalis et Petrum Dominici Beguinos quos audiverat fuisse penitenciatos et in iunctam penitentiam dimisisse et esse fugitivos et Petrus Guiraudi cum eisdem”; see note Soler above for Bernarda’s confession on the help provided to Peire Tort.

The fact that all these specific recipients are men should not lead to the conclusion that whereas the donors were mostly women, as has been established above, the recipients, and therefore the clandestine element of the network in need of such support, were mostly men. After all, as the previous examples have shown, there were both men and women among the unnamed groups that were sustained by means of this activity. However, the identity of these eight men does have implications that are related to the issue of which names kept being singled out during inquisitorial interrogations, which will be discussed in detail in Section 3.6.

As for the nature of the products exchanged between the actors of the Beguin network, only ten of the depositions mention specific types of food and drinks, while, as shown in the examples above, most of them include rather generic expressions, simply confessing to having provided others either “with food and drinks” or “from their own goods.” Wine is the only drink explicitly mentioned by the suspects, and I have already cited the three instances where it appears in the records: Guilhem Ros paid for the wine he shared with Peire Tort and Peire Arrufat in the Antusan household in Cintegabelle; Maria de Serra, also in Cintegabelle, provided many Beguins and Beguines with wine, among other things; and Johan Orlach brought wine to the Beguins imprisoned in Maguelone.

In contrast, the variety of food products is much wider. As could be expected, bread and the grain needed to make it were the main objects of these exchanges, appearing in half of the cases that document details on this regard. The examples of Maria de Serra and Pons Elies have already been cited, but we also find several others in this category. The widow from Carcassonne Jacma Sobirana sent bread to the fugitive friar Raimon de Johan;⁶³⁷ Miracla Esteve, from Montréal, also provided for the same Raimon, sending him one *quartera* of grain;⁶³⁸ the widow from Lodève Berengaria Estorg was given grain and had it ground to send the flour to Guilhem Serraller in Montpellier;⁶³⁹ and Jacma Lauret sent one

⁶³⁷ Doat 28, fol. 212r–v: “Item postquam dictus frater apostata venisset apud Carcassonam ad domum cuiusdam quem nominat, ipsa loquens visitavit cum ibi et panem misit.”

⁶³⁸ Ibid., fol. 191v: “(...) et alias unum quarteriam frumenti.”

⁶³⁹ Doat 28, fol. 196r: “(...) et pro eo bladum sibi datum moli fecit, et farinam sibi misit.”

sester of wheat also for Serraller, who she claimed was nursing a sick man to health.⁶⁴⁰ Fruit and vegetable products were next in order of importance, but they usually were mentioned in bulk. For instance, Berengaria Estorg carried fruits all the way to Montpellier to help the same Guilhem Serraller who was hiding there;⁶⁴¹ the harness maker Peire Massot brought fruits to the Beguins imprisoned in the episcopal gaol of Béziers;⁶⁴² and the aforementioned Miracla sent peas and fruit to Raimon de Johan.⁶⁴³ Only Jacma Lauret went into detail when describing the kind of fruits she had sent to Guilhem Serraller in a basket, that is, dried figs, grapes, and pears.⁶⁴⁴

Conversely, animal products were seldom mentioned. On the one hand, Pons Elies confessed to having brought hens to the Beguins imprisoned in Carcassonne, while Jacma Lauret admitted to having given sausages to Guilhem Serraller when she allegedly met him by chance in Aniane, and Maria de Serra listed eggs among the things she had provided for fugitive Beguins.⁶⁴⁵ On the other, the testimony of Peire Esperendiu describes the confiscation by royal officers of several cheeses that the fugitive Guilhem Verrier had sent to Narbonne to be sold—presumably—to help support other fellow Beguins. When Verrier rode back into the city looking for the cheeses, Peire informed him of what had happened and advised him to leave or risk capture, a passage that appears recorded in the language of the deponent.⁶⁴⁶ Finally, there are four examples of more elaborate foods, all of which were easy to transport and consume while on the run. Two of them have already been cited, that

⁶⁴⁰ Ibid., fol. 233v–234r: “(...) audivit dici Guillermum Serrallerii de Lodova esse in Montepessulano et servire cuidam homini infirmo quem nominat et esse in paupertate misit eidem Guillermo amore Dei unum sextarum bladi per ipsam personam.”

⁶⁴¹ Ibid., fol. 195r: “(...) et fructus tradidit apud Montepessulano.”

⁶⁴² Doat 27, fol. 13r: “(...)habuit familiaritatem aliquorum beguinorum qui postea fuerunt capti et detenti in curia domini episcopi Bitterrensis, eosque semel visitavit, eis de fructibus misit.”

⁶⁴³ Doat 28, fol. 191v: “(...) et alias de pisis, et alias de fructibus.”

⁶⁴⁴ Ibid., fol. 234r: “(...) idcirco misit eidem Guillermo unum cabassium de fructibus, scilicet de ficubus, et racemis, et piris siccis.”

⁶⁴⁵ Ibid.: “(...) ipsa loquens dum esset apud locum de Anhana tempore indulgentiæ invenit ibi dictum Guillermum Serrallerii et ibi loquuta fuit ei et dedit de salsiciis quas ipsa portabat.”

⁶⁴⁶ Ibid., fol. 251v: “(...) et postquam aliqui casei quos ipse Guillermus apud Narbonam transmiserat fuerant capti per gentes regias quadam nocte, dum ipse hora tarda sederet iuxta unum bastasium ante domum suam, Guillermus Verrerii prædictus venit eques (...) et cum cognovit qui Guillermus interrogavit ipsum si casei quos miserat erant venduti et ipse loquens respondit, ‘Vrayement li froumages vostres ne son pas vendus, mais les a pris le Roy et vendus. He mala avantura vous vanra he faites conte compains que vous seres pris si on vous point ataindre’.”

is, the flat cake and the *rosolas* that Bernarda d'Antusan gave Peire Tort just before he fled her house. The other two are recorded in the deposition of Miracla Esteve, one *fogassa*, a sort of flat bread, and one *flaó*, a pastry that could be filled with cottage cheese or eggs.⁶⁴⁷

All the cases presented so far involved instances of clandestinity, which is easily explained by means of source bias. In other words, the types of food and drinks that were at the centre of this system of material support can only say so much about the daily diet of the members of the network. The victuals exchanged had to be easy to transport and consume, and the examples provided above confirm this trend, with the only possible exception of the hens, which were nevertheless given to Beguin prisoners who were actually no longer leading a clandestine life. However, this information also confirms the lack of dietary restrictions among Beguins. Unlike other dissident groups, the priestly elite of the Beguin movement could not be distinguished by the food they ate, or more accurately, by the food they chose not to eat. Therefore, inquisitors were interested in the exchange itself and not so much in what kind of products were being exchanged.

Not even the men and women who alleged to have been professed as Franciscan tertiaries were bound to any specific dietary restrictions. Chapter 5 of *Supra Montem*, which regulated the periods of abstinence and fasting that the members of the Third Order of Saint Francis had to observe, merely forbid them from eating meat on Monday, Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday, bar in case of special circumstances, such as illness, being on a journey, or solemn festivities.⁶⁴⁸ In general, the bull advised moderation and allowed brothers and sisters to eat from whatever was offered to them when they were visiting other religious.⁶⁴⁹ Thus, these regulations aimed for austerity but not for segregation, Franciscan tertiaries were not meant to live separately from their fellow villagers but to join them in festivities and other communal events. This inclusive nature of the dietary usages of the

⁶⁴⁷ Doat 28, fol. 191v: "(...) sibique postea misit unum fogassetum et unum flatonem."

⁶⁴⁸ Domenico Andrea Rossi da Pusaro, ed., *Bullarium Franciscanum* (Rome: Typis Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide, 1768), vol. 4, 95: "Ab usu autem carnum secunda, quarta, et sexta feria, dieque Sabbati abstineant universi, nisi aliud infirmitatis vel debilitatis instantia suaderet: Minutis vero per triduum carnes dentur, nec subtrahantur in itinere constitutis. Sit quoque ipsarum comestio licita singulis, cum solemnitate præcipuam intervenire contigerit, in qua ceteri Christiani ab antiquo epulis carnis vesci solent."

⁶⁴⁹ Ibid.: "(...) sed et cum Religiosis ceteris in eorum Conventualibus domibus licite sumere valeant de appositis ab eisdem (...) Sit sanis cibus moderatus et potus."

priestly elite of the movement was even more apparent in the case of those Beguins and Beguines who defined themselves as such but made no claims as to having taken any vows. There is not a single mention of any specific observance of abstinence or fasting periods that were different from those that the rest of the Christians had to comply with. In her confession of 1325, Na Prous Boneta took matters a step further by claiming that there was no need to carry out penances like fasting, because contrition made all other penances unnecessary once one believed in the works of the Holy Spirit.⁶⁵⁰

The interest of inquisitors in discovering the involvement of suspects in the exchange of victuals also encompassed those instances in which food and drinks were not only given or sent away but also shared around the same table. The social importance of commensality has been extensively discussed among social scientists.⁶⁵¹ Well beyond biological need, the act of sharing food is deeply intertwined with social structure and practices. Eating together creates and reinforces social ties, but it also establishes a symbolic communal space where opinions, and therefore, beliefs flow freely.⁶⁵² Inquisitors were most certainly aware about the implications that seating at the same table had in terms of community bonding.⁶⁵³ Sitting at a table with suspects of heresy to share a meal implied not only being acquainted and even having a close relationship with them, but also, and more importantly, being exposed to heretical doctrines. Thus, the priest Johan Roger explicitly confessed to having “shared meals at the same table” with the fugitive Peire Trencavel at the house that another priest, Johan Adzorit, had in Béziers;⁶⁵⁴ and yet another priest, Bernard Mauri, who confessed to having shared meals with many different people, was specifically asked about who had sat at the table on each of those occasions.⁶⁵⁵ This is particularly significant given that Bernard

⁶⁵⁰ Doat 27, fol. 77r-v: “Item dixit se credere quod ille qui peccat mortaliter et de peccato ille contentur in corde salvari potest absque oris confessione solum quod credat in opere Spiritus Sancti dicens quod tali non est necessaria aliqua impositio pœnitentiæ in hoc mundo, scilicet ieiuniorum aut alia quia in hoc quod homo contentur in hoc est pœnitentia et ideo sibi non est alia pœnitentia imponenda.”

⁶⁵¹ On this regard, see the analysis in Claude Fishler, “Commensality, Society, and Culture,” *Social Science Information* 50, nos. 3–4 (2011): 528–48.

⁶⁵² On the symbology of commensality as religious communion, see Bynum, *Holy feast and holy fast*, esp. 49.

⁶⁵³ See the study on communal monastic meals in Jean-Claude Sagne, *La Symbolique du Repas dans les Communautés* (Paris: Le Cerf, 2009).

⁶⁵⁴ Doat 27, fol. 172v: “(...) dixisti te comedisse bibisse et pransum fuisse cum Petro Trencavelli in domo Joannis Adzoriti presbyteri in eadem mensa post dicti Petri contumaciam et fugam.”

⁶⁵⁵ Doat 35, fols. 29v–30r: “Interrogatus si quando rediit cum dicta Andrea et Sicilia social eius apud Aptam comedit et bibit cum dicto Petro Trencavelli et in quo hospitio et quibus præsentiis dixit quod sic in dicta

had already admitted to the close friendship he and the fugitive Peire Trencavel maintained. He described the warm welcome he gave his old friend, and even had to clarify that they had not shared a bed when they both spent the night at the same hospice, however he still had to confirm that they sat at the same table when they shared meals.⁶⁵⁶

Sharing meals was both a consequence and a sign that two people were acquainted enough as to exchange dangerous opinions, and inquisitors treated it as such. This was certainly the case of the aforementioned harness maker Peire Massot, who met Guilhem Verrier and his wife in Montpellier, where they shared a meal. Given that Peire was from Béziers, that the Verriers lived in Narbonne, and that they were all involved in the Beguin movement before said meeting took place, it is not unlikely that these three people were in Montpellier for similar spirituals reasons. Whatever the case, they seem to have struck up a friendship, for Peire saw the couple many more times and shared meals with them both in Narbonne and in Béziers.⁶⁵⁷ Sharing food is also one of the most basic rituals that build up family bonds, for it sparks a sort of intimacy that can be made extensive to friends, which in turn strengthens pre-existing social ties.⁶⁵⁸ The connection between family ties, friendship, and commensality is also well exemplified by Johana and Guilhema Berenguer, the sisters who moved to Narbonne from their native Montagnac. Their brother and sister-in-law, Andreu and Agnès Berenguer, who still lived in their hometown, welcomed to their home some Franciscan friars disguised as secular priests and ate and drank with them. Significantly enough, those friars went next to the house that the two sisters shared in

domo hospitalis prædicti Marini præsentibus et simul in eadem mensa comendentibus dictis Andrea et Cicilia ac Marino et Domino Hugone Robaudi presbitero.”

⁶⁵⁶ Ibid., fol. 27v: “(...) dictus Petrus Trencavelli tunc supervenit (...) cum ipse qui loquitur vidisset fuit admiratus et recollegerunt se mutuo et se salutaverunt tactis manibus et cum amplexibus sed non recordatur si se osculati fuerunt vel non est, postea ex tunc per intervalla dierum vidit eundem Petrum Trencavelli in eadem domo sex vicibus vel circa, et aliquoties scilicet vis comedit et bibit idem Petrus in eadem mensa cum ipso loquente (...) et semel iacuit dictus Petrus un dicta domo hospitalis cum ipso loquente, videlicet uno iacente in uno lento et alia in altero.”

⁶⁵⁷ Ibid., fol. 13r: “(...) semel comedit in Montepessulano quod tunc non cognoscebat Guillelmum Verrerii de Narbonensi et eius uxorem, in domo sua et alibi vidit et cum eis comedit et bibit tam in Narbona quam in Bitterris.”

⁶⁵⁸ See the enlightening analysis in Mary Douglas, “Deciphering a meal,” in *Food and Culture: A Reader*, ed. Carole Counihan and Penny Van Esterik (New York–London: Routledge, 1997), 41: “Drinks are for strangers, acquaintances, workmen, and family. Meals are for family, close friends, honoured guests. The grand operator of the system is the line between intimacy and distance.”

Narbonne, received victuals there, and also shared meals with Johanna and Guilhema, who sheltered them and made sure that others did the same.⁶⁵⁹

As far as inquisitors were concerned, commensality with heretics was on the one hand incriminating in itself and on the other an aggravating circumstance. For instance, in June 1329, the innkeeper Raimon Boer was brought before the Dominican inquisitor Henri de Chamayou only because, while sitting at a table with royal officers in his own inn, he had publicly boasted about having frequently shared meals with the glassmaker Elies Elies, a convicted Beguin who died at the stake.⁶⁶⁰ Moreover, even when the charges against the deponent were already solid, the fact that they had shared meals with other suspects also needed to be placed on record. Thus, the case of Flors Baró, a woman from Montréal who fled the village along with her father and sister when the arrests begun, was made worse because while in flight she shared meals with other fugitive Beguins. It was her undeniable involvement with the Beguin network that made her a suspect in the first place and caused her escape to Narbonne, but the fact that she ate and drank with fugitives after that was added to the accusations against her all the same.⁶⁶¹

In September 1325, Pons Gardià confessed that he had joined his fellow candlemaker Guilhem Verrier in his journey from Narbonne to Orange—a long travel of almost 200 km—where he lived with him until they were both captured. Pons did this despite knowing that Verrier was already a fugitive, which was incriminating enough, but he still had to admit that while living and sleeping in the same house, they had shared meals.⁶⁶² The same Guilhem Verrier, who faced multiple severe charges himself, was among other things accused of being associated with Peire Trencavel who he knew had escaped the inquisitorial

⁶⁵⁹ Doat 28, fol. 190r: “Item postquam dictus frater cum aliis fuisset per inquisitorem Massiliæ cum quibusdam aliis pœnitentiatus et aufugisset ac etiam apostatasset venissetque apud Narbonam ipsum cum Berengaria sorore sua in domo earum receptavit cum quodam alio et etiam cum eis comedit et bibit sciens eos esse tales, et a dicta sorore sua audivit dictos fratres apostatas fuisse in Montaginacho in domo fratris earum.

⁶⁶⁰ Doat 27, fol. 200v: “(...) dicentibus post multa verba quod Helyo Vererius quondam sicut hæreticus condemnatus et combustus (...) erat bonus homo et frequenter comederat et biberat cum eo.”

⁶⁶¹ Doat 28, fol. 231r–v: “(...) cum dicto patre suo et sorore versus Narbonam aufugit et cum dicto apostata et quibusdam aliis tam apostatis quam Begguinis comedit et bibit et in fuga capta fuit.”

⁶⁶² Ibid., fol. 236r: “(...) cum prædicto Guillermo Veirerii quem sciebat aufugisse de Narbona propter factum Begguinorum qui fuerant condemnati in Narbona quos dictus Guillermus se dixit ipsi qui loquitur receptasse ivit apud Aurasitam moraturus, et stetit cum eo comedit et bibit ac iacuit usquequo captus fuit.”

gaol of Carcassonne. Guilhem had to answer not only for travelling with Peire from place to place, but also for sharing meals with him while they travelled.⁶⁶³ Likewise, the deposition of the priest Bernard Peyrotas, who would be burned at the stake in August 1323 for his active role in the Beguin community, recorded how he had received many fugitive Beguins in his chambers in Montpellier, and, moreover, how he had shared meals with them.⁶⁶⁴

The real danger commensality posed of course lay in the fact that sitting together at a table to share food led to conversation, which, in a climate of religious turmoil, would inevitably touch on or even revolve around spiritual matters. Na Prous Boneta, while recounting the different stages of her own mystical experience, casually describes how she, her sister Alisseta, and their companion Alaraxis Bedoc discussed the sermon they had just listened to during the service of Good Friday while eating together at the same table.⁶⁶⁵ But this was not the only kind of conversation that took place at the Boneta household, for both Alisseta and Alaraxis confirmed in their respective depositions that many actors of the network visited the house, shared meals, and conversed with them while they were there.⁶⁶⁶ Johan Peire was but one of the many members of the group who lived in Montpellier and undoubtedly knew the Boneta sisters and Alaraxis Bedoc, and he also confessed to having frequently shared meals with followers of the “beliefs of the burned Beguins” both in his house and elsewhere.⁶⁶⁷

Sharing meals was not incidental, it was a practice in which people engaged voluntarily and purposefully, and that is precisely what made it an aggravating circumstance

⁶⁶³ Ibid., fol. 240v: “(...) et Petrum Trancavelli de Bitterris quem sciebat aufugisse de muro et tanquam hæreticum fuisse condemnatum associavit de loco ad locus et cum eo bibit et comedit.”

⁶⁶⁴ Ibid., fol. 26 v: “Item dum moraretur in Montepessulano plures Begguinos fugitivos qui postea fuerunt condemnati receptavit scienter in camera sua et comedit cum eis.”

⁶⁶⁵ Ibid., fol. 53r: “(...) et cum fuit in domo et esset in mensa cum sociabus suis et loqueretur de sermone facto, radii prædicti iterato circumfulserunt eam et ideo fuit in tango fervour et amore access ad Deus quod non pituitary comedere sed surrexit de mensa.”

⁶⁶⁶ Ibid., fol. 26v: “(...) et multos alios homines et mulieres de credentia Beguinorum combustorum in domo dictæ Na Prous cum qua morabatur multociens et diversis temporibus vidit (...) et cum eis comedit et bibit et de bonis suis dedit nesciens a principio sed tamen postea satis cito sciens eos esse tales et nihilominus cum eis postmodum sicut et antea extitit conversata”; *ibid.*, fol. 30r–v: “(...) in dicta domo Na Prous et sua vidit receptavit et eis dedit ad manducandum et bibendum et cum eis inibi comedit et bibit eosdemque alibi visitavit etiam (...) et sciebat eos esse tales et tenere opiniones Beguinorum combustorum.

⁶⁶⁷ Ibid., fol. 22v: “(...) multosque alios fugitivos et alios de credentia Beguinorum combustorum etiam in dicta domo sua et alibi vidit et associavit et cum eis comedit et bibit frequenter.”

in the eyes of the inquisitors. However clear and incriminating the connection between two individuals was, eating together consolidated their bond, and therefore needed to be explicitly recorded. Thus, when the fugitive priest Bernard Mauri, who had changed his name to Blas Martí to try and remain undetected, was interrogated about the people with whom he maintained a close relationship, he gave the names of three female members of the Beguin community, Elis Castres, Raimunda Esquirol, and a certain Guilhelma. To prove their friendship, Bernard recounted how they had looked after him when he fell ill and on many other occasions, but as if that was not confirmation enough, he added that they had frequently shared meals and conversed both in Brignoles, where he was staying, and in Manosque, where they lived.⁶⁶⁸ Commensality was therefore a source of social connections and became one of the features that defined whether someone belonged to the community or not. Thus when trying to establish the involvement of the already deceased priest Peire de Tornamira, the record states how several witnesses attested to the fact that he belonged to their group, conversed with them, shared meals with them, and lived in houses of poverty with them.⁶⁶⁹

From a gender perspective, the testimonies presented so far have already shown how both men and women participated in commensality practices within the Beguin community. However, it is worth noting that despite the fact that the majority of deponents who confessed to having shared meals with other members of the group were men (57%), the percentage of women who did the same is significantly higher than what could be expected on the basis of the gender distribution of the extant set of depositions (Figure 3.5.5).

⁶⁶⁸ Doat 35, fols. 33r–34v: “Interrogatus cum quibus personis conversatus est specialiter postquam venit ad partes istas et quibus adhesit et fuit magis familiaritatis dixit quod cum Elis Castras de Biterri, et Raimunda de Squirola et Guillelma mulieribus supradictis quæ se dicte tempore infirmitatis et alias sibi servierunt cum quibus frequenter et pluries comedit bibit et stetit et conversatus est Manoscha et Brinonia.”

⁶⁶⁹ Germain, “Une consultation inquisitoriale,” 333: “qui omnes communiter asserunt et affirmant dictum Petrum presbiterum fuisse de societate Beguinorum supradictorum, et cum eis conversatum fuisse, comedisse et bibisse, et cum eisdem Beguinis hereticis in domibus Paupertatis et aliis locis moratum fuisse et cohabitasse.”

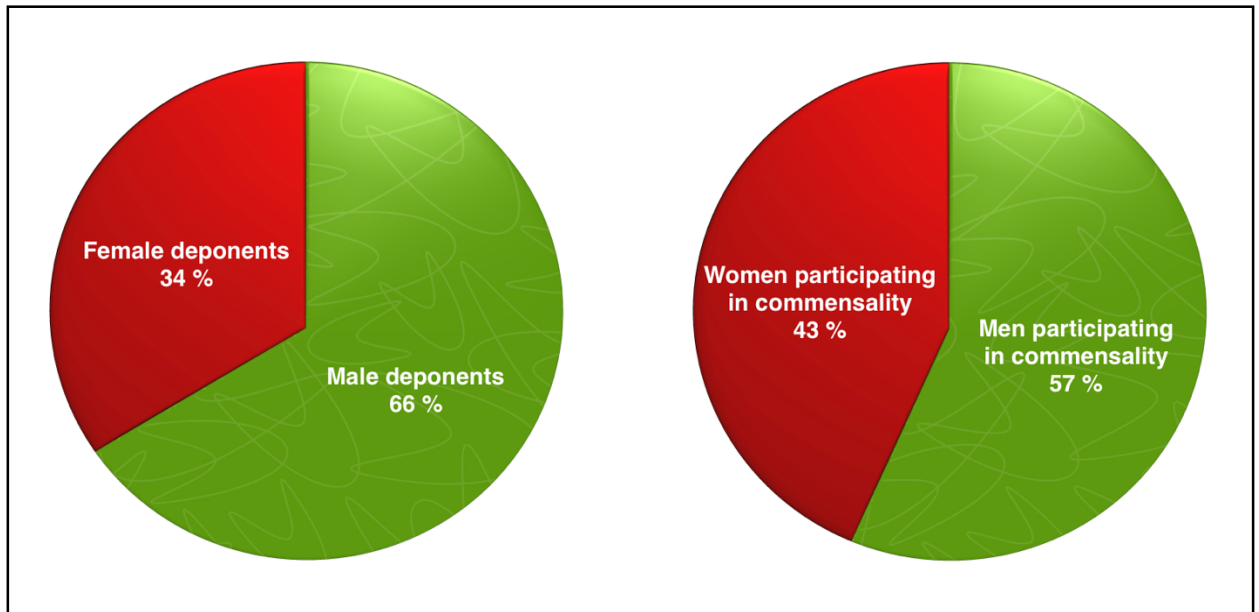


Figure 3.5.5. Gender distribution of deponents compared to gender distribution of commensality practices

To further explore this issue, it is useful to plot commensality instances according to gender. Figure 3.5.6 once again shows how whereas only 27% of male deponents were involved in this kind of practices, as many as 40 % of the women were charged on these grounds.

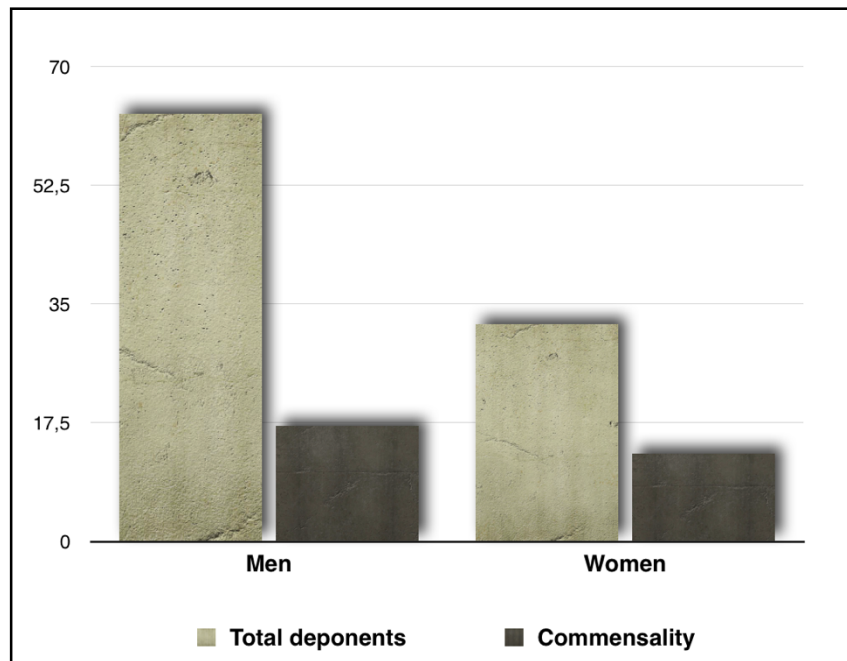


Figure 3.5.6. Relative distribution of commensality practices by gender

In Section 3.6 below, I will discuss the issue of gender homophily in relation to commensality, that is, I will analyse whether men and women were more likely to share meals with people of their own sex or not, which in turn will help to better understand the functioning of Beguin communities. In any case, and to sum up, the participation of women in commensality practices was less important than their involvement in the supply of victuals to other actors of the Beguin network; while, in contrast, men were slightly less active in providing food and drinks for others than in sharing meals with them (Figure 3.5.7). Thus, the analysis of these instances of material support seems to indicate that the part women played in these practices was especially significant, which in turn highlights their vital role not only for the survival of the persecuted members of the community, but also for the establishment and reinforcement of social ties within the spiritual network.

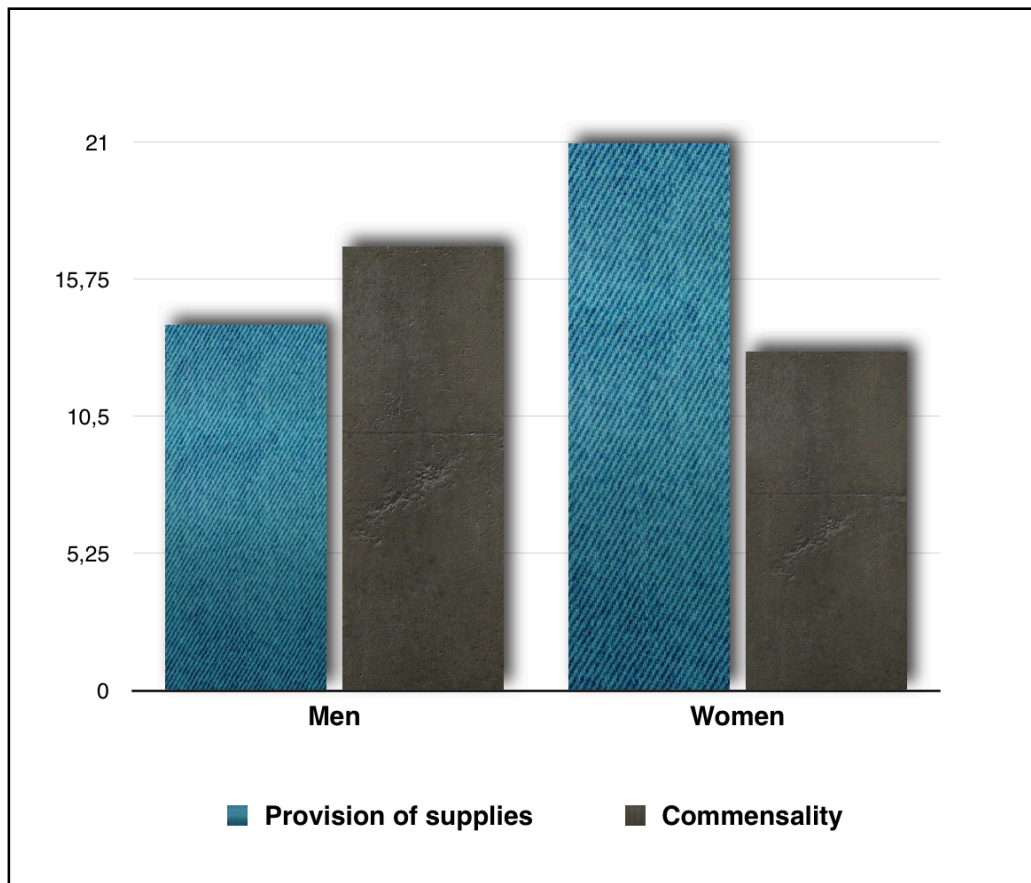


Figure 3.5.7. Relative distribution of suppliers and commensality practices by gender

Food and drinks were not the only form of material support exchanged among the members of the Beguin community. The formulaic question “*si dedit vel misit aliquid*” inquired about virtually anything that the deponents had ever given to convicted heretics or to any other suspect. In the answers they provided to this question, victuals were closely followed by money as the main means of support in circulation through the network. However, given the Franciscan spiritual basis of this particular group, the donation and acceptance of money was not without issues. As shown in the previous section, poverty was central to the belief system of Beguins and also to the episode that lay at the very foundation of their inquisitorial persecution, that is, the execution of the four Franciscan friars in Marseille in 1318. Furthermore, the controversy on the poverty of Christ and the apostles had specifically brought to the table the matter of money, and the stance of the priestly elite of the movement on this point was rather clear, at least in theory. Peire de l’Hospital, an inhabitant from Montpellier who was among the first group prosecuted in 1319 and was finally burned as a relapser in Toulouse in September 1322, declared before Bernard Gui

that the Pope could not allow Franciscans and Franciscan tertiaries who took a vow of poverty to handle money, nor make them wear rich habits for this was against the precepts of the evangelical Rule of St Francis.⁶⁷⁰

In fact, the only apostle that sometimes appears in the depositions as carrying money was none other than Judas, which had rather straightforward implications. Section 3.4 included the testimony of the cutler Peire Tort on this regard, but as the deposition of the Franciscan tertiary Peire Calvet shows, Tort was not the only one under this assumption. According to Calvet, Christ and the apostles owned nothing, however, he also claimed to doubt on this point for he had heard that Judas carried a money pouch.⁶⁷¹ This rejection of money is also confirmed by the confession of the Franciscan friar Raimon de Johan, who admitted to having money despite the fact that according to their Rule he should not possess anything, neither privately nor in common, which, furthermore, he identified as the main reason for the division within his Order.⁶⁷² For the members of the Beguin network, this was not a matter of opinion: money and vows were not to be mixed. For instance, the shoemaker Johan Dalmau heard the well-connected Peire Trencavel say that those who took evangelical vows could not carry money, and that the Pope could not dispense from said evangelical vows.⁶⁷³

In contrast, money was the most convenient means of support for the actors of the network who lived on the run once the persecution started. Money allowed them to buy what they needed the most, and the social extraction of many members of the community certainly made it a viable option. Although the information provided by the extant depositions is most

⁶⁷⁰ Pales-Gobilliard, *Le livre des sentences*, 1616: "Item quod papa non potest secundum Deum dispensare quod fratres Minores aut fratres de tercia regula sancti Francisci qui voverunt paupertatem tenere possint per se ipsos pecuniam contrectare, aut quod portent habitus magnos, latos et preciosos, qui faciendo predicta aut dispensando in predictis faceret contra regulam evangelicam, quam dicit esse regulam sancti Francisci."

⁶⁷¹ Ibid., 1370: "Item quod Christus et apostoli non habuerunt aliquid in proprio vel communi, et de hoc ipse dubitabat, quia audiverat dici quod Judas portabat loculos."

⁶⁷² Doat 27, fol. 36v: "(...) et pecuniam tenuit et tractavit licet dicant et confessus fuerit quod secundum eorum regulam nihil debent habere nec in proprio nec in comuni asserens quod finaliter et principalis causa quare suum ordinem divisi fuit."

⁶⁷³ Doat 28, fol. 209r: "Item a dicto Petro Trancavelli audivit quod quicumque fecisset votum Evangelicum non poterat portare denarios nec pecuniam aliquam et quod dominus Papa non posset dispensare in votes Evangelicis."

of the time quite unspecific in regard to the amount and currency of money donations, it does reveal a certain variety on both counts (Table 3.5.1).

	Amount	Recipient
Amada Orlach	20 <i>diners</i> Not specified	Meal with Guilhem Serraller Beguins in Lodève
Amoda Sepian	Not specified	Settled the rent for Beguins in Narbonne
Amorós Lauret	Not specified	Guilhem Serraller
Berengaria Estorg	Not specified	Guilhem Serraller
Berenguer Jaoul	Not specified	Raimunda Rigaud
Bernard Castilló	Not specified	Purchased a house and gave alms to Beguines Straw for Raimon de Johan
Bernard de Na Jacma	10 <i>sous</i> from Toulouse 9 silver <i>tournois</i>	Apostates & Beguins
Blas Boer	Not specified	Franciscans
Germà Frener	Not specified	Nicholas V
Jacma Lauret	3 or 4 <i>sous</i>	Guilhem Serraller
Jacma Sobirana	10 <i>sous</i>	Raimon de Johan
Johan Orlach	Not specified	Guilhem Serraller Feast in honour of Olivi
Johana Lleó	Not specified	Raimon de Johan

Manenta Rosa Maur	2 <i>sous</i>	Raimunda Rigaud via Berenguer Jaoul
Maria de Serra	Not specified	Beguins
Peire de Tornamira	11 <i>tournois</i> 3 <i>julhats</i> 20-40 <i>grossos tournois</i> 1 <i>tournois</i>	Fugitives Meal for the community Wine
Peire Esperendiu	1 <i>tournois</i> 1 florin	Imprisoned Beguins & Spirituals
Peire Trencavel	Not specified	Apostate Franciscans via Blas Boer
Pons Elies	Not specified	Imprisoned Beguins
Raimon d'Antusan	100 silver <i>tournois</i> 50 <i>sous</i> of Toulouse 350 gold <i>diners</i> in <i>agnels</i> & florins	Fugitives Peire Trencavel
Unidentified men	Not specified	Isabel de Bourges & two companions

Table 3.5.1 Money donations

As befits the period, the presence of gold coins in the testimonies of the deponents is scarce. However, the only deponent that does mention them, Raimon d'Antusan, provides an invaluable account not only concerning the clandestine circulation of money within the group, but also showing how the apocalyptic expectations that pervaded the Beguin belief system shaped individual actions. As mentioned above, Raimon had provided fugitive Beguins with a remarkable amount of money, in particular, 100 silver *tournois* and fifty *sous* of Toulouse. But furthermore, two years before his deposition, that is, around 1320, Raimon had entrusted Peire Trencavel with 350 gold *diners* in *agnels* and florins, which he had paid in two instalments. The purpose of this deposit was to grant Raimon—and presumably his

wife Bernarda—safe passage to Greece or Jerusalem in order to avoid the impending tribulations that would destroy the carnal Church according to the Olivian interpretation of the Apocalypse. Raimon also claimed that many other people had also put their money into Trencavel's care for that same reason.⁶⁷⁴ The mention of gold *agnels* and florins is especially significant, given that French mints only issued a limited amount of gold coins in this period, which further proves the privileged economic position of the Antusans.⁶⁷⁵ The rest of the depositions providing specific information about money donations record the use of different silver coinages: *diners*, *sous tournois* and *grossos tournois*, *julhats*, and *sous* of Toulouse. The sums range from the modest 20 *diners* that Amada Orlach paid for the meal she shared with Guilhem Serraller in Aniane, to the forty *grossos tournois* that the priest Peire de Tornamira gave to the Beguins with whom he had fled overseas before he made his way back home.⁶⁷⁶

As in the case of the aforementioned Amada Orlach, sometimes no actual money changed hands among members of the community, but donors simply paid for the expenses incurred by other fellow Beguins. Thus, the Franciscan tertiary Amoda Sepian, who was close to some Beguins from Narbonne, was asked to settle part of the rent of the house where they lived by Guilhem Verrier, although she was paid back at a later date.⁶⁷⁷ The silk merchant Bernard Castilló, a wealthy man from Montpellier, regularly gave alms to a group of Beguines whom he kept visiting when they were imprisoned in the episcopal gaol of

⁶⁷⁴ Pales-Gobilliard, *Le livre des sentences*, 1350: "Item addidit confessioni sue prime dicens quod ipse tradidit et commendavit Petro Trencavelli de Bitterensi, Beguino de tercio ordine, qui multum prosequatur factum Beguinorum CCCtos L denarios auri tam in agnis aureis quam in florenis in duabus vicibus a duobus annis citra ad istum finem ut juvaret se de eis, si contingeret eum ire Greciam vel in Jerusalem sicut currebat opinio inter Beguinos quod utile erat fugere ad partes illas ad evadendum bella et guerras que debebant destruere in partibus istis regnum Francorum et ecclesiam carnalem infra breve tempus et ita credebant. Item audivit de aliquibus aliis personis quod tradiderunt seu commendaverunt eidem Petro Trencavelli aliquas et magnas peccunie quantitates."

⁶⁷⁵ Peter Spufford, *Money and its Use in Medieval Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 183.

⁶⁷⁶ Doat 28, fols. 193v–194r: "Item Guillerum Serrallerii de Lodova de quo audiverat dici quod aufugerat de Lodova et quod non audebat illud reverti propter captionem Begguinorum (...) vidit in loco de Anhana et cum eo bibit et comedit vigintique denarios pro expensis solvit"; Germain, "Une consultation inquisitoriale," 335: "(...) et dictus presbiter retrocessit et dimisit eum; sed in recessu dedit sibi viginti vel quadraginta grossos turonenses albos."

⁶⁷⁷ Doat 28, fols. 237v–238r: "(...) quorundam Begguinorum qui habitabant Narbonæ et postea fuerunt capti in curia domini archiepiscopi Narbonæ pro facto hæresis notitiam et familiaritatem habuit, de logerio quoque domus in qua morati fuerant ad instantiam Guillermi Verrerii partem solvere promisit et solvit, tamen postmodum sibi reddita fuit."

Maguelone, but well before that he had even purchased a house for them.⁶⁷⁸ In addition, he bought straw for Raimon de Johan and several other Beguins when he learned that Raimon was convalescing at a certain house in Montpellier.⁶⁷⁹ The also wealthy draper Johan Orlach, a fellow citizen of Bernard Castilló, confessed to having sponsored a feast in honour of Olivi on the anniversary of his death. According to Johan, the saint had saved his son when he was sick, for Johan himself had taken him to Olivi's tomb in Narbonne.⁶⁸⁰ According to one witness, the priest Peire de Tornamira paid for a communal meal that took place at a certain house in Montpellier where plans were laid for the escape of the group overseas.⁶⁸¹ Furthermore, Peire also gave one silver *tournois* to the gaoler of the episcopal prison of Maguelone so that he would procure wine for the Beguins imprisoned there, whom Peire himself visited.⁶⁸² Finally, the tailor Blas Boer who, as noted above, accompanied the Spiritual Franciscans from Narbonne on their journey to the papal court of Avignon, and gave them money but also bought breeches for one of them.⁶⁸³

Money donations were carried out by both men and women. However, whereas women had a more significant role than men in the provision of victuals, the social structure of the period would seem to suggest that at least a priori, the male members of the community would have been significantly more active in handling money. The analysis of the testimonies on this matter reveals that indeed most money donors were men, but when

⁶⁷⁸ Doat 27, fol. 20r: "(...) quibusdam Beguinis quandam (...) alique hospitium pro ipsis emit in quibus habitabant et in quibus ipse frequenter eis elemosinam fecit et demum captis et detentis eisdem in carcere domini Magalonensis episcopi eos visitavit et de suis bonis misit."

⁶⁷⁹ Ibid., fol. 21v: "Fratrem Raimundum Johannis apostatam ab ordine minorum spiritualium de quo sibi dictum fuit quod erat talis in quadam domo Montispessulani iacei item infirmum vidit et sibi et quibusdam Beguinabus et uni Beguino de paleis misit."

⁶⁸⁰ Ibid., fol. 25r: "In quodam convivio facto ad honorem fratris Petri Johannis facto per eos tali die quali dictus frater obierat interfuit et expensas ibi factas de suo proprio ministravit. Quondam filium suum infirmum dicto fratri Petro sicut sancto devovit et ad eius sepulcrum portavit, credens ipsum filium fuisse sanatum per dicti fratris Petri merita quem reputabat sanctum."

⁶⁸¹ Germain, "Une consultation inquisitoriale," 334: "Item, nonus testis asserit et confitetur, cum (quod?) dictus Petrus presbiter et ipse testis cum quibusdam aliis beguinis comederunt quadam die simul in domo cujusdam, quem nominant, et solvit prandium dictus Pelrus presbiter; et fuerunt in eadem domo usque ad horam vesperorum, ubi tractaverunt de modo et de via transeundi ultra mare alia die."

⁶⁸² Ibid., 338: "Interrogatus si, quando dicti Beguini fuerunt capti in carcere domini episcopi Magalonensis, si visitavit eos ibi, vel dedit aliquid, dixit quod sic quadam die (...) Et tunc solvit unum turonensem argenti carcerario, pro vino, qui eos custodiebat."

⁶⁸³ Doat 27, fol. 85r: "(...) eosque secutus fuit ad romanam curia ut videret finem aliquibusque ipsorum pecuniam obtulit et uni bracas emit."

compared with the gender distribution of the sample of deponents, this percentage is not particularly relevant (Figure 3.5.8). In other words, the number of male money donors is larger than the number of female money donors simply because there were more men than women among the deponents; that is to say, women were not less inclined than men to procure money for the members of the community that needed it.

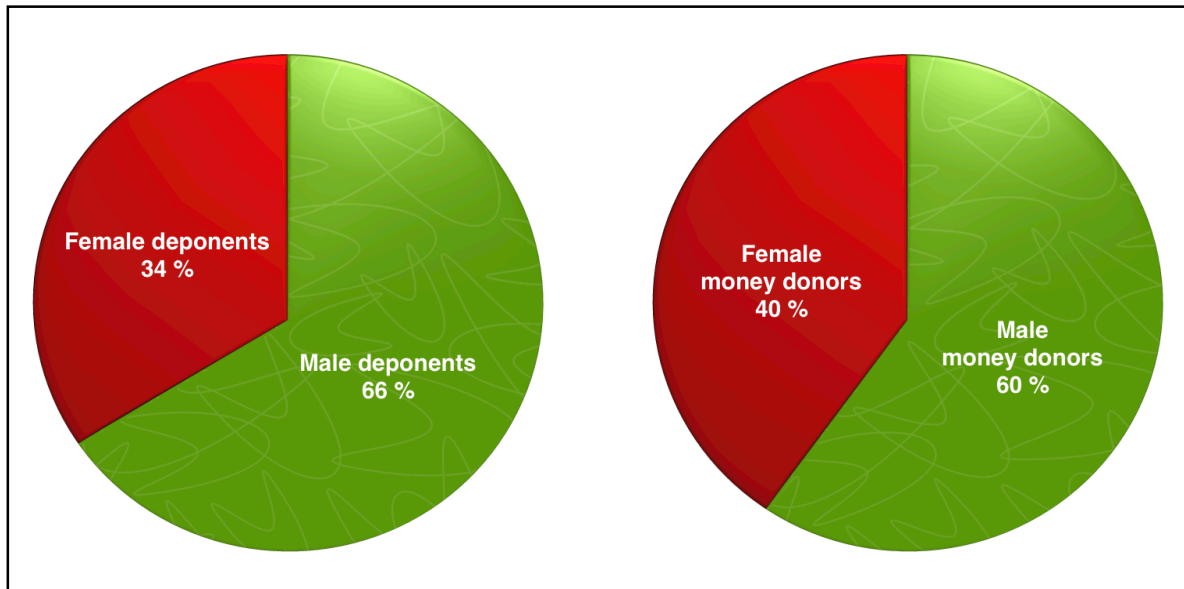


Figure 3.5.8. Gender distribution of deponents compared to gender distribution of money donors

Once again, plotting money donors against the total number of deponents according to gender can confirm the existence of this apparent trend. In fact, as Figure 3.5.9 shows, giving money was a more widespread means of support among women than it was among men, for while 25% of female deponents engaged in this kind of activity, only 19% of male deponents did the same. Were the information about money more specific, a qualitative analysis could also help us determine whether there was a correlation between gender and the amount of money donated. The few instances where large amounts are mentioned are connected to male donors, but the data on this respect is too scarce as to establish that they had access to more money because of their sex, and not because of their particular status, which therefore cannot lead to the conclusion that women only made smaller donations. In contrast, and despite this relative vagueness of the records, it should be noted that over 25% of the overall sample of money donors were widows, which confirms the importance of their involvement in the movement.

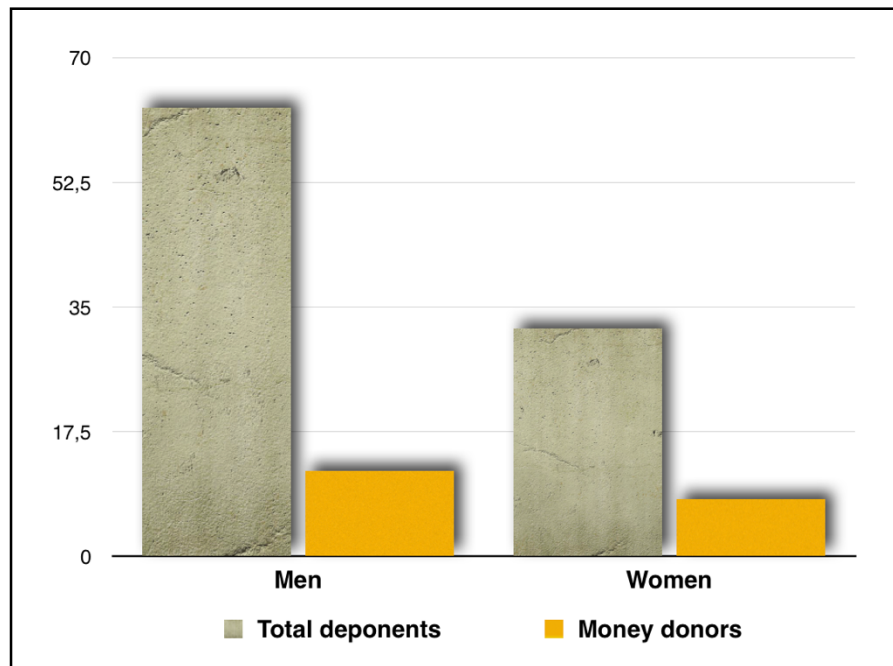


Figure 3.5.9. Relative distribution of money donors by gender

As for the recipients of money donations, the extant depositions show the same pattern that I discussed for the case of victuals. Most of the deponents confessed to having provided money for groups of collective recipients whose names do not appear in the record. A few mentions refer to donations made to Franciscans. For instance, Peire Esperendiu sent one florin to one of the Spiritual Franciscans who were summoned to Avignon and, as noted above, Blas Boer gave an unspecified amount of money to this same group.⁶⁸⁴ However, both before and after the beginning of inquisitorial persecutions, the main collective recipients of money donations were groups of Beguins and Beguines. Around 1315, Amada Orlach gave frequent alms to some Beguins who lived in Lodève, and Bernard Castilló did the same for the aforementioned group of Beguines for whom he bought a house in Montpellier.⁶⁸⁵ This form of material support was uninterrupted even when these groups became fugitives or were imprisoned. Maria de Serra gave money to many Beguins and Beguines, some of which were fugitives; one witness declared to have received eleven silver *tournois* and three *julhats* from Peire de Tornamira, who was fully aware that said witness was a fugitive; and it was to fugitive Beguins that the wealthy Raimon d'Antusan donated

⁶⁸⁴ Doat 28, fol. 251r: "(...) uni de dictis fratribus citation misit unum florenum."

⁶⁸⁵ Ibid., fol. 193r: "(...) decem anni sunt et amplius sunt elapsi quibusdam Begguinis tunc in Lodova morantibus qui postea fuerunt condemnati et combusti elemosinas frequenter dedit."

one hundred silver *tournois* on one occasion and fifty *sous* of Toulouse on another.⁶⁸⁶ Finally, I have already mentioned how Pons Elies repeatedly gave money to the group of Beguins imprisoned in the *mur* of Carcassonne, and Bernard de Na Jacma gave ten *sous* of Toulouse and nine silver *tournois* to the Beguins imprisoned in Narbonne, but this same group was also the recipient of one silver *tournois* donated by Peire Esperendiu.⁶⁸⁷

In the case of money donations, only eight individuals can be identified as recipients (see Table 3.5.1 above). One of them was none other than Antipope Nicholas V—born Pietro Rainalducci and also known as Pietro da Corvaro—a Franciscan friar who contested John XXII's legitimacy from May 1328 to July 1330 backed by the Holy Roman Emperor Louis IV of Bavaria. Three witnesses testified against Germà Frener, an inhabitant of Carcassonne, for blaspheming against John XXII and in favour of the Emperor and the new Franciscan pope, in support of whom he provided money.⁶⁸⁸ Despite the fact that the early date of Germà's deposition, June 1328, reveals how fast news spread, for Rainalducci was instated in Rome only a month before, it is obvious that his case gives little information about the workings of the Beguin network.

As for the rest of the documented individual recipients, the sample is too small as to draw significant conclusions from it, but a few remarks are nonetheless possible. Women were not only donors but could also receive money from other members of the community. Like in the case of victuals, this is confirmed by the fact that the aforementioned collective recipients clearly included both men and women but, furthermore, here the small group of individual recipients also includes the names of two women. Indeed, on the one hand Raimunda Rigauda, a lay woman from Lodève who fled the village to escape the inquisitors, received two *sous* from the widow Manenta Rosa Maur when she fell ill in Montpellier, and

⁶⁸⁶ Germain, "Une consultation inquisitoriale," 334: "Item, dictus testis in dicta sua confessione asserit et confitetur, quod dictus Petrus presbiter est de credentia dictorum Beguinorum, et dedit sibi undecim turonenses argenti et tres julhatos, sciens ipsum esse fugi tivum pro facto dictorum Beguinorum."

⁶⁸⁷ Doat 28, fol. 251r: "Item ante dictum tempus confessionis miserat amore Dei dictis Begguinis in carcere domini archiepiscopi detentis unum turonensem argenti."

⁶⁸⁸ Doat 27, fol. 18v: "(...) delatus et preventus per tres testes in iudicio receptos quod multa verba blasfema dixerat et protulerat contra dominum Johannem Papam vicesimum secundum et in favorem bavari qui segerit pro imperatore ac illius fratris minoris qui dicebatur esse factus novus Papa (...) et quod ideo non erat verus Papa sed ille frater minor de novo electus erat verus Papa, et legitime electus (...) quique se ipse Germanus haberet pecuniam accederet ad ipsum minorem quem dicebat esse verum Papam."

received them through Berenguer Jaoul;⁶⁸⁹ on the other hand, Isabel de Bourges and two of her companions received money from two unidentified men in order to provide food for the Beguins imprisoned in Carcassonne.

The remaining five recipients were men: the sawyer Guilhem Serraller, from Lodève, the Franciscan friar Raimon de Johan, Peire Trencavel, from Béziers, the tailor Blas Boer, from Narbonne, and the merchant from Lodève Berenguer Jaoul. With the only exception of Raimon de Johan, who, as has already been established, appears in the extant depositions as one of the main beneficiaries of material support as a whole, the rest were not so much individuals in need as brokers in the exchange network that made possible the survival of the persecuted group. In line with this pattern, it is worth noting that the last two were in fact acting as intermediaries. Blas Boer acted as a middleman between the same Peire Trencavel and certain “apostate Franciscans,” while it was Berenguer Jaoul who delivered the money sent by Manenta Rosa Maur to the convalescing Raimunda Rigauda.⁶⁹⁰ The roles played by these actors will be discussed in Section 3.7.

The most widespread form of material support among Beguins, even if somewhat less tangible than the actual exchange of goods and money, was providing shelter for other members of the network. These practices included not only providing a temporary safe haven for fugitives who were trying to avoid capture, but also procuring permanent dwellings for them. In the pages above I have shown several instances of the latter that also involved the explicit handling of money, such as Amoda Sepian settling the rent for some Beguins in Narbonne, or Bernard Castilló purchasing a house for a group of Beguines in Montpellier. However, it was far more frequent to look for solutions that were based on the personal resources and social ties of the benefactors. Thus, the same Bernard Castilló, had previously accommodated these Beguines at a house he owned in the *douve* of Montpellier,

⁶⁸⁹ Ibid., fol. 80v: “Item recognovit et confessa fuit quod hoc tempore Paschali proximo transacto, scilicet postquam cruces, habuerat ipsa quæ loquitur quadam die misit apud Montempessulanum per Berengarium Iaoul tunc vivum nunc defunctum de Lodova Raimunde Rigau de Lodova, quam dictus Berengarius dicebat esse infirmam ibi, duos solidos vel circa amore Dei.”

⁶⁹⁰ Ibid., fol. 84v: “(...) et specialiter instructus et inductus per Petrum Trancavelli de Bitteris recepta ab ipso Petro pecunia dictos apostatas.”

an area adjoining the ditch outside the walls, where he visited them frequently.⁶⁹¹ Likewise, Blas Boer travelled to Toulouse to procure housing there for a group of Franciscans that he had first sheltered in his own house and visited in other two houses in Narbonne; the same group to which he had given money on behalf of Peire Trencavel.⁶⁹² Meanwhile, also in Montpellier, the priest Peire de Tornamira hid one of the witnesses that would later testify against him at the house of a relative from Pentecost 1325 to their capture around 24 June that same year.⁶⁹³

As noted in Section 3.2, the houses of poverty that some groups of Beguins and Beguines maintained were a natural place for members of the community to gather, especially when they were away from home, but private homes were actually the most usual option both before and after the persecution started. Fugitive Franciscans took off their habits and looked for shelter in the house of people they knew from before. To cite but a few examples in several different towns and villages: in Belpech, the tertiary Raimon de Bosch received some of these alleged apostates in his home and accompanied them from place to place in disguise;⁶⁹⁴ in Montagnac, the Berenguers sheltered two friars who arrived dressed as secular priests for three days and nights;⁶⁹⁵ in Montréal, Arnaud Mainier visited Raimon de Johan, who wore the secular habit under a cloak, at the house of the Baró family, where

⁶⁹¹ Doat 27, fol. 20r: “(...) quibusdam Beguinis quadam domum suam sitam in degua Montepessulani amore Dei accomodavit et eas ibi frequenter visitavit.” Louisa Burnham situates this area in the Faubourg de Lattes, see Burnham, *So Great a Light*, 104.

⁶⁹² Ibid., fols. 84v–85r: “Item tres apostatas de ordine minorum, una vice simul et alia vice quatuor, quibus fuerat imposita poenitentiam per inquisitorem Massiliæ in domibus duarum personarum Narbonensium visitavit non solum semel sed pluries, et cum eis comedit et bibit, et postea in domo propria per dies aliquos receptavit, et de bonis suis ad manducandum et bibendum eis dedit et aliunde procuravit (...) eundo versus Tholosam processit et ibi quoddam hospicium pro ipsius procurari et locari per quendam quem nominat fecit, dictosque apostatas in Tholosa dimisit sciens ipsos esse tales.”

⁶⁹³ Germain, “Une consultation inquisitoriale,” 335: “(...) et venit dictus Petrus presbiter in villam suam, quem secutus est postmodum dictus testis ad villam preffati presbiteri, ubi dictus Petrus presbiter visitavit dictum testem, fugitivum a facie inquisitoris, et fecit ipsum recipi in domum cujusdam consanguinei sui, in qua domo stetit dictus testis occultatus per aliquod tempus, de anno Domini millesimo trecentesimo vicesimo quinto, a festo Pentecostis usque ad tempus illud, in quo dictus Petrus presbiter et quidam alter beguinus capti fuerunt, circa festum Beati Johannis Baptiste, eodem anno.”

⁶⁹⁴ Pales-Gobilliard, *Le livre des sentences*, 1308: “Predictus Raymundus recepit et receptavit plures apostatas et associavit de loco ad locus (...) in habitu disimulato.”

⁶⁹⁵ Doat 27, fol. 11r: “(...) quadam nocte venerunt ad domum suam duo de ipsis poenitentiatis in habitu seculari quos ipse antea alias viderat et noverat dum essent in ordine et receptavit eos in domo sua tribus noctibus et diebus.”

he stayed for a long time according to several different depositions;⁶⁹⁶ in Olargues, the notary Bernard Fabre and his wife Galharda received in his house several Franciscan apostates who wore dressed secular habits and sheltered them for days and nights on many occasions;⁶⁹⁷ and in Narbonne, the Rundaria sisters, sheltered the fugitive Franciscan Jacme de Riu for one night.⁶⁹⁸

The friars that formerly belonged to the convents of Narbonne and Béziers were not the only actors of the network forced into clandestinity from 1319 onwards. Fugitive Beguins were also sheltered in the houses of their coreligionists. Thus, the weaver Guilhem Quartier received a group of fugitive Beguins from Perpignan in his house in Narbonne;⁶⁹⁹ in Cintegabelle, Bernarda d'Antusan received her fellow tertiary Peire Tort, who had frequently visited the Antusan household wearing the cloak of the Beguins, disguised in a secular habit;⁷⁰⁰ and said Peire Tort in turn confessed that he knew many fugitives who had abandoned the crosses that the inquisitors had imposed on them, and that he had received them in his home in Montréal, where he provided for them and hid them.⁷⁰¹

Welcoming fugitives into one's home was not only a reactive measure that tried to counter the actions of the inquisitors, but also a new source of social and spiritual connections that strengthened the network. Thus, men and women sheltered Franciscans and Beguins with whom they were acquainted, but these often brought along companions that

⁶⁹⁶ Doat 28, fols. 196v–197r: “(...) inducta per quendam personam quam nominat ivit ad visitandum præfatum fratrem Raymundum apostatam in domo dicti Petri Baronis sibique comestibilia transmisit, cum ipso colloctionem longam fecit eidemque portanti secularem habitum subtus unum mantellum.”

⁶⁹⁷ Ibid., fol. 122v: “(...) in hospitio suo apud Olargium multotiens et diversis temporibus diversisque diebus et noctibus receptavit et recepit quosdam apostatas de ordine minorum qui erant de illis quos communitas dicti ordinis persequebatur quos sciebat esse tales et erant in habitu seculari.”

⁶⁹⁸ Ibid., fol. 226r: “Item fratrem Jacobum de Rivo apostatam ab ordine minorum qui postea fuit combustus, in domo propria una nocte receptavit.”

⁶⁹⁹ Doat 28, fol. 206v: “Item aliquos Begguinos de Perpiniano fugitivos propter timorem inquisitoris in domo sua et alibi vidit et cum eis bibit sciens eos esse tales.”

⁷⁰⁰ Pales-Gobilliard, *Le livre des sentences*, 1356: “(...) Petrus Tort de Monte Regali, quem ipse alias noverat et frequenter in domo sua eum receptaverat et sciebat eum esse Beguinum, quia semel vel bis viderat eum in domo sua portantem mantellum, venit ad domum ipsius Bernarde non in habitu Beguinorum set in habitu dissimulato.”

⁷⁰¹ Ibid., 1414: “Predictus autem P. Tort multis apostatas ordinis fratrum Minorum quos sciebat fugitivos pro facto heresis, etiam quosdam etiam Beguinos fugitivos qui propria temeritate cruces dimiserant, et multis alios Beguinos errores tenentes et defendentes vidit, associavit, receptavit in domo sua et alibi, de suo etiam dedit eis, quos non revelavit, nec cepit, nec capi feci, set eos celavit ac celari fecit.”

were immediately accepted despite the great risk involved in doing so. Thus, for instance, the tertiary Bernard de Na Jacma received in his house a certain Beguin whom he knew very well, but the man did not come alone. Travelling with him were one Franciscan apostate and one “important Beguin,” which put Bernard in serious danger, for he had already been captured once, had abjured all heresy, and had sworn to refrain from any further contact with the group. Be that as it may, Bernard took them all in all the same.⁷⁰² In Lodève, Amada Orlach used to visit a group of Beguins who were staying at the house of Guilhem Serraller. She believed them to be good men and frequently went there to listen to their words, thus establishing a connection that led her to admit before the inquisitor that had she dared to defy her husband, she would have gladly invited them to her own house.⁷⁰³

Sheltering fugitives, especially for a long time, also involved providing for them, hiding their presence, and helping them escape if the situation demanded it. As a result of the interest of inquisitors in discovering the lengths to which the suspects had gone to help the members of the group, the extant depositions provide a colourful set of examples of this clandestine aspect of the movement. I have already presented the case of Berengaria Donas, the wife of a Narbonnese merchant, who travelled to different towns delivering supplies for some of the fugitives. But Berengaria also hid some of them in her home, and when the inquisitorial officers in search of fugitives put guards at the gates of Narbonne, she came up with a plan to facilitate their escape. She led them to an enclosed vineyard of hers whose wall bordered the fields outside the suburbs of Narbonne, where they remained for a whole day until they were able to climb the wall and flee under the cover of darkness.⁷⁰⁴ Also in Narbonne, the shoemaker Johan Dalmau hid a group of Beguins in a vegetable garden he

⁷⁰² Ibid., 1340: “Item postquam abjuraverat quendam Beguinum quem frequenter viderat venientem ad domum ipsius cum quodam apostata et quodam Beguino qui sunt de principalibus secte Beguinorum.” Although Bernard de Na Jacma was sentenced to life imprisonment during the general sermon held in Pamiers on 5 July 1322, he is also listed in the Beguin martyrology as having been burned in Toulouse on a non-specified date.

⁷⁰³ Doat 28, fol. 193r–v: “(...) et in domo Guillermo Serrallerii de Lodova ubi erant eos visitavit eorumque verba frequenter audivit ipsosque bonos homines esse tunc credidit ipsosque libenter ad domum suam duxisset si propter maritum suum ausa esset.”

⁷⁰⁴ Doat 28, fols. 220v–221r: “(...) eosdem apostatas et fugitivos in domo propria receptavit et etiam occultavit sciens eos esse tales (...) Item cum quadam die servientes inquisitionis eosdem fugitivos seu eorum aliquos perquirent et capere vellent in Narbona posuissentque insidias et excubias in singulis exitibus villæ Narbonensis iidemque apostatæ et fugitivi timentes capi nescirent per quem locum evadere possent, ipsa que loquitur hoc percepto invenit cautelam per quam eos liberavit, nam duxit eos ad quandam vineam suam clausam muris qui attingebant campos extra omnes barras villæ Narbonensis, ubi per diem latuerunt, et etiam per aliquam partem noctis, et postmodum ascendentes supra muros prout eos docuit aufugerunt.”

owned for one night, and sheltered in his home two others and one apostate. Johan in fact went as far as to give the key to his garden to Peire Trencavel so that he could stay there if needed; a key that Peire had in his possession for about two months.⁷⁰⁵ Section 3.3 introduced Alaraxis Biasse and her mother, who welcomed several fugitive Franciscans in their home in Sauvian, sewed clothes for them and, in particular, hid two friars and a certain *conversus* in their attic from Easter to the wheat harvest, all the while seeing to their needs.⁷⁰⁶ Alaraxis showed her resourcefulness and a great degree of commitment when she made sure that these men found a safe way out of the region. Two strangers came to the house looking for them and offering to take them to Sicily as they had done with others, and Alaraxis went all the way to Narbonne to ask Peire Trencavel about them before revealing the presence of the Franciscans, who finally made their way to Majorca fifteen days later with the two men and four other Franciscans, two of which came back to tell the tale.⁷⁰⁷ In Montpellier, it was in the house of a Beguine, Na Bodina, that a group gathered to discuss how to better escape overseas. This group, including the priest Peire de Tornamira and the Franciscan Raimon de Johan, among others, left first for Agde, whence they travelled by boat to Barcelona, Sardinia, Trapani in Sicily, and finally Zaragoza, in Aragon.⁷⁰⁸

⁷⁰⁵ Ibid., fol. 209r: “Item aliquos Beguinos in quadam domo sui orti una nocte et duos alios et unum apostatam de illis spiritualibus minoribus in hospitio suo receptavit (...) Item Petro Trancavelli antequam captus fuisset in muro clavem dicti orti sui seu virgulti accomodavit ut ibi posset spatium quando vellet, quam clavem tenuit bene per duos menses vel circa.”

⁷⁰⁶ Doat 28, fol. 217r: “Item dixit quod ipsi duo fratres, scilicet consanguineus eius, et quidam conversus steterunt et remanserunt in dicta domo ipsius loquentis in dicto habitu seculari a festis pascalibus usque ad mensem Junii tunc sequentem, quo metebantur blada, et ipsis fratribus ipsa loquens et mater sua ministrabant necessaria.”

⁷⁰⁷ Ibid., fols. 217v–218v: “Item duos homines qui dicebant se venisse de Cecilia ad perquirendum dictos fratres minores apostatas qui publice non audebant incedere nec apparere, et ad ducendum eos in Ciciliam cum aliis qui iam erant ibi in dicta domo sua recepit, et ad informandum se utrum in prædictis duobus hominibus posset confidere de revelando fratres prædictos in dicta domo sua tunc latitantes in solario, accessit ipsa loquens apud Narbonam loquutura cum Petro Trancavelli de Bitterris (...) respondit quod secure poterat confidere in eisdem (...) et postea per quindecim dies dicti duo homines redierunt cum una barca et venerunt ad domum ipsius quæ loquitur (...) et quadam nocte sabbati intraverunt omnes (...) barcam prædictam et in ea simul transfretaverunt et iverunt usque Maioricas.”

⁷⁰⁸ Germain, “Une consultation inquisitoriale,” 334–35: “Finaliter dictus Petrus presbiter et ipse testis convenerunt in domo alterius beguine, vocate Na Bodina, ubi dictus Petrus portavit capellam suam et alia que portare volebat, et fuit conductum, quod ipsi duo simul recederent versus Agaten, et alias eum rebus suis incederent per stagnum; et sequenti die recesserunt insimul, et arripuerunt viam ad eundem ultra mare; et associaverunt eos multi alii beguini; et venerunt Agaten, deinde Barchinonam, deinde in Sardiniam; deinde venerunt ad civitatem de Trapena; inde venerunt ad civitatem Seragusta.”

The case of Raimon de Johan is remarkable in this regard, given that at least nine different actors of the network sheltered him in their houses for quite some time. Indeed, according to his own testimony, Raimon spent about nine years on the run, moving from place to place within a vast area (see Map 3.5.1) and through this whole ordeal he always found refuge among the members of the Beguin network. Raimon, who was originally from Montréal, entered the Order of St Francis around 1295 and joined the convent of Narbonne.⁷⁰⁹ Although his name was in the summons issued by John XXII in 1317, he apparently complied with *Quorundam exigit*, for he was remanded by his superiors to the convent of Anduze instead of being transferred to the custody of Michel le Moine.⁷¹⁰ However, some time later, upon being ordered to appear before the inquisitor of Marseille, Raimon and another companion decided to flee. For over three years, the two of them stayed hidden in Béziers at the house of a certain woman whose name does not appear in the record but who apparently hid several other Franciscans.⁷¹¹

The deposition of his nephew, also called Raimon de Johan, provides information as to Raimon's whereabouts after that. He spent some time in Sauvian—where maybe he stayed at the house of Alaraxis Biasse and her mother—and thence, already wearing a secular habit, returned to Montréal where he was taken in by said nephew.⁷¹² From there Raimon went to Narbonne, via Ginestas, and back to Montréal, where he stayed at the house of the Baró family. In fact, several deponents testified as to their frequent visits to the Baró household

⁷⁰⁹ Doat 27, fol. 35r–v: “(...) sicut per ipsius confessionem in iudicio factam sub anno domini millesimo trecentesimo vigesimo quinto mense octobris legitime constat triginta tres anni sunt elapsi intravit ordinem minorum et in eo professus stetit usque ad principium creationis domini Joannis Papæ vicesimi secundi.” I concur with David Burr's opinion that these thirty-three years should be counted not from the date of Raimon's deposition but from the date of the general sermon in which he was convicted to strict life imprisonment, that is, 11 November, 1328; see David Burr, “Raymond Déjean: Franciscan Renegade,” *Franciscan Studies* 57 (1999): 62.

⁷¹⁰ Raimon de Johan is listed with the rebel friars of Narbonne in Eubel, ed., *Bullarium Franciscanum*, vol. 5, 119.

⁷¹¹ Doat 27, fols. 35v–36r: “(...) et tandem ad obedientiam sui ordinis remissus et per custodem suæ provincie ad conventum Andusiæ cum litteris missus aliquo tempore ibid stetit et audito vel intellecto per eum quod inquisitor Massiliæ ordinis eorum super pravitate hæresis socios ipsius respondi citabat et eos abiurare hæresim compellebat, a dicto conventu cum quodam socio in dicto habitu religionis recessit et postea per aliquod tempus portavit apud Bitterrim veniens in quadam domo quam nominat cum socio suo et aliis apostatis dominabus dicta domus tribus annis et amplius latitavit.”

⁷¹² Doat 28, fol. 197v: “(...) mandatus per dictum avunculum suum ivit apud Salvianum ubi ipsum invenit in quadam domo quam nominat portantem habitum sui ordinis, et postmodum dimmisso dicto habitu et indutis vestibus secularibus, ipsum adduxit apud Monteregalem ad domum ipsius loquentis, ubi stetit occulte per aliquod tempus.”

to see the friar, to be confessed by him, and to hear him speak. All the while, it was Flors Baró, one of the two daughters of the house who spread the news that Raimon was staying with them and encouraged people to go see him.⁷¹³ He also spent some time in Carcassonne and Cintegabelle, and after that, he made his way to Montpellier where he stayed at the house of the Boneta sisters and at several other places, establishing a close relationship with many members of the Beguin community of the city.⁷¹⁴ He was with Peire de Tornamira when they organised the aforementioned travel overseas, but just like Tornamira, he ended up going back to Montpellier after spending some time in Sicily.⁷¹⁵ He probably came back through Marseille, where he met Peire Trencavel and other Beguin fugitives.⁷¹⁶ At last, in the company of Johan Orlach—who ended up revealing his location after spending a year in prison—he left the city and moved to the north; there his presence can be documented in Millau, Rodez, and Gascogne, near Toulouse, where he was finally captured in 1325.⁷¹⁷

⁷¹³ Doat 28, fol. 231r: “(...) in domo patris sui vidit fratrem Raymundum Johannis apostatam olim de ordine minorum qui erat de spiritualibus (...) diversasque personas quæsitum ivit et ad dictum fratrem Raymundum adduxit.”

⁷¹⁴ The deposition of Jacma Sobirana documents his presence in Carcassonne (Ibid., fol. 212r–v), and the confession of Raimon d’Antusan places him in Cintegabelle at some point before 1322 (Pales-Gobilliard, *Le livre des sentences*, 1346). As for his presence in the Boneta household, see, among others, the deposition of Alaraxis Bedoc, Doat 27, fol. 30r: “(...) Gillelmum Serrallerii fugitivum pro facto hæresis et Beguinorum combustorum et fratrem Raimundum Joannis apostatam ab ordine minorum qui tenebat ordinem illorum qui dicebantur spirituales in dicta domo Na Prous et sua vidit, receptavit, et eis dedit ad manducandum et bibendum, et cum eis inibi comedit et bibit.”

⁷¹⁵ Germain, “Une consultation inquisitoriale,” 338: “Sed, propter infirmitatem, reversus fuit dictus loquens ad Montepessulanum, solus cum quodam mercatore; qui postmodum dictos Johannem Raymundi, apostatam Fratrum Minorum, et Ataussatum revertentes de ultra mare, et in Montepessulano latitantes in diversis locis, propter timorem inquisitoris, multoties visitavit.”

⁷¹⁶ Doat 27, fol. 36r: “Item cum Petro Trencavelli de Bitterris quem sciebat aufugisse de muro Carcassonnæ ubi captus pro crimine hæresis Begguinorum et etiam necnon et Guillelmo Verrerii, Guillelmo Serrallerii et quibusdam aliis Beguinis fugitivis pro eodem crimine (...) in Provinciam associavit.”

⁷¹⁷ Ibid.: “(...) vero per diversa loca alia ultramarina et citratarina in Provincia ultra Rodonem, et citra ac etiam in Ruthenesio et Vasconia dimisso sui ordinis habitu et sumpto seculari ad modum secularis presbiteri discurrit et vagavit.” The deposition of Johan Orlach confirms this point, see *ibid.*, fol. 26r: “(...) nec prædicta confiteri voluit donec captus fuit et in muro detentus per unum annum vel citra multociens deiravit et tandem locum ad quem duxerat dictum fratrem Raimundum apostatam declaravit sicque per declarationem huiusmodi idem apostata adhibita diligenti perquisitione in Vasconia captus fuit.” In his aforementioned article on Raimon de Johan, David Burr claims that he was captured in Gascony (Burr, “Raymond Déjean,” 67–68) and Louisa Burnham borrows this detail from Burr (Burnham, *So Great a Light*, 108) greatly expanding the area where Raimon de Johan performed his pastoral care. However, I believe that the Latin place name *Vasconia* refers instead to the village of Gascogne, also known as Montpitoul-la-Gascogne and simply as Montpitoul after the French Revolution. Given that inquisitorial records are quite specific in terms of geography whenever possible, especially when referring to details about the capture of a suspect, the option I am proposing would make much more sense than citing the historical region of Gascony in general right after listing several of the small towns such as Millau or Rodez where Raimon stayed during his escape.



Map 3.5.1. Places where the presence of Raimon de Johan is documented

The various travels of Raimon de Johan across Languedoc and Provence provide an excellent example of the involvement of the actors of the Beguin network in sheltering fugitives. However, it is important to note that the activation of this kind of reactive mechanisms that were aimed at protecting the members of the community relied on the existence of a social and spiritual network of solidarities that had been established in the decades that led up to this period of persecution. That is the only explanation that can account for the massive participation of men and women in this practice. Indeed, around 60% of the deponents were charged for having sheltered and hidden fugitives in their homes or elsewhere; among these a little over 40% were women (Figure 3.5.10), which given the gender distribution of the sample of deponents once again simply confirms that women were at least as active as men in this regard.

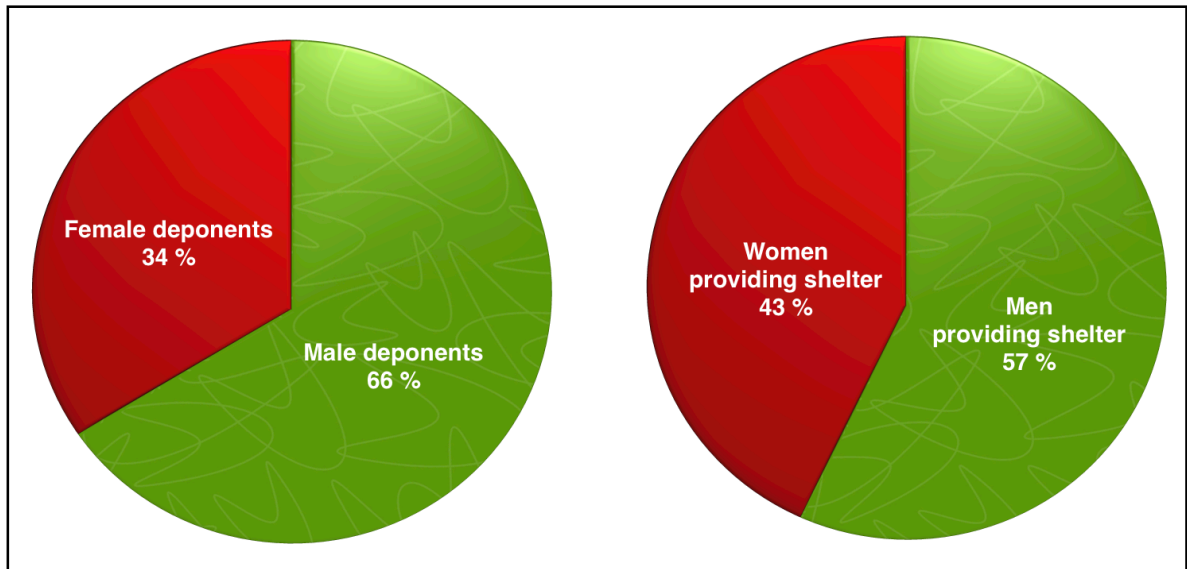


Figure 3.5.10. Gender distribution of deponents compared to gender distribution of sheltering practices

The analysis of sheltering instances according to gender reveals a much clearer picture. Although the participation of both men and women in providing a safe haven for fugitives was significant, the involvement of women was much more extensive. Thus, Figure 3.5.11 shows that whereas 50% of men sheltered fugitive Beguins, Franciscans, and other suspects, as many as 75% of female deponents did the same.

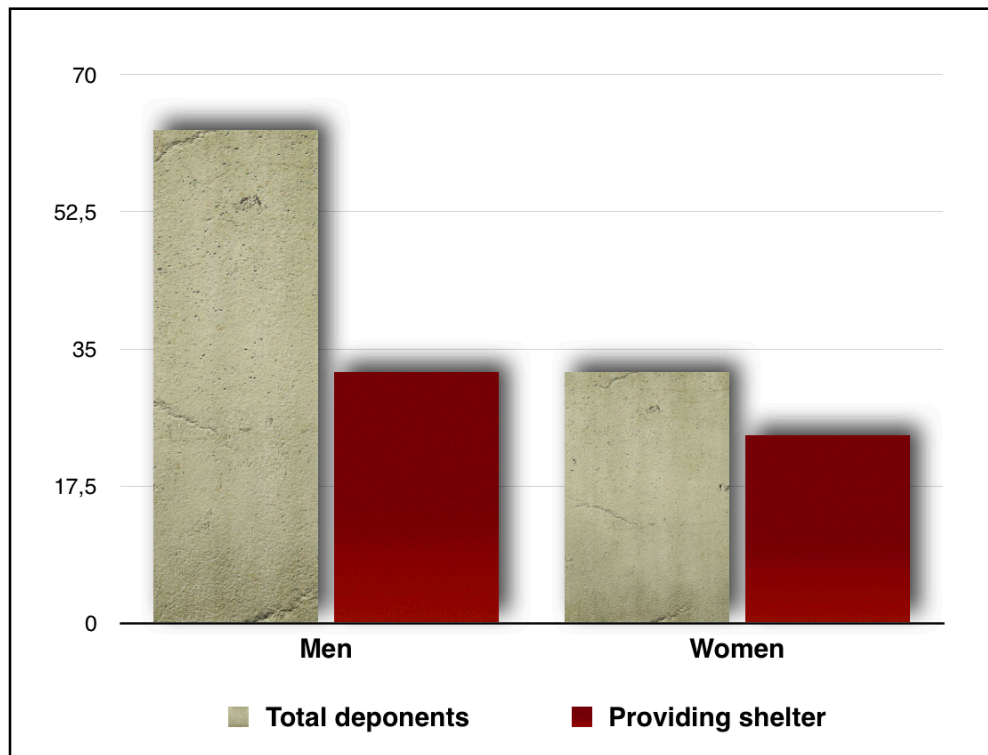


Figure 3.5.11. Relative distribution of sheltering practices by gender

Other practices related to the material sustenance of the Beguin network required just as much commitment as sheltering fugitives and were just as dangerous for those who engaged in them. The pages above show how the captured members of the community were not left to their own devices once imprisoned, on the contrary, I have already cited several examples of men and women who brought or sent victuals and money to the episcopal and inquisitorial gaols of Narbonne, Carcassonne, Béziers, and Maguelone. These instances share a common pattern, for they all were a continuation of previously established social and spiritual connections, that is, individuals kept providing assistance to their acquaintances and friends in their time of need. Thus, the priest Bernard Peyrotas, originally from Lodève, frequently visited five Beguins that were imprisoned in the episcopal gaol of Maguelone, and ate with them two or three times, all the while claiming that his purpose was to comfort and help them, for he loved them and wanted them to be released.⁷¹⁸ Likewise, Peire Tort and Peire Arrufat visited the Antusans in Cintegabelle for they had heard that the Beguins

⁷¹⁸ Doat 28, fol. 21r: “(...) et tunc visitavit quinque Begguinos qui detinebantur in carcere domini Episcopi Magalonensis et comedit cum eis duabus vel tribus vicibus dicens quod eos visitabat ad consolationem et beneplacitum eorum et quod diligebat eos et voluisset ipsos esse expeditos de carcere propter bonam vitam quam ipsi tenebant sicut dixit.”

of the region had been captured and then released, and wanted to know how so they could help other imprisoned Beguins.⁷¹⁹ Alisseta Boneta visited the Beguins imprisoned in Maguelone, but especially Guilhema de Mirepoix, whom she knew from before;⁷²⁰ And, as noted above, both Bernard Castelló and Johan Orlach visited the same prison and provided for the prisoners, with whom they maintained a long-standing relationship that would last until the very end, for Johan attended their execution in Lunel.

Prison therefore did not put an end to the relations that held the network together, but made those ties even stronger. Among others, Raimon de Bosch confessed that the group imprisoned at Les Allemans, in Pamiers, vowed not to take an oath and not to admit anything before the bishop and the inquisitor unless it regarded matters of faith. In fact, before being captured, Raimon had visited the Beguin prisoners in Narbonne, and attended general sermons in different places to know what was being said against Beguins.⁷²¹ Meanwhile, in Lodève, Jacma Lauret communicated with her husband Amorós, who unlike her was already imprisoned in the episcopal gaol, through another prisoner, Manenta Maur, in order to give him advanced warning of the charges against him.⁷²² In her own confession Manenta went into great detail about the episode, recalling how Jacma called out the name of her husband fifteen times and how when Manenta finally agreed to help her, she did so through yet another intermediary, a man who was kept in a neighbouring cell.⁷²³ These exchanges were

⁷¹⁹ Pales-Gobilliard, *Le livre des sentences*, 1356: "(...) et tunc dicti homines dixerunt quod audiverunt dici in Narbonesio quod Beguini istarum parcium fuerant capti et postmodum relaxati aliqui, et volebant scire qualiter factum fuerat. Volebant etiam subvenire Beguinis incarceratis si indigerent."

⁷²⁰ Doat 27, fol. 27v: "Item Beguinos et Beguinas in carceribus Episcopi Magalonensis detentos qui postea fuerunt in Lunello combusti in ipsis carceribus visitavit, et specialiter Guillelmam de Mirapisce."

⁷²¹ Pales-Gobilliard, *Le livre des sentences*, 1308: "Item ipse Raymundus, cum quibusdam aliis personis quas nominat, cum quibus detinebatur in castro de Alamannis, condixit quod non jurarent coram domino episcopo Appamiensi et inquisitore, nisi ad respondendum de articulis fidei vel de fide, et ita se informaverunt quod non tenebantur jurare aliter (...) et ibat in habitu dissimulato cum aliquibus aliis quos nominat ad sermones prelatorum et inquisitoris qui fiebant in provincia Narbonensi ad explorandum que fierent aut dicerentur contra Beguinos."

⁷²² Doat 28, fol. 234v–235r: "(...) convincitur in super per tres testes quod marito suo existenti in muro per quandam aliam personam intermediam dici fecit quod caveret sibi, quod non confiteretur se dedisse elemosinam Guillermo Serrallerii prædicto nec consensisse, quia perderet quicquid habet."

⁷²³ Doat 27, fols. 79v–80r: "(...) dum nuper esset in muro detenta in carcere clauso Amorosa Laureti quindecim Amorosi Laureti de Lodova prædicta clamavit ei per la tuyera vocando eam nomine suo et cum respondisset ei et dixisset sibi quod maritus suus prædictus erat in dicto muro detentus ipsa Amorosa dixit, 'potest ne dominus meus vos audire', quæ respondit quod sic et tunc dicta Amorosa dixit sibi, 'dicatis domino meo quod ipse est captus pro elemosina data Guillelmo Sarrallerii et quod dicat quod non dedit sibi dictam elemosinam vel quod ne si otriechges latine quod ad hoc non assensit'. Et hoc dicto ipsa respondit libenter et clamavit dicto

not only a matter of survival either, but involved spiritual issues too, as attested by the cases of Guilhema Civile and Guilhem Ademar, both of whom alleged to have been convinced by Na Prous Boneta, imprisoned next to them, not to confess, despite the fact that neither of them seem to have known her before their respective captures.⁷²⁴

From the very beginning of the persecution, the members of the community who managed to avoid suspicion, even if only for a short while, assisted their fallen coreligionists in many different ways, not the least of which was keeping their belongings safe in case they were ever able to return to their old lives. In Carcassonne, Jacma Sobiran kept some of Raimon de Johan's clothes when said friar was summoned to Avignon;⁷²⁵ in Lodève, Manenta Maur kept a book from a female relative of hers who was captured and later burned in Lunel;⁷²⁶ and in Béziers, Peire Massot safeguarded some books that belonged to the Beguins incarcerated in the episcopal prison.⁷²⁷ Assistance to the sick was especially important in clandestine instances, when fugitives could not rely on the usual health care strategies that involved family members and neighbours. Let us recall that Peire de Tornamira was finally captured because despite being safe overseas, he fell ill and decided to return to his native Montpellier to convalesce.⁷²⁸ In general though, the fugitive members of the network endured episodes of poor health while on the run, and were assisted by the men and women of the community who lived or stayed in the area. Thus, the aforementioned Peire Massot, visited a "great Beguin" who he had previously seen in his home in Béziers

Amoroso quantum potuit et sibi dixit prædicta verba quæ dicta uxor sua ei dici mandabat, et etiam per quamdam hominem propinquum in alia carcere sibi clamari fecit."

⁷²⁴ Doat 28, fol. 228v: "(...) quod citius dixisset veritatem nisi fuisset Na Prous Boneta detenta in muro prope ipsam quæ a confitendo retraxit eandem"; *ibid.*, fol. 230v–231r: "(...) negavitque multotiens veritatem contra proprium iuramentum quam postea recognovit inductus fuit primo ut asserit ad negandum prædictam per Na Prous Bonete de Montepesullano detentam in muro."

⁷²⁵ *Ibid.*, fol. 211v: "(...) et postquam citati fuerunt et ipse frater Raymundus accedere voluit ad curiam dimisit ipsi loquenti aliquas de vestibis suis custodiendas si rediret, vel si non rediret ad faciendam voluntatem suam."

⁷²⁶ *Ibid.*, fol. 14r: "(...) dixit etiam si habuisse et habere unum volumen a quodam quem nominat quod fuit cuiusdam mulieris cognata sua combusta in Lunello."

⁷²⁷ Doat 27, fol. 13r: "(...) habuit familiaritatem aliquorum Beguinorum qui postea fuerunt capti et detenti in curia domini Episcopi Bitterrensis eosque semel visitavit eis (...) quandoque vidit aliquos quo libros eis custodivit."

⁷²⁸ Germain, "Une consultation inquisitoriale," 335: "(...) inde venerunt ad civitatem Seragusta, ubi remanserunt per mensem, ubi dictus Petrus presbiter incepit infirmari (...) et dictus presbiter retrocessit et dimisit eum (...) et venit dictus Petrus presbiter in villam suam."

while said Beguin was sick in Montpellier;⁷²⁹ Berengaria Estorg, from Lodève, stayed in Montpellier for a month looking after the fugitive Guilhem Serraller during his illness and serving him and the also fugitive Raimunda Rigaud;⁷³⁰ Johan Orlach also took care of Serraller, and even carried him from place to place on his shoulders;⁷³¹ and as noted above, Bernard Castelló sent straw to the convalescing Raimon de Johan in Montpellier, and Bernard Mauri was looked after in Brignoles by three Beguines who lived in Manosque.

The analysis of the extant depositions again reveals that both men and women were involved in these assistance practices (Figure 3.5.12). The comparison of these data to the gender distribution of the deponents sample shows how the proportion of women who were charged on these grounds is statistically significantly.

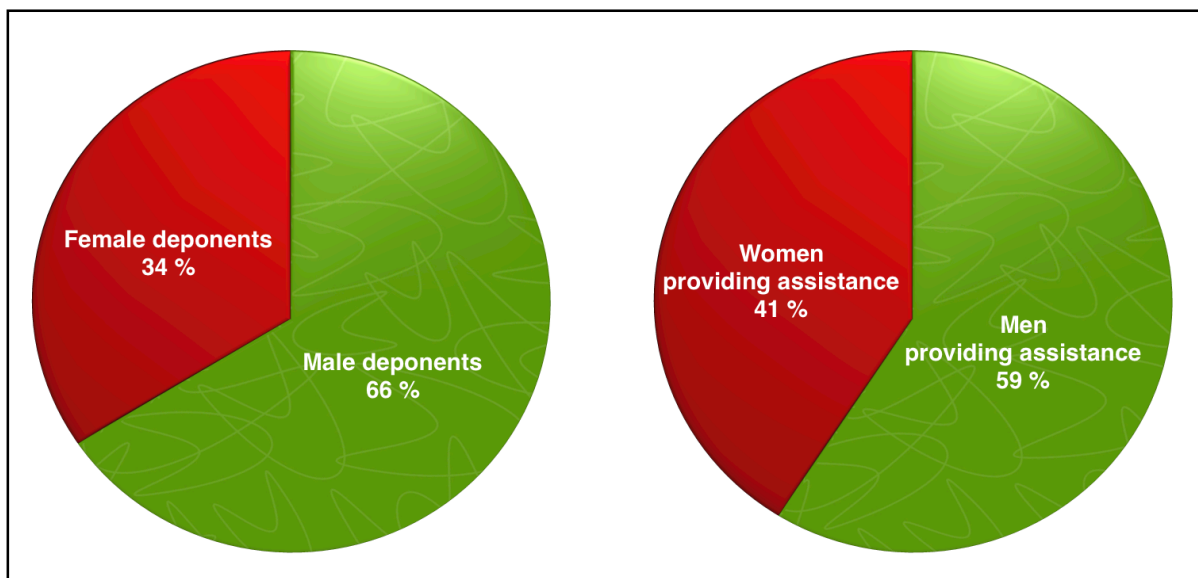


Figure 3.5.12. Gender distribution of deponents compared to gender distribution of assistance practices

Furthermore, quantifying the occurrence of assistance instances according to gender confirms that women were more extensively involved than men in providing assistance to

⁷²⁹ Doat 27, fol. 13v: “(...) in domo sua quemdam quem nominat recepit qui erat magnus Beguinus et in Montepessulano infirmum visitavit.”

⁷³⁰ Doat 28, fol. 195r: “(...) apud Montepessulanum ivit ad visitandum Guillelmum Serrallerii de Lodova, qui dicebatur inibi egrotare (...) et cum eo et Raymunda Rigauda stetit de Lodova eis serviendo quasi per unum mensem.”

⁷³¹ Doat 27, fol. 25r: “(...) de uno loco ad alium eundem Guillelmum infirmum super humeros suos portavit.”

other members of the network (Figure 3.5.13); while 35% of female deponents offered this kind of support, only 25% of men did the same.

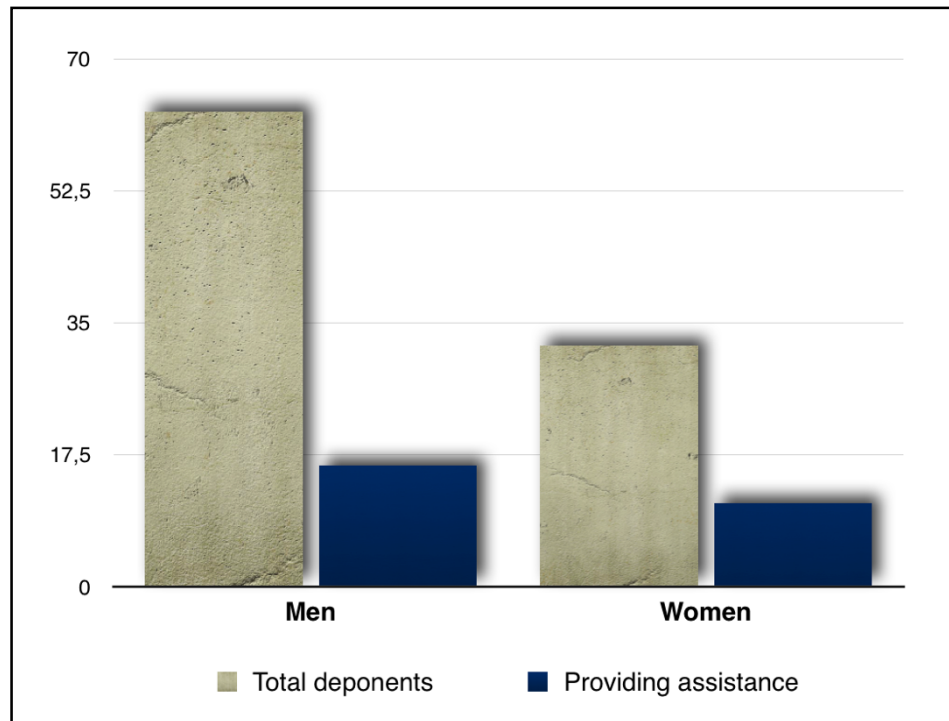


Figure 3.5.13. Relative distribution of assistance practices by gender

To sum up the results of the gender analysis of the different kinds of material support recorded in the extant depositions, Figure 3.5.14 below shows how the participation of the female actors of the Beguin network was relatively higher on all accounts. In other words, although according to inquisitors women were only a little over 30% of the total number of people involved in the “heresy of the burned Beguins,” their actions were essential for the survival of the network, especially after being forced into clandestinity. Thus, on average, the charges brought against women usually included several instances of material support, being the provision of shelter (75%) and victuals (65%) especially significant. Moreover, given the results presented in Section 3.3 on the content of the depositions, which showed that female deponents were also thoroughly interrogated about beliefs, this prominence of women as far as material support goes was but an aspect of their involvement, and should not be understood as their main and only role. In other words, women were central in sustaining the Beguin network, but the analysis conducted on the sources does not suggest that this function was exclusive to them nor that this was their sole purpose.

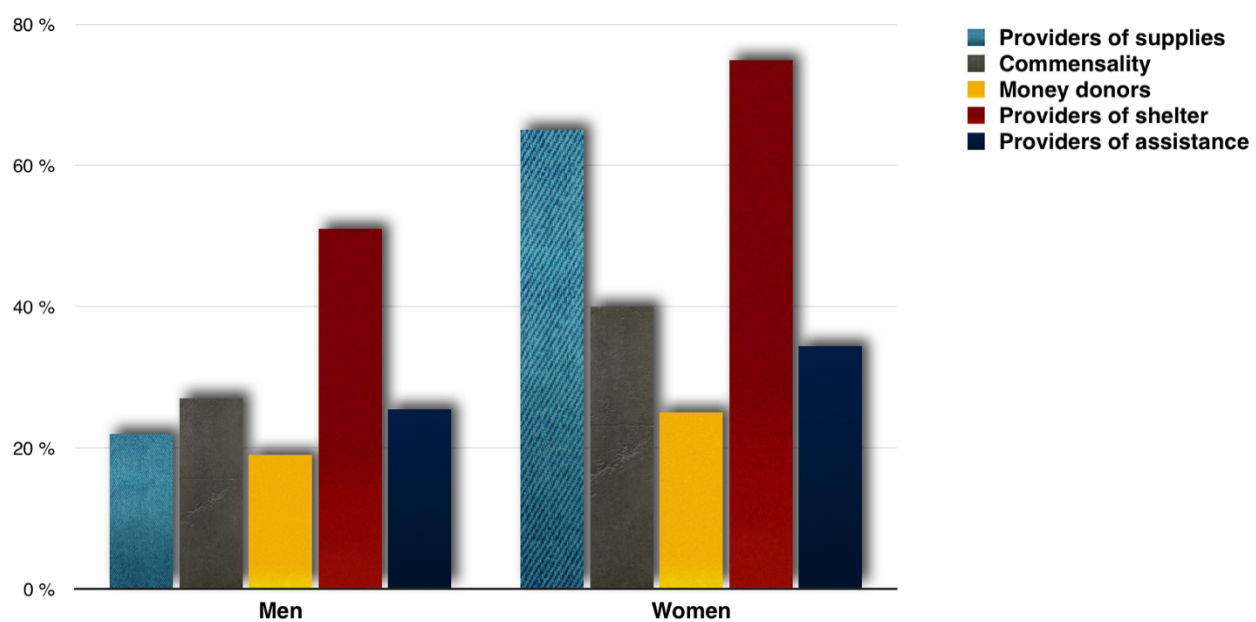
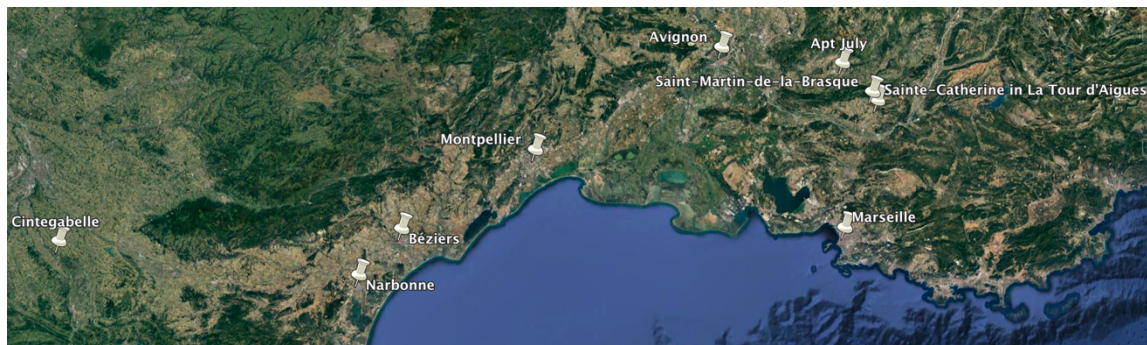


Figure 3.5.14. Relative distribution of instances of material support by gender

3.6 Analysis of the Social Network of the Beguins of Languedoc

On 20 March 1327, Pope John XXII sent a letter to the inquisitor of Provence, Michel le Moine, ordering him to release Peire Trencavel and his daughter Andrea to the custody of Jean du Prat, the Dominican inquisitor of Carcassonne.⁷³² Both of them had managed to escape the *mur* of Carcassonne soon after being convicted for heresy and imprisoned, at some point between 1319 and 1320.⁷³³ Although their depositions have not survived, the clandestine activities in which at least Peire was engaged between their escape and last capture can be mapped thanks to the nearly twenty extant confessions that explicitly mention his name and detail his involvement in the Beguin movement (see Map 3.6.1).⁷³⁴



Map 3.6.1 Documented presence of Peire Trencavel

⁷³² Doat 35, fols. 18r–19v.

⁷³³ Louisa Burnham dates the capture and subsequent escape of Trencavel and his daughter to 1322 or early 1323 based on the testimony of Guilhem Ros, who claimed to have been expecting Peire in Cintegabelle around March 1322. In my opinion, this detail is not conclusive, for Peire could have already been a fugitive by then. Furthermore, the timeline established by the deposition of Esteve Gramat (Doat 27, fols. 9r–10v) places Trencavel's change of status a few years earlier. This point will be further developed below.

⁷³⁴ Fabio Troncarelli identifies the signature that appears at the bottom of a commentary on Peter Lombard's *Sentences* as that of Peire Trencavel. The manuscript, produced around 1330 in the Franciscan convent of Padua would then suggest that Trencavel again managed to escape the inquisitorial prison; see Fabio Troncarelli, "Pietro Trencavelli, visconte di Carcassonne," *Quaderni medievali* 47 (1999): 14–40. Burnham takes this identification at face value—to the point that she partly infers from his "elegant hand" that he could have been a notary—but questions Troncarelli's explanation for Trencavel's first escape, which is mostly based on his alleged family connections; cf. Burnham, *So Great a Light*, 171, n.148. In my view, there are no sufficient grounds to assert that 'Petrus Trinchavelli de Narbona provincia Provinciae' was actually the same Peire Trencavel, who repeatedly appears in inquisitorial records as a native from Béziers or at least from somewhere in said diocese. Furthermore, neither Peire nor Trencavel were such uncommon names in that region and period. As for the suggestion that he could have been a notary, unlike other notaries such as Raimon Berlet, from Pézenas, and Bernard Fabre, from Olargues, Trencavel is not described as such anywhere in the record.

The tailor Esteve Gramat met Trencavel in Narbonne—where the latter was living—when he went there to visit the tomb of Olivi, that is, in March 1318 at the latest, for the tomb was destroyed after that.⁷³⁵ In the spring of 1318, the testimony of Peire Calvet places Trencavel in Cintegabelle, where he brought the news about the fate of the Franciscan rebels in Avignon and Marseille. A year later, in Montpellier, Esteve Gramat saw Trencavel again on occasion of a pilgrimage that Gramat and a companion undertook to Saint-Maximime-la-Sainte-Baume, and in Marseille, on their way back home, they shared a meal with him.⁷³⁶ Trencavel was already a fugitive by then, and it is also as a fugitive that we find him in his native Béziers, where he stayed at the house of the priest Johan Adzorit; in Narbonne, where he frequently visited the Arrufat household, and where Alaraxis Biasse went to seek his advice;⁷³⁷ and even in Avignon, where he was sheltered by the candlemaker Pons Gardià.⁷³⁸

In 1323 Peire, Andrea, and Andrea's companion, a woman named Cecília, were settled in Provence. The several depositions of the priest Bernard Mauri provide a wealth of information on their whereabouts. In the summer of 1323 Peire spent some time in Apt, in the house of poverty of a member of the network named Marí, later in the old priory of Saint-Catherine near La Tour-d'Aigues, and eventually in the nearby village of Saint-Martin-de-la-Brasque, where he was living in August 1323.⁷³⁹ It was probably in the first half of 1324 that he ran into Raimon de Johan in that same area, for it was then that the friar came back

⁷³⁵ Doat 27, fol. 9r: "Item inductus per quemdam quem nominat semel ivit apud Narbonam ad fratrem Petrum Johannis ad ecclesiam fratrum minorum et tunc visitaverunt Petrum Trancavelli de Bitterris, qui tunc morabatur in Narbona."

⁷³⁶ Doat 27, fol. 9v: "Item post prædicta quasi per unum annum ipse loquens et dicta alia persona iverunt versus Magdalenam ad Sanctum Maximum, et cum transirent per Montempessulanum, a casu invenerunt dictum Petrum Trancavelli, Guillelmum Verrerii et quosdam alios et alias Beguinos et Beguinas fugitivos (...) et postmodum in regressu ipsum Petrum Trancavelli in Massilia invenit et cum eo concedit (sic., *comedit*) et bibit, et cogitat ipse loquens quod dictus Petrus Trancavelli iam aufugerat de Muro Carcassonensi, et sciebat omnes de societate esse Beguinos et Beguinas, sicut dixit."

⁷³⁷ For Raimunda Arrufat's mention of Peire Trencavel, see Doat 28, fol. 210v: "Item in domo sua et dicti mariti sui vidit aliquoties Petrum Trancavelli."

⁷³⁸ Ibid., fol. 236r: "Petrus Trancavelli quem sciebat esse fugitivum pro hæresi vidit receptavit secum bibit et comedit, eundemque Petrum Trancavelli in Avinione et alibi ad mandatum dicti Guillelmo Verrerii visitavit."

⁷³⁹ Doat 35, fol. 27r: "(...) et cum venisset ut prædicitur ad dictum locus de Apta (...) ipse loquens erat in hospitali quod tenebat quidam qui vocabatur Marinus (...) dictus Petrus Trancavelli tunc supervenit ad dictum hospitale"; *ibid.*, fol. 28r–v: "Item dixit interrogatus se vidisse frequenter et pluries dictum Petrum et cuius eo locutum fuisse et semel comedisse cum eo apud Sanctam Catharinam in Ayguesio dum ipse loquens morabatur (...) Item dixit interrogatus quod dictus Petrus moratus fuit aliquo tempore in Sancto Martino Aquensis diocesis propter dictum locum Sancta Catharina per unam leucam."

from his travel overseas. Finally, in November 1325, Trencavel, his daughter Andrea, and Cecília shared a house that he rented in Marseille, and where he again invited his friend Bernard Mauri.⁷⁴⁰

The recurrent appearances of Peire Trencavel in the previous sections bespeak the important role he played not only as intermediary in the material sustenance of the persecuted community, but also in the circulation of Olivian texts and beliefs. Thus, according to the raw data provided by the extant inquisitorial records, Peire Trencavel was, together with the friar Raimon de Johan, the most renowned figure of the Beguin network. They both were explicitly mentioned by around twenty other deponents, and thus have traditionally been included in the very select category of ‘leaders of the movement’, which also includes men such as Guilhem Verrier—mentioned in sixteen depositions—and Guilhem Serraller—mentioned in eight depositions—and only one woman, Na Prous Boneta, whose name appears in nine of the extant depositions. Although Na Prous was actually the only member of the group to be explicitly condemned as a heresiarch, her authority has been perceived as ‘inspirational’ and exceptional, in contrast to the more practical—dare I say, operative—and “only minimally divergent from the norm” leadership of men such as Peire Trencavel and a few others.⁷⁴¹ However valid it may be on several accounts, this kind of approach could lead to the suggestion that the network would very well have survived without a figure such as Na Prous but was inextricably connected to the fate of its few active leaders, all of which happened to be men.

The fact is that the extant records seem to unquestionably point to Raimon de Johan, Trencavel, Verrier, and Serraller as the innermost core of the group, but the application of the methods of Social Network Analysis to the sources can shed some light on the validity of such a conclusion. These four names—five if we include Na Prous—were the most frequently mentioned by the members of the Beguin network undergoing inquisitorial

⁷⁴⁰ Doat 35, fol. 30r: “Item dixit interrogatus quod cum hoc anno circa festum omnium sanctorum proxime lapsum ipse loquens ivisset Massiliam (...) et esset in introitu villa Massiliæ ipse et dictus Petrus Trencavelli obiuraverunt sibi et salutatis se ad invicem et mutuo recollectis idem Petrus duxit ipsum loquentem per manum ad quandam domum conduticiam quam in habitabant idem Petrus ac Andrea, dicti Petri filia, et dicta Sicilia.”

⁷⁴¹ See, Burnham, *So Great a Light*, 134–77; in this chapter, entitled “Heretics, Heresiarchs, and Leaders,” Burnham compares the figures of Na Prous and Peire Trencavel as “two poles of Beguin leadership.”

interrogation. Consequently, since they featured much more prominently than the rest, there is quite a lot of information available about them, and they appear as the best-connected individuals. However, as I will show in this section, the relational analysis of the data challenges this assumption.

I would like to start by pointing out three examples that are particularly illustrative in this regard. Peire de Tornamira, the priest from Montpellier who died in prison on 8 October 1325, was not mentioned in any deposition but his own. However, his confession and the testimonies against him that shaped it—all of which were copied as part of the inquiries conducted on the matter of his death—reveal an extensive list of acquaintances that included seventeen actors of the Beguin network, some of whom are not documented elsewhere.⁷⁴² Something similar happens in the case of yet another priest, Bernard Mauri, from Narbonne, who was captured in Provence and handed over to the secular arm in Avignon on 19 October 1326. His name only appears in the deposition of Peire Esperendiu, but Bernard's own confession—which consists of the records of several appearances before the inquisitor Guillaume d'Astre—provides the names of as many as twenty-one actors of the Beguin network with whom he maintained a close relationship.⁷⁴³ Finally, the name of Flors Baró, a woman from Montréal, is only mentioned in her sister Paula's deposition, whereas their father's name, Peire Baró, appears in seven different testimonies. However, as noted in Section 3.5, the relational approach shows that it was indeed Flors who acted as an intermediary between the fugitive Raimon de Johan and a numerous group of women from Montréal who visited him while he was hiding with the Baró family.⁷⁴⁴ Thus, despite the fact that she was barely mentioned by name in the extant depositions, Flors was actually the best-connected person in that specific community.

All of the above is further proof that the number of mentions, and therefore, the number of explicit connections, is insufficient to analyse the structure of dissident networks on the basis of inquisitorial records and, in particular, to study the Beguin network in order

⁷⁴² See the records in Germain, "Une consultation inquisitoriale"

⁷⁴³ As previously noted, Bernard Mauri's depositions are copied in Doat 35, fols. 21r–47r; see Peire Esperendiu's mention of Bernard Mauri in Doat 28, fol. 250r.

⁷⁴⁴ For the deposition of Flors Baró, see Doat 28, fols. 231r–232r; her sister Paula mentions Flors in *ibid.*, fol. 196r, and the deposition of their father is not extant.

to draw conclusions about the different roles played by its actors. The problems evinced by the cases of Peire de Tornamira and Bernard Mauri on the one hand, and Flors Baró on the other are slightly different, but they are all due to the nature of the sources, and thus point to the need to reassess the importance traditionally ascribed to the alleged leaders of the movement.

First, the extant sources documenting the activities of Peire de Tornamira and Bernard Mauri are much more explicit than the average *culpa*, which was by definition an abridged version of the full record of the questioning undergone by any given suspect. In contrast, the records of the proceedings that tried to establish whether Peire de Tornamira had died as an unrepentant heretic compiled all available evidence, and the same can be said about the case that Guillaume d'Astre built against Bernard Mauri, by then a fugitive heretic wanted in a different inquisitorial jurisdiction. Studying the extended versions of all the inquisitorial registers involving the Beguin community would obviously narrow down the differences between sources. However, given the impossibility of such a best-case scenario, it is imperative to take into account said differences in order to normalise the dataset and minimise the bias of the quantitative analysis as much as possible. To do so, the first step is to treat the number of times that a specific name appears in different depositions and the number of names appearing in one specific deposition in a similar manner. In other words, the fact that Peire Trencavel appears in eighteen depositions indicates that he was at least acquainted with those eighteen people, but the twenty-one names mentioned by Bernard Mauri also point to as many acquaintances. In terms of social network analysis, we could identify the former as in-ties—that is, ‘mentions by’—and the latter as out-ties—‘mentions of’—which would result in a kind of network known as ‘directed network’. Nevertheless, since my goal here is to present the acquaintance network as a whole, and acquaintances are usually bidirectional, what I am proposing here is tantamount to considering that, in this case, there is no difference between the information provided by in-ties and out-ties. Thus, as shown in Figure 3.6.1, the ego-networks of the aforementioned alleged leaders of the movement are fairly similar to the network graphs depicting the connections of Bernard Mauri and Peire de Tornamira.

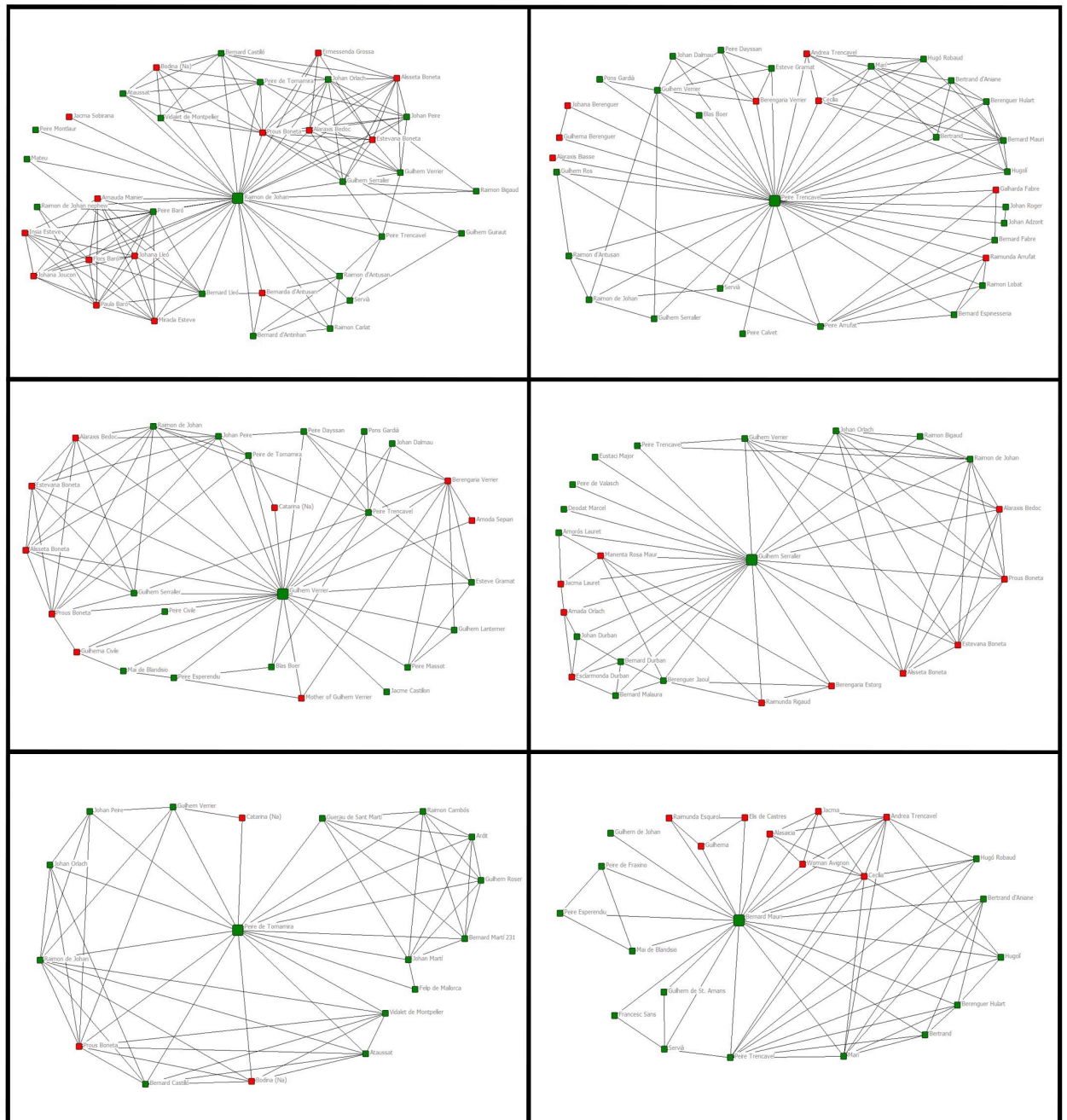


Figure 3.6.1 Ego-networks of the 'leaders' of the Beguin movement

Secondly, the lack of visibility of individuals such as Flors Baró is also closely related to the nature of the sources. In the abridged *culpae* Flors becomes “a certain person whom the suspect names” and it is only by cross-examining the different testimonies that we can discover her identity and the extent of her involvement. Overcoming this obstacle requires considerable effort, and it is here that the qualitative approach to the relational perspective bears its fruits. Although the automated treatment of sources can yield some

interesting results, it is only by means of a careful and more traditional reading that historians can fully glean the number and the nature of the many relations that existed among the actors of any given historical network. Only once such relations have been established according to the criteria set up by the researcher, can the full potential of social network analysis methods be applied to the study of historical sources. Thus, in the case of Flors Baró, in contrast to the single direct mention that can be found in the extant depositions, this relational approach results in ten connections (see Figure 3.6.2); a number that actually surpasses the direct mentions received by her father Peire, most of which were due to the fact that he was the head of the family and therefore the owner of the house to which witnesses referred.

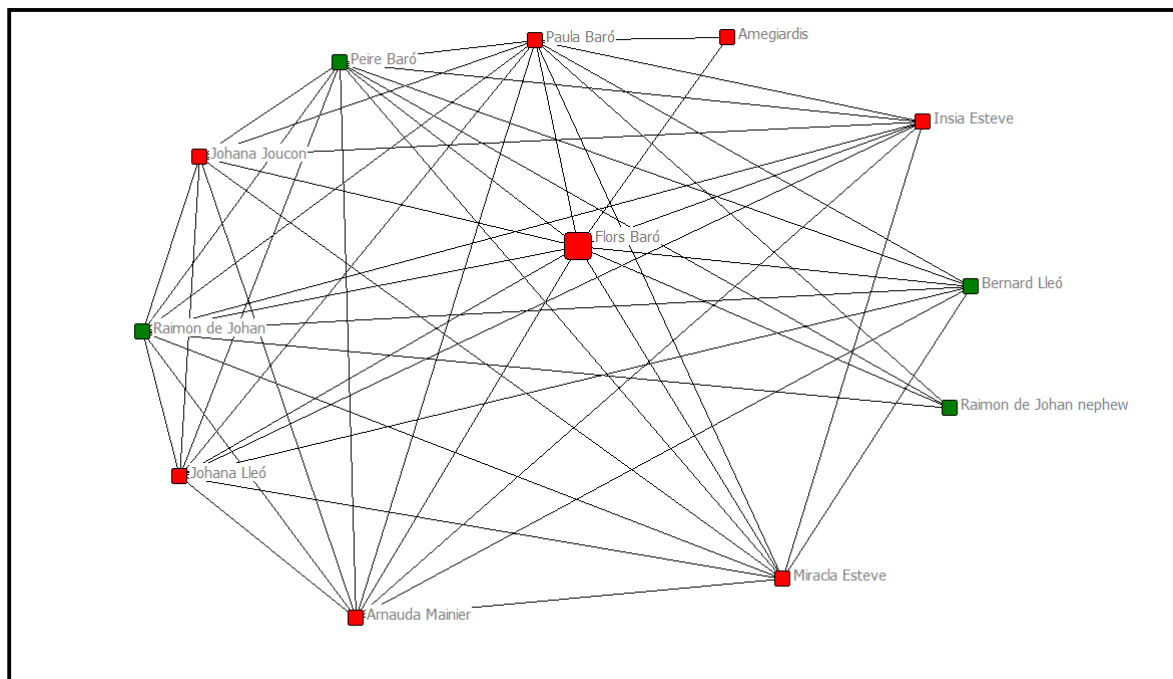


Figure 3.6.2 Ego-network of Flors Baró

The difficulties posed by the nature of the sources in fact stem not only from the process of production of inquisitorial records, but also—and more importantly in regard to the aims of this project—from the inquisitorial procedure that lies behind them. Thus, Social Network Analysis can also shed light on the way in which inquisitors managed to identify and round up suspects. Public reputation undoubtedly played a role in the capture of suspected heretics and was in fact the main driving force behind inquisitorial enquiries, for it was that suspicion which prompted the beginning of an official inquest on the subject. I have already mentioned how, according to the deposition of Manenta Rosa Maur, it was

public knowledge that Raimunda Rigauda had fled Lodève for her involvement with the Beguin community. Likewise, it is more than likely that the situation of Amoda Sepian, who lived in Narbonne begging bread for the love of God, for she thought it was better to live a mendicant life asking for food and dress than earning a living was well known among her fellow citizens.⁷⁴⁵ However, the most direct way for inquisitors to learn about the doings of heretics was obviously through denunciations.

As noted in Section 2.2 above, inquisitors established a period of grace during which those who came forward were granted leniency; still, in the case of the Beguins of Languedoc, the records show but a handful of examples that hint at such spontaneous actions. For instance, Guilhem Ros's second appearance before the inquisitorial court in June 1322 was partly prompted by the denunciation made against him by a married woman who accused Guilhem of having convinced her to engage in illicit sexual activities by means of heretical arguments.⁷⁴⁶ This was also the case of the Sacourt brothers, both of whom were denounced for publicly expressing some version of the belief that marriage was but private prostitution.⁷⁴⁷ Furthermore, the well-thought conspiracy against the notary Raimon Berlet was also based on a written denunciation signed by witnesses and delivered by hand to the inquisitor Henri de Chamayou.⁷⁴⁸

Provided that sufficient testimonies were gathered, any of these inputs could prompt inquisitors to build a case against any given suspect. A sort of snowball sampling procedure was then set in motion, an inquest in which inquisitors found out suspects thanks to the information relayed by other suspects. This expression, 'snowball sampling', is borrowed from the field of social sciences, where scholars have extensively discussed the different techniques available in order to collect information from hidden populations, that is, groups

⁷⁴⁵ Doat 28, fol. 237v: "(...) et inibi habitavit donec capta fuit querendo panem amore Dei credens tunc melius facere querendo sic victum suum et vestitum."

⁷⁴⁶ Pales-Gobilliard, *Le livre des sentences*, 1600: "De predictis fuit deprehensus nec voluit confiteri, set negavit a principio contra proprium juramentum donec predicta mulier eumdem in facie acusavit in iudicio in quo fuit confessa dicens quod talia docuerat eam facere et fieri ob amorem Dei et profectum animarum, et ut Deus calefaceret eam in amore Dei."

⁷⁴⁷ Doat 28, fol. 216r-v: "(...) committens prædicta per tres annos antequam confiteretur judicialiter de prædictis nec præmissa confessus fuit donec accusatus et convictus fuit per testes et captus."

⁷⁴⁸ See the beginning of Section 3.2 above.

of people that cannot be easily accessed.⁷⁴⁹ Suspected heretics certainly responded to this description. Furthermore, although inquisitors obviously acted as prosecutors and not as researchers, comparing the methods they used to identify the members of dissident networks with those designed by social scientists to approach the problem of concealed groups can help assess the representativeness of the sample, and point out eventual misrepresentations.

According to recent studies on this matter, the main pitfalls of this sampling method are its dependence on the subjective choices of respondents and the bias towards the inclusion of the most connected individuals.⁷⁵⁰ Regarding the former, the specific features of inquisitorial enquiries and sources somewhat minimise the effects of subjective responses. It is true that deponents could still lie about their connections and conceal as much information as possible, but they were certainly not immune to the coercive power of the inquisitorial machinery and probably ended up saying much more than they originally intended to. Furthermore, the preservation process undergone by inquisitorial records and described in Section 2.3 has helped to randomise the dataset, which increases its representativeness. However, the problem of overplaying the importance of the most connected individuals to the detriment of more isolated members of the network still remains. In other words, since inquisitors were mostly interested in learning about people who engaged in heretical practices and beliefs within what we could call the relational space, the men and women who adhered to such principles more privately went all but undetected.

In contrast, other difficulties traditionally associated with this kind of sampling techniques are not applicable to inquisitorial procedures. These include a certain sensitivity threshold beyond which respondents would provide less information, and the fact that some of the practices characteristic of hidden populations lack a social environment.⁷⁵¹ The social dimension of the movements that were the object of inquisitorial prosecution has repeatedly

⁷⁴⁹ For a detailed discussion of snowball sampling, see Chaim Noy, "Sampling knowledge: The hermeneutics of snowball sampling in qualitative research," *International Journal of Social Research Methodology* 11 (2008): 327–44.

⁷⁵⁰ On techniques specifically devised to collect data from hidden populations and their problems, see Rowland Atkinson, and John Flint, *Accessing hidden and hard-to-reach populations: Snowball research strategies* (Guildford: Department of Sociology - University of Surrey, 2001).

⁷⁵¹ Jaime Waters, "Snowball sampling: a cautionary tale involving a study of older drug users," *International Journal of Social Research Methodology* 18 (2015): 367–80.

been established above. As for the question of sensitive information, the positive attitude of respondents is supposed to increase the effectiveness of snowball sampling, but in the case of inquisitorial questionings it is safe to say that the aforementioned threshold was trespassed from the very beginning.

On the one hand, deponents were very much aware of the risks of saying too much. The episode during which Jacma Lauret tried to warn her husband Amorós about the specific charges against him is quite revealing as to both the degree of uncertainty that suspects had to face and their awareness of the situation. In Carcassonne, Alax d'Aubourt and Isabel de Bourges refused to confess until they were imprisoned for ten days. When asked why she had done so, Isabel answered that she and a few others had agreed not to take an oath for she had heard that inquisitors manage to entrap the people they captured.⁷⁵² On the other hand, saying too little could be equally dangerous, for inquisitors were obviously cognisant of the obstacles their inquests encountered in this regard. Gui himself advised his fellow inquisitors on how deponents were wary of revealing the names of other suspects for fear they were condemning them;⁷⁵³ and, as noted above, prison was the means of persuasion most commonly used to change their minds. Among many other cases, Johan Orlach confessed to the whereabouts of Raimon de Johan after a year in prison; Alisseta Boneta refused to condemn the teachings of her sister Na Prous claiming that nobody knew God's doings until she spent "a long time in prison";⁷⁵⁴ likewise, when the deposition of Mateu, a priest from Belveze-du-Razès was found lacking, he was imprisoned for a while so that he

⁷⁵² Doat 28, fol. 116v: "(...) modo et forma similibus ut socia sua prædicta iurare pertinaciter recusavit de dicenda veritate in facto fidei donec per decem dies fuit in muri carcere detenta, et tunc iuravit de facto hæresis dicere veritatem, et interrogata quare primo recusaverat iurare, dixit quod quia (...) etiam condixerat cum quadam socia sua quam nominat et aliis duabus quod non iurarent quia audiverat dici quod dominus inquisitor petebat ab his quod capiebat seu capi faciebat subtilia."

⁷⁵³ Mollat, *Manuel de l'inquisiteur*, vol. 1, 176: "Item, dicunt se credere quod in dampnum et in injuriam proximorum redundaret si ipsi detegerent aut revelarent inquisitoribus suos complices et credentes, quia ex hoc, ut dicunt, paterentur persecutionem ab inquisitoribus et sustinerent dampnum."

⁷⁵⁴ Doat 27, fol. 29v: "(...) respondit quod hoc non iuraret aliquo modo quia nescit iudicia Dei qualia sunt nec ad quem finem poterit deducere supradicta et sic in prædicta pertinacia quasi per annum vel circa extitit obstinata pluries super hoc requisita. Tandem vero postquam in dicto carcere longo tempore perstitisset gratis et sponte (...) omnia prædicta et singula abiuravit."

would confess in full;⁷⁵⁵ and the *culpa* of the weaver Guilhem Quartier records how at first he refused to confess but later ended up revealing the names of many accomplices.⁷⁵⁶

Even in the case of early fourteenth-century inquisitions where massive inquests were much less frequent than a few decades earlier, the outcome of this inquisitorial snowball sampling was further randomised by the role played by public reputation. Whereas the subjectivity and thus the intentionality of specific denunciations could bias the representativeness of the dataset, the enquiries that looked into whole well-established communities, as is the case of the groups of Beguins scattered across Languedoc, are likely to provide a more general perspective. However, the presence of gaps in the information available is undeniable. After all, unlike social scientists, who can devise their sampling techniques according to their social group of choice, historians working with inquisitorial sources are not merely looking into a hidden population, but into the extant and oftentimes scarce traces of the incomplete sample conducted by inquisitors.

The most immediate result of inquisitorial sampling techniques is the snowball effect experienced by some of the members of the network. This is what happens when suspects are explicitly questioned about their connection with specific people and their knowledge of their activities. In the case of the Beguins of Languedoc, this pattern can only be observed for the aforementioned leading group of alleged leaders composed of four men and one woman. Their names were included in the interrogations and therefore the number of mentions they received increased accordingly. Consequently, the sooner that being acquainted with them became an incriminating factor, the larger the number of connections we can expect for each of these ‘leaders’. In order to visualise this trend, Figure 3.6.3 represents the timeline of the confessions (or capture) of Peire Trencavel, Raimon de Johan, Na Prous Boneta, Guilhem Verrier, and Guilhem Serraller together with the mentions that their names received in the depositions of other male and female suspects—men in green, women in red.

⁷⁵⁵ Ibid., fol. 87r: “In alio sermone fuit vocatus et in concilio reputatus male confessus et de credentia suspectus fuit, positus in muro et detentus aliquo tempore.”

⁷⁵⁶ Doat 28, fols. 206v–207r: “Committens prædicta celavit ea nec confiteri voluit donec captus et in muro detentus, dixit tamen prima facie de prædictis omnibus ut præmittitur veritatem, multosque complices suos revelavit.”

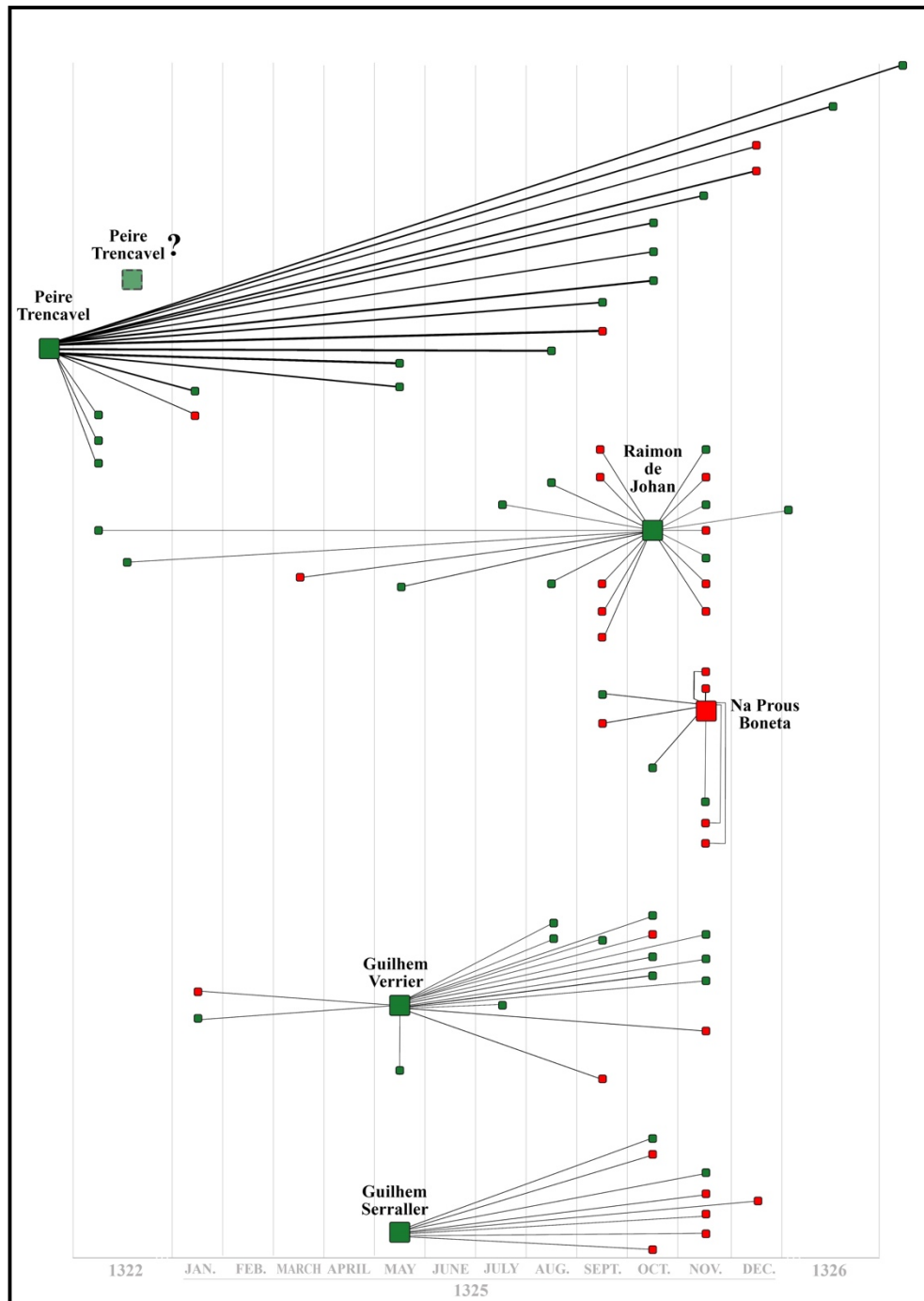


Figure 3.6.3 Timeline of depositions mentioning Beguin 'leaders'

This Figure shows how in most cases the references to these especially renowned figures do not appear before either their capture or the moment when they became fugitives, but only afterwards. In other words, it is once they fled or were arrested and confessed to their involvement that they became part of the questioning of other suspects. The case of Guilhem Serraller is clear in this respect; his name would have reached the ears of the inquisitorial court either by means of a denunciation that is not extant or, more likely, after

the capture of the members of the community of Lodève, which he managed to avoid.⁷⁵⁷ As for Guilhem Verrier, the only two people who provided information about him before his own capture and deposition in May 1325 were his wife Berengaria, who was captured a few months before he was, and Jaime Castelló, who listed among his faults having carried letters for Verrier and many other fugitive Beguins and apostates.⁷⁵⁸

In contrast, the case of Raimon de Johan shows a clearly different pattern that can be explained because of his exceptional status. As a former rebel Franciscan from the convent of Narbonne who later fled the convent of Anduze to which he had been sent, Raimon was well known to ecclesiastical authorities. Thus, his name would have been included in inquisitorial questionings from early on, and as a consequence it would accumulate a large number of mentions. The timeline of Na Prous Boneta, albeit much more concentrated, also follows this pattern. She would have been imprisoned in the context of the arrests carried out in the first half of 1325 against the Beguin community of Montpellier, among whose members she must have held considerable authority. Furthermore, the singular nature of her confession and teachings would have certainly attracted the attention of inquisitors who would strive to build a solid case against her person by gathering as many witnesses as possible.⁷⁵⁹

Finally, the representation of Peire Trencavel's timeline is especially helpful, since it can shed some light on the circumstances of his first capture and escape from the *mur* of Carcassonne. As noted above, he was mentioned as an "important member of the sect" in Guilhem Ros's confession of June 1322, where he claimed to have been expecting Peire's arrival and that of "other apostates" back in Eastertide that same year. However, the depositions of Peire Calvet and Raimon d'Antusan in March 1322 already singled him out

⁷⁵⁷ Doat 28, fol. 245v: "Guillermus Serrallerii serrallerius de Lodova dudum fugitivus pro timore captionis quorundam Begguinorum cum quibus participaverat in Lodova."

⁷⁵⁸ Ibid., fol. 119v: "(...) pro Guillermo Verrerii de Narbona et pro multis aliis Begguinis et apostatis ab ordine minorum quos nominat pro hæresi fugitivis diversas litteras frequenter et in diversis locis portavit."

⁷⁵⁹ The case of Na Prous would thus resemble the enquiry into other female visionaries, such as Rixendis of Narbonne. Once Rixendis's reputation reached the ears of the archiepiscopal court, witnesses were summoned and an inquest was conducted even in the absence of an archbishop, for the see was vacant at the moment; see Théry, "'Inquisitio' contre Rixende," 66: "ad audientiam pervenit venerabilis capituli sancte ecclesie Narbonensis, sede vacante."

along with other notorious members of the group (fugitives and martyrs). As noted above, Louisa Burnham places Trencavel's first capture at some point in 1322 or early 1323 (indicated in Figure 3.6.3 with a question mark). In my opinion, the pattern suggested by the aforementioned procedure of inquisitorial snowball sampling points to an earlier capture. His activities would then have entered the spotlight of inquisitorial prosecution before 1322, when his name had already become a part of the specific question list that the suspects had to answer.

As discussed in previous sections, one of the main purposes of the present dissertation is to determine the centrality of each actor within dissident networks. However, as the examples above show, the techniques used by inquisitors to glean information from suspects introduced a bias in the number of connections that could be expected for each individual, and therefore in the most immediate interpretations about their relative centrality. Be that as it may, in network studies said centrality can be measured in many ways, for the position and the importance of each person can be relevant—or not—in different respects. In the following pages, I will address the analysis of different centrality measures applied to the Beguin network of Languedoc in order to present my conclusions as to the structure and functioning of these communities, and the different roles played by the men and women who formed them.

3.6.1 Degree Centrality: The Reach and Connectivity of Network Actors

The most straight-forward way to approach the relational study of Beguin communities is to analyse the acquaintanceship network of this dissident movement, for all the other networks that can be reconstructed with respect to more specific relations will be a subset of this one. Here, instead of working on the ninety-five actors whose depositions are extant, I will turn to the 218 actors about whom there is relational information available. This number is the result of on the one hand subtracting the fifty-nine Franciscans who only appear in the exchange of documents between John XXII and Michel le Moine from the total 321 actors that made up the whole network, and on the other, from removing the people only documented as martyrs.

The reason to do this is that the only relational information that can be retrieved about these individuals mostly links them to each other but not to the rest of the community. Thus, in the case of the Franciscans summoned to Avignon, we can roughly define three groups, the former members of the convent of Narbonne, the friars of the convent of Béziers, and the few friars whose convent of origin is not documented (see Table 3.6.1, the friars highlighted in yellow have been included as relational actors because they are also mentioned in the depositions of other members of the network).

Franciscans from Narbonne	Franciscans from Béziers	Franciscans from other convents
Arnau Raimon	Berenguer Juliol	Arnau de Felgun
Berenguer de Ferran	Bernard Andreu	Arnau Mauri
Berenguer Tortell	Bernard Cofi	Bernard Aspa
Bernard Bonet	Bernard Guilh	Deodat Miquel
Bernard d'Alzon	Bernard Martí	Felip Ferrer
Bernard d'Antinhan	Bernard Polher	Francesc de Badó
Bernard de Saverdun	Deodat Miquel	Guilhem Guiraud
Bernard Duran	Guilhem Radulf	Servià
Bernard Francesc	Jacme Seguí	
Bernard Parasol	Johan Fabri	
Bernard Torner	Peire Bayssi	
Bertran Grancarot	Peire Domenge	
Francesc Sans	Peire Raimon de Mayrac	
Gentil de Marchia	Peire Raimon Gontard	
Germà de...	Pons Portanova	
Guilhem Arnau	Vincent Guiraut	

Guilhem de St Amans		
Guilhem Llorenç		
Guilhem Porcell		
Guilhem Roger		
Guilhem Rosset		
Guilhem Santon		
Guilhem Tolosà		
Guilhem Vesia		
Guirau Martí		
Jacme de Montesquiú		
Jacme de Portal		
Jacme de Riu		
Johan Barrau		
Johan Corb		
Johan Església		
Johan Prun		
Johan Raser		
Llorenç de Salses		
Peire Austens		
Peire Fabri		
Peire Vidal		

Pons Roca		
Raimon Bels		
Raimon Bordit		
Raimon Carlat		
Raimon Criveller		
Raimon de Johan		
Raimon Ferrer		
Raimon Mestre		

Table 3.6.1 Franciscans summoned to Avignon

As for the martyrs, out of the eighty-nine men and women listed in the Beguin martyrology preserved in MS 1006 of the Wolfenbüttel Herzog-August-Bibliothek and edited by Louisa Burnham, only forty-two are also documented as relational individuals in other extant inquisitorial records (highlighted in yellow in Table 3.6.2). The other forty-seven—four of which are the four friars of Marseille, also listed in the previous Table—have been excluded from the following calculations. Finally, a certain man from Narbonne named Peire de Johan (or Peire Julian), who was burned in August 1323 along with Raimon Mestre, Bernard de Bosch, and Johan Conill, is only documented in Doat 34 regarding the expenses derived from his time in prison and subsequent execution, and therefore has also been left out of the relational analysis.⁷⁶⁰

Men	Women
Aliorus de Sesena	Amegiardis
Aymeric	Astruga de Lodève

⁷⁶⁰ Doat 34, fols. 226v–227r: “Expensæ factæ per magisterium Jacobum de Poloniacho customer murk Carcassonnæ personis infrascriptis ante eorum condenationem (...) Item Petro Juliani de Narbona qui fuit in dicto muro per trecentos quinque dies usque ad dictam dominicam qua fuit combustus”; *ibid.*, fol. 223r: “Expensæ factæ pro comburendis Raymundo Magistri de Villa Monstantione, Bernardo de Bosco de Biterris, Petro Johannis de Narbona et Johanne Conilli habitatoribus Biterris, qui eadem die combusti fuerunt in grava prope burgum Carcassonnæ.”

Aymeric	Basseta
Berenguer	Berengaria Domenge Verrier
Bernard	Bermonda de St Geniès
Bernard d'Argistris	Biatris
Bernard Bosch	Deruna Catalana
Bernard de Na Jacma, aka Germà	Elisabet de St Geniès
Bernard de Perinhac	Ermessendis
Bernard Espinesseria	Esclarmonda Durban
Bernard Leon	Raimunda Arrufat
Bernard Martí	Raimunda de Caranta
Bernard Mauri	Sicarda de Corberia
Bernard Peyrotas	
Bernard Raimon de Monesco	
Bernard Sers	
Bernard Surio	
Bernardin Anulh	
Bonhome	
Castelló de Girona	
Cirac	
Deodat Miquel	
Esteve Seret	
Eustaci Major	
Forneron de Florensac	

Francesc Baster	
Guerau de St Martí	
Guilhem Anulh	
Guilhem Bon	
Guilhem Domenge Verrier	
Guilhem d'Urgell	
Guilhem Fabra	
Guilhem Santon	
Guilhem Separd	
Hug d'Onlavis	
Jacme de la Creu	
Jacme de Riu	
Johan Barra	
Johan Barrau	
Johan d'Echis	
Johan de Mezea	
Johan de Savoia	
Johan Durban	
Johan Martí	
Johan Oler aka Essorbon	
Mai de Blandisio	

Nicolau	
Peire	
Peire	
Peire Abanh	
Peire Alfand	
Peire Almard	
Peire Arrufat	
Peire Brun	
Peire Calvet	
Peire Canonge	
Peire de Cursac	
Peire de Elne	
Peire de Fraxino	
Peire de l'Hospital, aka Cristià	
Peire Domenge, aka d'Honors	
Peire Fabre	
Peire Guiraud	
Peire Morés	
Pons Roca	
Raimon Cambós	
Raimon de Bosch	

Raimon Esteve	
Raimon Forner	
Raimon Lobat	
Raimon Mestre	
Robert de Narbona	
Roger	
Simon extraneus	
Vecià	

Table 3.6.2 Beguin martyrology

Once these individuals have been removed from the acquaintanceship network, degree centrality is the simplest of the measures that can help us gauge the position of the different actors. As defined in Section 1.3, degree centrality equals the number of connections of any given actor, which, in this particular case corresponds to the number of people with whom a certain actor is acquainted. It is safe to say that, even if not in such terms, degree centrality was what concerned inquisitors the most, for their goal was not only to identify as many members of the group as possible, but also, and especially, to capture the most renowned among them. It could be argued that this inclination was rooted in earlier ecclesiastical approaches to the prosecution of heresy, when it was enough to weed out a few—usually literate—elements in order to eliminate the problem;⁷⁶¹ but this was in fact a rather intuitive line of action, given that the more renowned a suspect was, the more opportunities he or she had to influence others, at least in theory, and therefore to spread heretical doctrines and practices.

Depending on the kind of ties considered, there are two different ways of calculating this variable for the members of the Beguin network, namely taking into account both in- and out-ties, and only considering the former. It is rather obvious that in order to get the best

⁷⁶¹ See Section 2.2 above.

approximation to a full picture it is necessary to compute all known connections, all known acquaintances. This would include mentions received by each actor, mentions made by each actor, and even those inferred from the cross-examining of the sources. However, it may be useful to reflect on what happens when only in-ties are considered. Table 3.6.3 lists the individuals with the highest degree centrality when acquaintanceship is regarded as a directed relation, in other words, when degree centrality only takes into account direct mentions by other suspects.

Most mentioned actors	Degree centrality (direct mentions)
Peire Trencavel	18
Raimon de Johan	18
Guilhem Verrier	16
Prous Boneta	9
Guilhem Serraller	8
Bernard Lleó	7
Peire Arrufat	7
Peire Baró	7
Mai de Blandisio	6
Bernard Pastor	5
Guilhem Mascon	5

Table 3.6.3 Beguin most mentioned actors according to direct mentions

The first five names of this list correspond to the individuals traditionally considered as the leaders of the movement, which is by no means incidental. On the contrary, as shown above, the bias characteristic of inquisitorial snowball sampling techniques made it possible for some names to keep appearing on the record and accumulating the highest number of direct mentions over time. In consequence, these actors featured more prominently in the depositions of others, which, in my opinion, has been a chief determinant in the recognition of their leading status within the network. I am not suggesting here that these men and woman did not have an important role among their peers, but rather that the importance of other actors has been systematically downplayed as a result of both the way in which the

inquisitorial procedure was conducted, and the way in which inquisitorial sources have been read.

In contrast, Table 3.6.4 shows the list of people with the highest number of acquaintances when all kinds of ties are considered. Although the same five names are also present—albeit in different positions—and both tables include the name of Peire Arrufat too, some other highly connected individuals are brought to light by this approach. These are the priests Bernard Mauri and Peire de Tornamira, whose cases have already been discussed in detail, the also priest Bernard Peyrotas, and the merchant Berenguer Jaoul.

Most mentioned actors	Degree centrality (all connections)
Raimon de Johan	35
Peire Trencavel	33
Guilhem Verrier	25
Guilhem Serraller	23
Bernard Mauri	22
Bernard Peyrotas	19
Peire Arrufat	19
Prous Boneta	19
Berenguer Jaoul	17
Peire de Tornamira	17

Table 3.6.4 Beguin most mentioned actors considering full dataset

Thus, the apparently prominent role of some of the men included in Table 3.6.3 needs to be reconsidered. As noted above, the importance of Peire Baró is overstated due to the fact that he was the owner of the house where Raimon de Johan was hidden for a while, but it was his daughter Flors who did most of the heavy lifting by encouraging others to visit the fugitive Franciscan. As for Bernard Lleó and Mai de Blandisio—who have a degree centrality of nine and eight, respectively, when taking into account all connections—both of them died at the stake quite early, and regardless of what their actual influence was when they were alive, they were frequently mentioned among the early martyrs of the

movement.⁷⁶² Finally, Bernard Pastor and Guilhem Mascon—whose degree centrality increases to eight, all connections accounted—were the masterminds of the conspiracy against the notary Raimon Berlet and as such were mentioned by all their co-conspirators.

In terms of degree centrality, a central actor is one that has many connections, or in this case, many acquaintances. Interpreting this notion with regard to a dissident community—or to any spiritual community—degree centrality could be seen as a measure of the involvement of any given individual. In principle, being acquainted with a greater number of actors of the Beguin network would entail more opportunities to reach other actors, attend gatherings, exchange information and goods, contribute to the network's social capital, and benefit from it.⁷⁶³ Accordingly, overemphasising the number of connections of some actors while obscuring the degree centrality of others results in a misleading view of the network as a whole. This is particularly significant if such a bias has a especially strong effect on a certain class of actors, as happens in inquisitorial sources where the connectivity of female actors seems to be downplayed.

Suffice it to roughly compare the list of individuals with the highest degree centrality as calculated in Tables 3.6.3 and 3.6.4. According to the first approach, a certain martyr named Amegiardis—the woman that ranks the highest besides Na Prous Boneta—occupies the sixteenth position, and there are only four women among the twenty actors of the network with the highest degree centralities. However, taking into account all connections, the first woman besides Na Prous is Bernarda d'Antusan, who appears in the thirteenth position, and the number of women among the twenty most connected individuals increases to six. Thus, whereas direct mentions result in only 20% of women among the individuals with the highest centrality degree—well below the 30% female participation ratio for the movement—considering in- and out-ties increases that percentage to 30%, which would suggest that men and women were equally connected within the Beguin network.

⁷⁶² Mai de Blandisio was executed in Narbonne on 14 October 1319 and was directly mentioned by six people; Bernard Lléo was burned in Capestang on 25 May 1320, and he is cited by name in seven depositions.

⁷⁶³ There are multiple working definitions of 'social capital'; here I am referring to the social resources available to actors thanks to their connections and to the structure of the network they belong to. For an overview of the evolution of the notion of 'social capital', see Roger Lenders, "Social Capital," in *Encyclopedia*, ed. Alhajj and Rokne, 1759–69.

It is also possible to compare the degree centrality, and therefore the connectivity of men and women in a more statistically sound way. To do this I have performed a t-test on the dataset, which is a specific kind of statistical hypothesis test that can help to verify whether men and women were equally connected.⁷⁶⁴ The results show that on average women were slightly more connected than men, but that said difference between the mean degree centrality of men (5.151) and that of women (5.712) is not statistically significant. Thus, to all intents and purposes and despite the overall impression conveyed by the sources, the connectivity of the male and female actors of the Beguin network of Languedoc was indeed similar. Without going into excessive detail as far as the statistical analysis is concerned, the standard deviation of the male dataset is remarkably higher than that of the female actors, which means that connectivity varies a great deal among men, with a few of them very well connected while the majority only have a small group of acquaintances within the network. In contrast, women show a much more homogeneous pattern, with most of them reasonably well connected.

A similar analysis can be performed in order to assess the variation of the number of connections associated with religious status. Given that in the case of dissident networks it is interesting to explore the role played by priestlike elites I have divided the dataset into two groups: (1) said priestlike elite, formed by members of the clergy, male and female Franciscan tertiaries, Beguins, and Beguines; and (2) the male and female actors of the network that do not belong to any of such categories. Establishing a rough comparison between the analysis of direct mentions and the inclusion of all connections can again shed some light on the existence of a source bias. Summing up, on the one hand, only eight of the twenty most connected actors—that is, around 40%—can be ascribed to the elite in the first approach; on the other, this number increases to ten when considering all connections, which gives a 50% ratio that is much closer to the 51% of actors of the whole network that can be counted as members of the religious elite of the movement. However, on this occasion, a thorough hypothesis testing reveals a different result, where the members of said elite would be rather more connected than the rest of the group. The difference between the average

⁷⁶⁴ The mathematical details of this process as well as the relevant figures can be found in the Appendices.

degree centrality of the former (6.164) and the latter (4.869) is statistically relevant according to the t-test. Furthermore, unlike in the case of the gender analysis, the standard deviations are fairly similar, which would point to highly homogeneous groups, at least as regards connectivity.

To complete this analysis of the degree centrality of the actors of the Beguin network I will now turn to the degree distribution (Figure 3.6.4.), which plots the number of actors against the different values of degree centrality that can be observed in the dataset.

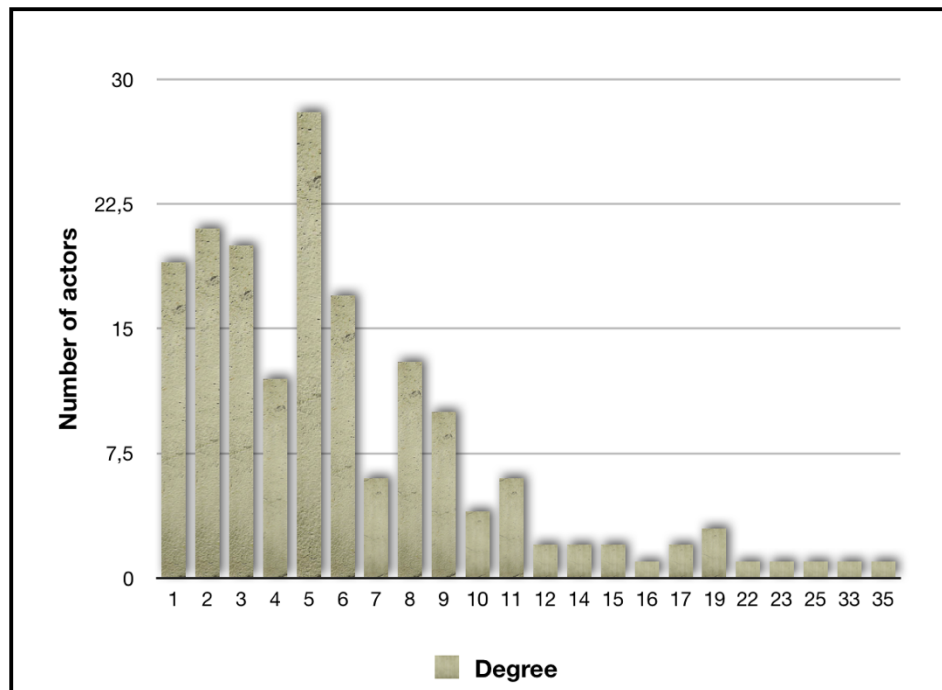


Figure 3.6.4 Beguin degree distribution

As noted in Section 1.3 it is essential to check the networks reconstructed from inquisitorial records against the common features of social networks. Were the results significantly different, this would require some discussion. The distribution of degree centralities is not the most determinant factor in this regard, but it can provide an initial and valuable approximation to the problem.

The small-world network, a concept introduced in 1998 by Watts and Strogatz, seems to be a common pattern for many real networks.⁷⁶⁵ Human systems tend to form clusters

⁷⁶⁵ Watts, Strogatz, "Collective dynamics"; Xiao Fan Wang and Guanrong Chen, "Complex Networks: Small-World, Scale-Free and Beyond," *IEEE Circuits and Systems Magazine* 3, no. 1 (2003): 6–20.

but, furthermore, any two members of such a system are connected through a relatively short path; that is, two random actors are always interlinked at least by means of a small number of other actors, hence the expression ‘small-world’. In fact, real social networks combine the properties of small-world networks with the characteristics of scale-free networks (described in Section 1.3). As a result, one of their main features is precisely a heavy-tailed degree distribution that peaks at an average value and decays exponentially.

This is very much the pattern shown in Figure 3.6.4, where the distribution peaks at degree 5 and then decays rapidly due to the few actors that appear as highly connected after analysing the extant sources. Figures 3.6.5 and 3.6.6 show radial layouts of the acquaintanceship network graph by degree centrality distinguishing gender and religious status respectively. As can be seen there, most of the actors share similarly low degrees and only a few of them appear as distinctively well connected.

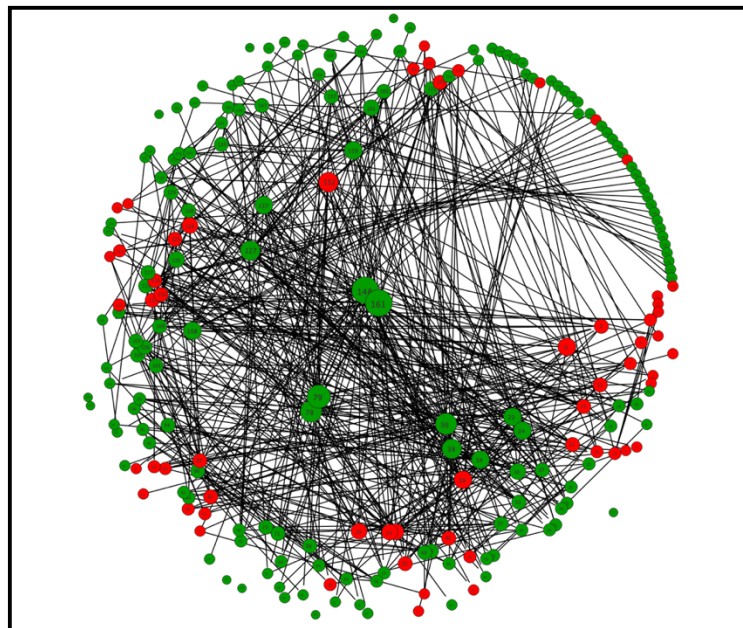


Figure 3.6.5 Beguin acquaintanceship network by gender

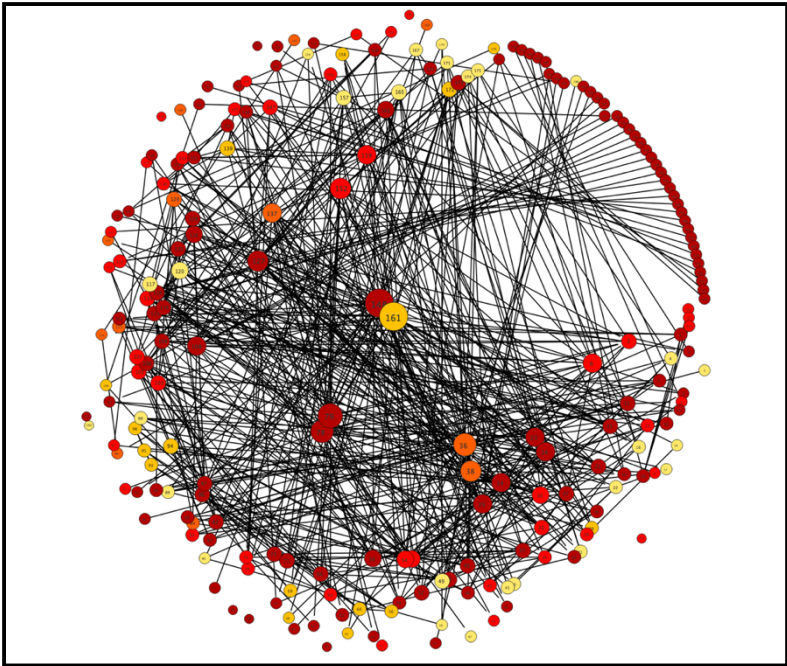


Figure 3.6.6 Beguin acquaintanceship network by religious status

Furthermore, given that scale-free networks are by definition independent from the network scale, analysing the shape of the degree distribution of male and female actors separately should yield similar results.

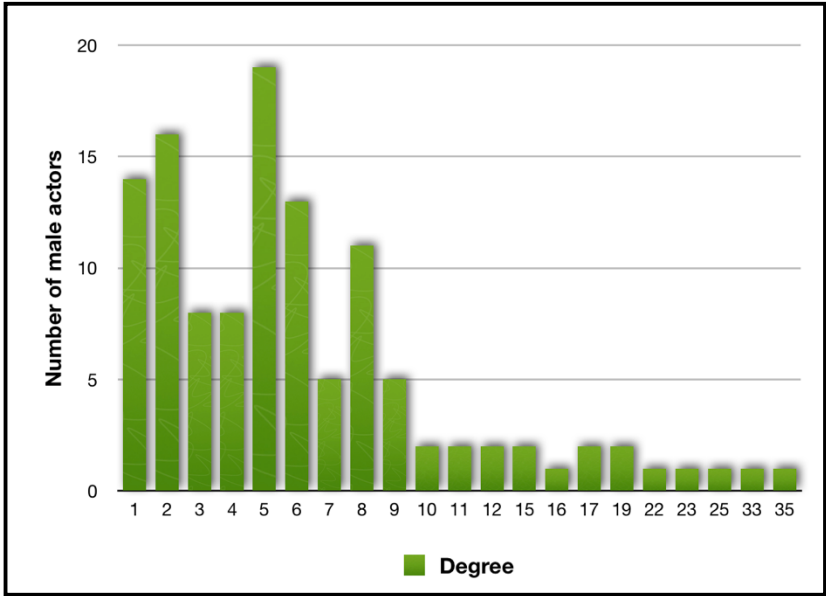


Figure 3.6.7 Beguin degree distribution for male actors

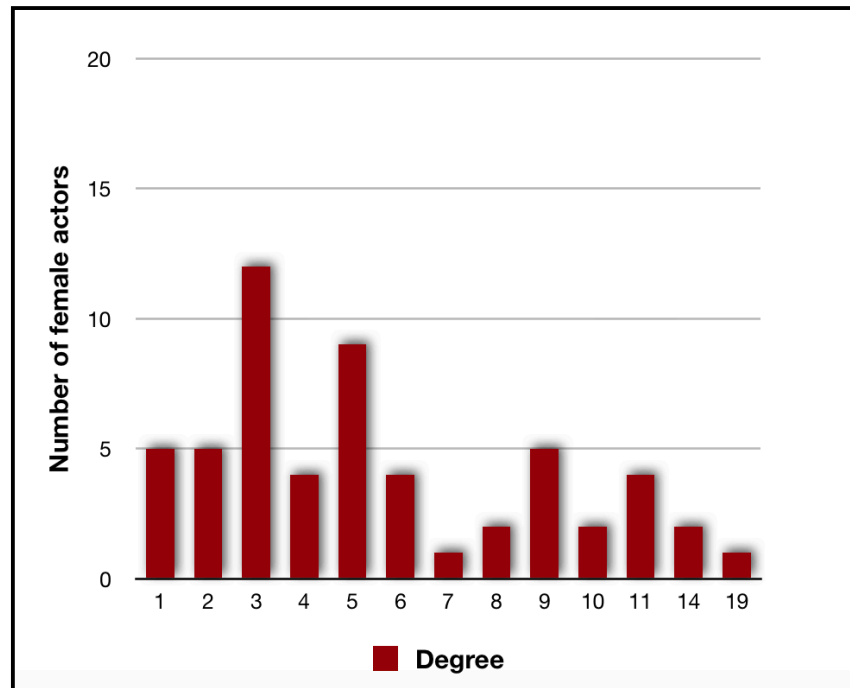


Figure 3.6.8 Beguin degree distribution for female actors

Figures 3.6.7 and 3.6.8 above show how the pattern of the overall degree distribution is very much the same as that of the male degree distribution while the degree distribution of female actors does not conform to the aforementioned model. Whereas male connectivities roughly reproduce the expected smooth increase towards the average peak and the rapid decay, the graph of women's degree centralities is rather discontinuous and hardly corresponds to that of a real social network. This can in fact be interpreted as further proof that the connectivity of women is under-represented in inquisitorial records, which would distort the sample so that only some of the actors seem to be related in a way that is consistent with the features of a social network.

The bias introduced by the inquisitorial snowball sampling procedure has a strong impact on gender analysis, given that most of the individuals whose names made it into the questions posed to other suspects were men. This would have increased their number of mentions and widened the gap both between men and women and between highly connected men and the rest of male actors, thus increasing the standard deviation of this group. Furthermore, as has been proven in different studies in the field of network theory, snowball

sampling tends to overestimate the degree of the most connected individuals.⁷⁶⁶ This under-sampling of less connected actors is also characteristic of hidden networks, and could also account for the gaps in degrees 3 and 4 that can be seen in Figures 3.6.4 and 3.6.7. Such actors and their activities would slip through the inquisitorial net more easily and therefore, if our aim is to reveal the extent of their influence, we need to look into less obvious measures of centrality.

3.6.2 Eigenvector Centrality: Influencing the Beguin Network

Ermessenda Grossa was a widow from Gignac who took a vow of chastity about twenty years prior to her confession before the inquisitors in November 1325.⁷⁶⁷ She was familiar with the Spiritual Franciscan milieu, visited the tomb of Olivi in Narbonne, probably travelled around with her friend—the also widow Sibil·la Cazelle—and was well acquainted with the Beguin communities of Montpellier. However, the only direct information about Ermessenda comes from her own *culpa* and her sentence to minor pilgrimages in November 1328. Even considering indirect mentions and checking her deposition against others, Ermessenda only ranks fifty-fourth in degree centrality with only seven identifiable connections. In contrast, Peire Tort, a cutler from Montréal who belonged to the Third Order of St Francis and shared Ermessenda's degree centrality, is mentioned in four other depositions besides his own. Peire, in his confession of May 1322 admitted that he had also been in Narbonne to celebrate the feast of Olivi, and that he heard the preachings of Spiritual Franciscans there.⁷⁶⁸ Furthermore, his involvement with the Beguin community led him to attend several general sermons that ended with the execution of Beguins who he claimed had died “as Catholic and glorious martyrs”; he read Olivi's *Postilla* and was among the benefactors that helped support the persecuted network. In fact, Peire was one of the two men who appeared in the Antusan household in Cintegabelle searching for a way to release imprisoned suspects.

⁷⁶⁶ Among others, see Sang Hoon Lee, Pan-Jun Kim, and Hawoong Jeong, “Statistical properties of sampled networks,” *Physical Review E* 73, no. 016102 (2006).

⁷⁶⁷ Ermessenda's *culpa* can be found in Doat 27, fols. 14r-16r.

⁷⁶⁸ See Peire's extensive *culpa* in Pales-Gobilliard, *Le livre des sentences*, 1396–1416.

As far as degree centrality is concerned, these two people were equally connected and therefore had the same reach within the Beguin community, that is, they were equally central. However, the qualitative analysis of the activities described above seems to suggest that Peire was more influential. It is in cases like this that social network methods can help us understand the role played by the structure of the connections between actors. Whereas degree centrality can be the same for two actors regardless of how well connected their respective connections are, another measure of centrality known as eigenvector centrality also takes into account that factor.⁷⁶⁹ Indeed, the potential influence of individuals in the Beguin network depended not only on their number of acquaintances but also on how well connected those acquaintances were.

This is apparent in the examples above, for Ermessenda was actually much better positioned within the network than Peire. Thus, Ermessenda Grossa, with an eigenvector centrality of 2.716 occupies the twenty-second position in the list of most influential Beguins, while an eigenvector centrality of 0.972 makes Peire Tort rank the seventy-first in that same list. The explanation for such difference is provided by their respective acquaintanceship networks. On the one hand, although Peire seemed more involved in the movement, his traceable connections are mostly linked to the communities of Cintegabelle and Belpech, which despite being remarkably active—as seen in previous sections—mostly kept to themselves and only maintained a few contacts outside, one of which was the same Peire. On the other hand, Ermessenda's acquaintances included not only the members of the Boneta household, the most renowned group in the hotbed of Beguinal activity that was Montpellier, but also the very popular Raimon de Johan, who she had met on several occasions both in Montpellier and in Narbonne. Were Ermessenda to share a piece of information with her contacts, such information would spread much farther through the network than if Peire did the same.

Despite the fact that inquisitorial records are indeed relational in nature, for such was the basis of inquisitorial questionings, inquisitors did not possess an uncanny insight into

⁷⁶⁹ For a detailed explanation of how to calculate eigenvector centrality, see Borgatti, Everett, and Johnson, *Analyzing Social Networks*, 318–22.

network structures. When deciding on penances, they only took into account potential influencing power in the cases that involved those they considered the most renowned figures. These individuals, who as noted above entered the question list itself, became toxic, and detecting their influence was important only in terms of discovering who else had been ‘contaminated’ by it. In other words, the privileged position of Ermessenda Grossa and her potential capability of affecting the network did not add to the severity of her charges, and neither did the far less influent situation of Peire Tort serve as an attenuating circumstance to his, for he was sentenced to life imprisonment in July 1322. Thus, eigenvector centrality has the ability to reveal the less visible parts of the network, individuals that did not remain unnoticed but whose position was rather more central to the stability of the network than inquisitors gave them credit for.

In light of this possibility let us compare the list of the ten actors of the Beguin network with the highest degree centrality with that of the individuals with the highest eigenvector centrality (Tables 3.6.4 and 3.6.5).

Most mentioned actors	Degree centrality (all connections)	Most influential actors	Eigenvector centrality
Raimon de Johan	35	Raimon de Johan	9,039
Peire Trencavel	33	Guilhem Serraller	5,863
Guilhem Verrier	25	Prous Boneta	5,849
Guilhem Serraller	23	Guilhem Verrier	5,484
Bernard Mauri	22	Alisseta Boneta	5,092
Bernard Peyrotas	19	Peire Trencavel	4,635
Peire Arrufat	19	Johan Orlach	4,414
Prous Boneta	19	Estevana Boneta	4,394
Berenguer Jaoul	17	Alaraxis Bedoc	4,285
Peire de Tornamira	17	Peire de Tornamira	3,899

Table 3.6.5 Comparison between most mentioned and most influential actors

Six of the names appear in both lists; in order of decreasing eigenvector centrality: Raimon de Johan, Guilhem Serraller, Na Prous Boneta, Guilhem Verrier, Peire Trencavel, and Peire de Tornamira. This fact confirms the centrality of their situation within the Beguin network, while the shifts that some of their positions experience also need to be taken into account. With the exception of Raimon de Johan and Peire de Tornamira, who occupy the

first and last positions in both cases, the other four shift positions. It is especially significant that Peire Trencavel, clearly one of the most wanted fugitives, drops to the sixth place, in all likelihood due to his relative lack of contacts in Montpellier, which both Serraller and Verrier did have. Accordingly, Na Prous Boneta, front and centre in that same community, is now among the most three influential individuals of the network. Furthermore, the four individuals who, according to their degree centrality, were not among the most connected actors but whose eigenvector centrality makes them show up now were also from Montpellier: Alisseta Boneta, Johan Orlach, Estevana Boneta, and Alaraxis Bedoc.

In contrast, the centrality of the roles of Bernard Mauri, Bernard Peyrotas, and Berenguer Jaoul need more careful consideration since Peyrotas and Jaoul drop six places each and Mauri falls all the way down to the forty-first position. The priest Bernard Peyrotas and the merchant Berenguer Jaoul knew each other and probably travelled together to attend several general sermons, but both of them can mostly be related to the members of the Beguin community of Béziers for they lack significant connections elsewhere.⁷⁷⁰ As for Bernard Mauri, his case shows how eigenvector centrality can help cancel out the bias introduced by the difference in the level of detail conveyed by the various types of inquisitorial sources. As noted above, whereas the information available for most of the members of the Beguin communities comes from *culpae* recorded in books of sentences, the several depositions given by Bernard Mauri are extant in Doat 35. This probably has something to do with the fact that he was captured in a different inquisitorial jurisdiction from the one he had escaped and, unlike in the cases of Peire and Andrea Trencavel, Bernard was not transferred back but interrogated and ultimately sentenced in Provence and Avignon. Be that as it may, the full record of the case against any suspect is likely to include many more connections than the abridged *culpa*, and is therefore bound to distort the degree centrality distribution of the whole dataset. Conversely, eigenvector centrality bases the position of an actor within the network not according to the sheer number of acquaintances but to the connectivity of said acquaintances. In consequence, Bernard Mauri, most of whose

⁷⁷⁰ Bernard Peyrotas and Berenguer Jaoul were both from Lodève and attended executions in Béziers, in 1320 and 1321, and the renowned general sermon of Lunel in October 1321. Their depositions, recorded in Doat 28, fols. 21r–27r, and fols. 18v–21r, connect them to the community of Béziers.

connections stood quite apart from the main clusters of Beguin activity appears as much less central.

Finally, as regards women, unlike degree centrality, which as shown in the previous sub-section was greatly underestimated by inquisitorial sampling methods, the results of eigenvector centrality emphasise their average position within the network. On the one hand, whereas only Na Prous Boneta made it to Table 3.6.4, three other women join her in Table 3.6.5. On the other, although the number of women among the twenty most influential actors is the same as the number of women among the twenty most connected people, their overall positions are remarkably higher; that is, according to this measure, they appear as more central. Figure 3.6.9, a layout by eigenvector centrality and gender—women in red, men in green—evinces this shift in positions with women moving towards the centre. Of course we cannot ignore that the four women in Table 3.6.5 belonged to the same household, but this fact only stresses the need to consider the strength of group ties when trying to gauge the importance of the role any individual plays within the network.

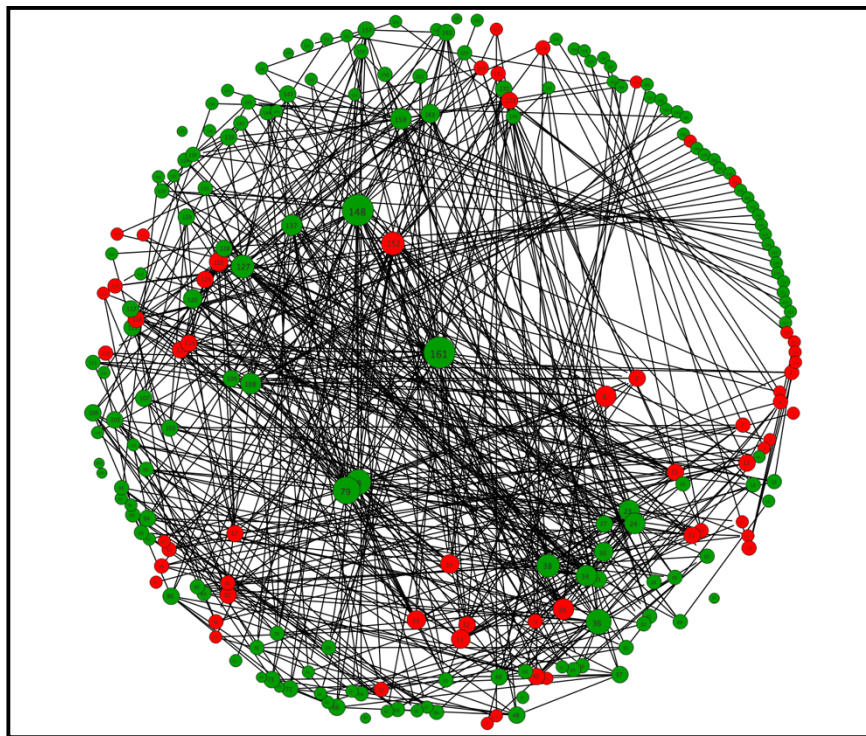


Figure 3.6.9 Eigenvector centrality by gender

Likewise, Figure 3.6.10, a layout by eigenvector centrality and religious status—laity in dark red, Beguins and Tertiaries in red, Franciscans in yellow, priests in orange—shows how the laity moves towards the centre.

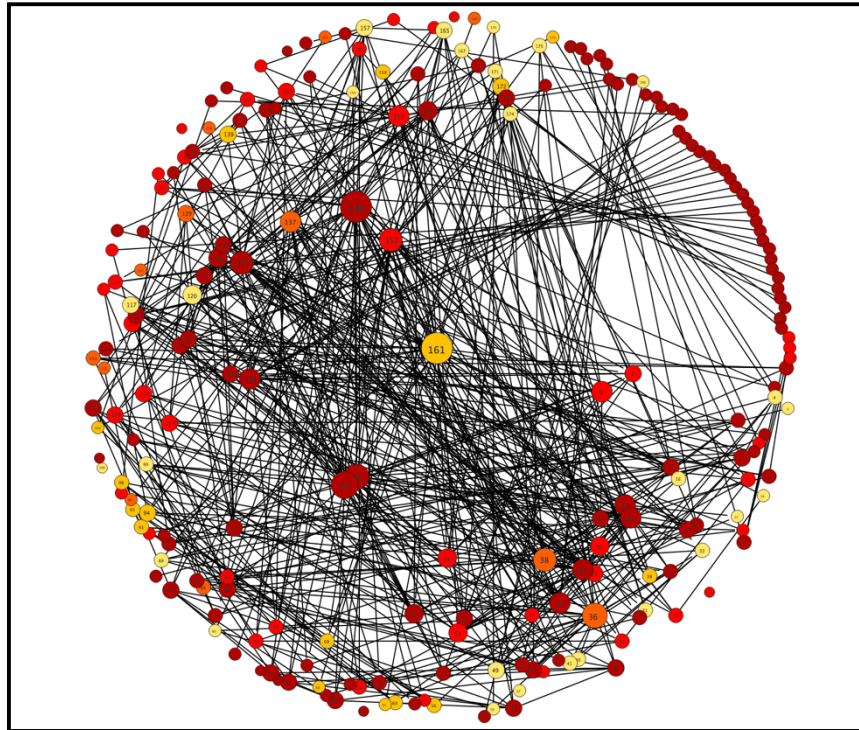


Figure 3.6.10 Eigenvector centrality by religious status

3.6.3 Closeness and Betweenness: Accessing and Controlling the Flow of Resources

With the only exception of the fugitive friar Raimon de Johan, the sisters Flors and Paula Baró were the most and best connected individuals in the village of Montréal. They both appear in the list of the twenty actors of the network with the highest degree centrality and their eigenvector centrality also places them among the twenty most potentially influential members of the movement. In contrast, their fellow townsman Peire Tort, whose case I have already presented above, provides an example of how a low eigenvector centrality can be interpreted in terms of low overall impact on the network. These measures however, can only help so much when trying to understand the spread pattern of information, beliefs, and practices. That is to say, eigenvector centrality gauges the reach of the influence that a certain individual can potentially exert, but it does not take into consideration the time needed for that to happen.

The centrality measure that can better account for the transmission process of anything flowing through the network, be it material or immaterial, is called closeness centrality. As noted in Section 1.3, closeness centrality measures the distance between a given actor and all others; understanding as distance between any two actors the number of other nodes of the network standing between them.⁷⁷¹ Thus, the higher the closeness centrality of an individual, the less central he or she is. Despite the fact that this ‘relational’ distance is not connected to the physical concept of distance—for the ‘relational’ distance between two siblings who were raised together would be zero regardless of how far apart they live in the present—it is similarly related to time. The higher the ‘relational’ distance between two actors, the longer it takes for a message to travel from one to the other. Likewise, as in a sort of game of Chinese whispers, the more nodes the message has to go through to reach its target, the more likely it is for it to suffer some level of distortion.

Turning back to the inhabitants of Montréal, while Peire Tort was well below the Baró sisters in both degree and eigenvector centrality, he is just above them as regards the actors with the lowest closeness centrality, with the three of them occupying the fifty-fifth, fifty-sixth, and fifty-seventh places, respectively. Therefore, despite the potentially less influential nature of Peire’s position within the network, anything flowing through it would on average reach him sooner than it would Flors and Paula. This shift can only be explained by means of a qualitative approach to the problem. Flors and Paula’s remarkable connectivity is mostly dependent on their connection to Raimon de Johan, who displays not only the highest degree and eigenvector centralities in the whole network, but also ranks the last in closeness centrality, that is, he was on average the actor who could be most easily reached. This could potentially affect the Baró sisters, for, had material support, books, information or any other thing flowing through the network reached Raimon de Johan while he was staying at their house, they would have had immediate access to it. But, at the same time, therein lies the problem, for this was only the case when Raimon was actually there, and, as has been established, Raimon moved quite a lot. In contrast, Peire’s connectivity relied not on one single person but on an important cluster such as the Beguin community of Cintegabelle, and on his close relation to another well-connected actor, Peire Arrufat, who

⁷⁷¹ Borgatti, Everett, and Johnson, *Analyzing Social Networks*, 327–28.

maintained strong ties in Narbonne and Lodève, two of the most important Beguin strongholds. As a result, Peire Tort's access to doctrinal tenets, relics, practices, and news could come from different sources, which, on average, gave him enough advantage over the Baró sisters as to overcome his apparently lower connectivity.

Table 3.6.6 shows the list of ten actors with the lowest closeness centrality, which again includes the five names that have repeatedly appeared as members of the leadership of the Beguin movement. The Boneta household is also fully present here, for Alaraxis Bedoc occupies the eleventh position, the only difference between her and Estevana Boneta being the kinship between the latter and the other Boneta sisters. Peire Arrufat and the priest Bernard Peyrotas, both of them listed among the most but not best connected individuals, take back their central position, joined by a new addition, the tertiary Raimon d'Antusan. As the present section will show, all three of them had privileged access to the different material and immaterial resources flowing through the network.

	Lowest closeness centralities
Raimon de Johan	668
Peire Trencavel	678
Guilhem Serraller	692
Guilhem Verrier	695
Raimon d'Antusan	726
Peire Arrufat	736
Alisseta Boneta	738
Prous Boneta	740
Bernard Peyrotas	758
Estevana Boneta	761

Table 3.6.6 Closeness centrality

The wealthy Raimon d'Antusan was doubtlessly the most and best connected individual in the Beguin communities of Cintegabelle and Belpech—closely followed by his wife Bernarda, who shows the twelfth lowest closeness centrality, right below the Bonetas. Had their connections ended there, their access to network resources would have remained fairly limited, but that was not the case. Before their arrest and imprisonment in Les Allemans between the end of 1321 and the beginning of 1322, Raimon had travelled to

Narbonne, where he participated in the clandestine relic traffic and probably met with Peire Trencavel, among others. He in fact had frequent dealings with Trencavel who, back in 1318, had brought him and others the news about the friars burned in Marseille. Moreover, Raimon trusted Trencavel well enough to leave with him a remarkable amount of money to provide passage in the event of an eventual escape to the East. But Trencavel was not Raimon's only resource; in his confession of March 1322 Raimon admitted to keeping a piece of the stake to which the first Beguins were bound in October 1319, and both his and his wife's depositions prove that they both knew several of the rebel Spiritual friars of Narbonne. The Antusans received in their house members of the communities of Narbonne, Montréal, Montpellier, and Gignac, and it was there that Peire Tort and Peire Arrufat went to look for information on how the Beguins of the area had managed to be released from the episcopal gaol. Thus, two variables combine in the case of Raimon d'Antusan to make his position so central in terms of access, namely his acquaintance with a highly connected and mobile individual such as Peire Trencavel, and a long list of contacts all over the region, and with them a wide range of resources.

Peire Arrufat was precisely one of those resources. His deposition is not extant, but thanks to other sources we know that he was denounced by Guilhem Ros and captured while crossing a bridge on his way out of Cintegabelle, just after leaving the Antusan household. In June 1322, Peire would be burned in Carcassonne as a relapser. The deposition of his wife Raimunda, who shared his same fate and died at the stake in September 1329, reveals that just as the Antusans, the Arrufats received in their home in Narbonne several actors of the Beguin network, including fellow townsmen such as the merchant Peire Montlaur and, for a while, Peire Trencavel, and outsiders such as Raimon Lobat and Bernard Espinesseria, from Agde. But Peire, like Raimon d'Antusan, also travelled around, and thus had several acquaintances outside his hometown. He was for instance mentioned by the notary Bernard Fabre, who received both Arrufat and Trencavel in his house in Olargues; furthermore, thanks to the *culpa* of the merchant Berenguer Jaoul, from Lodève, who talked about the circulation of relics with Arrufat, we have evidence of Peire's attendance to the general sermon of Lunel in October 1321, where he would have met many other members of the community. Thus, the case of the Arrufat's, in particular Peire, shows some of the features already seen for the Antusans, a close relationship with one of the most and best connected

individuals, and an extensive acquaintanceship network maintained thanks to travels and community practices, such as the attendance to executions and the participation in the relic exchange.

It is those practices that linked together Peire Arrufat and the third actor discussed here, the priest Bernard Peyrotas. Peyrotas was from Lodève, where he was one of the many people summoned by the bishop between 1319 and 1320 to be interrogated about their involvement in the “heresy of the burned Beguins.” After being released he moved to Montpellier, where he was forced to appear before the inquisitor and abjure heresy in November 1321, but he was captured again in Lodève in July 1322. One year later, in August 1323, Bernard would be defrocked and handed over to the secular arm in his hometown.⁷⁷² The case of Bernard Peyrotas slightly differs from the pattern established by Raimon d’Antusan and Peire Arrufat. Bernard was not directly connected to any of the major players of the movement and it was his own mobility what increased both his number of acquaintances and his potential access to network resources. These included books and relics, which he mostly obtained from his numerous connections in Béziers—with whom he attended several executions—material support and shelter, especially from his fellow townsmen and women but also from a few acquaintances in Montpellier.

See Figures 3.6.11 and 3.6.12 for a layout by closeness centrality according to gender and religious status, respectively.

⁷⁷² Peyrotas was sentenced on 3 July 1323, but he was not executed until 10 August that same year. This was normal practice for convicted priests, for they could not be executed unless they were first defrocked. For instance, in the case of the Franciscan priest Peire Julià, since no bishops were available to defrock him, a postponement of the sentence was recommended lest he deduced he was going to be handed over to the secular arm and decided to commit suicide; see Doat 27, fol. 162r: “(...) et inter alias causas specialiter allegato quod si dicta sententia modo vel die crastina ferretur et promulgaretur, et nisi dicta degradatio protinus et continuo executioni debite demandetur, periculum immineret, pro eo videlicet quia si dictus Frater Petrus Juliani videret et perciperet se degradandum et seculari Curie relinquendum, forsitan desperabit et per desperationem se posset forsitan suffocare vel alias morti tradere.”

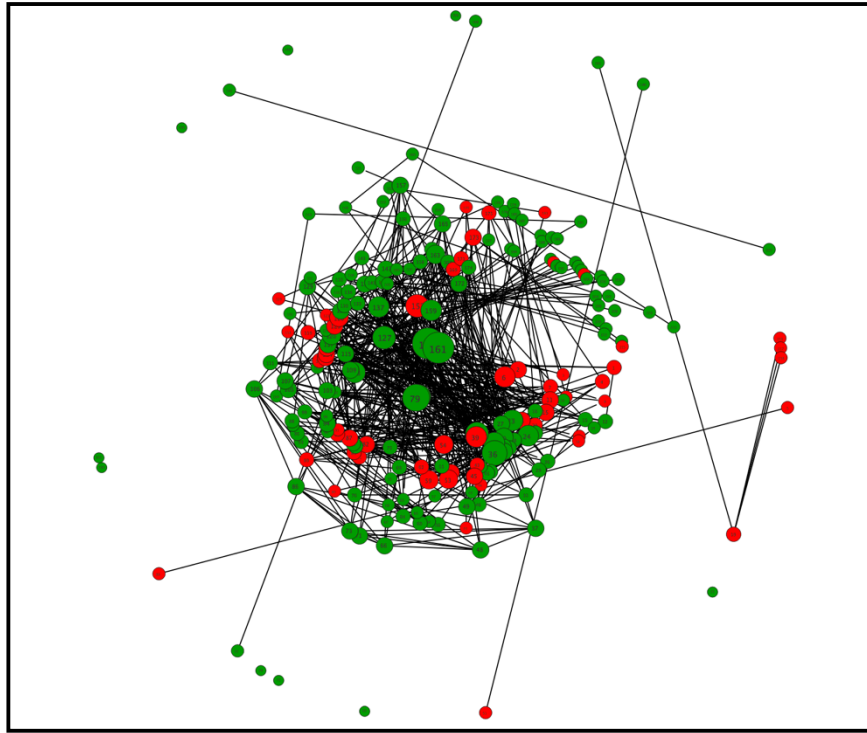


Figure 3.6.11 Closeness centrality by gender

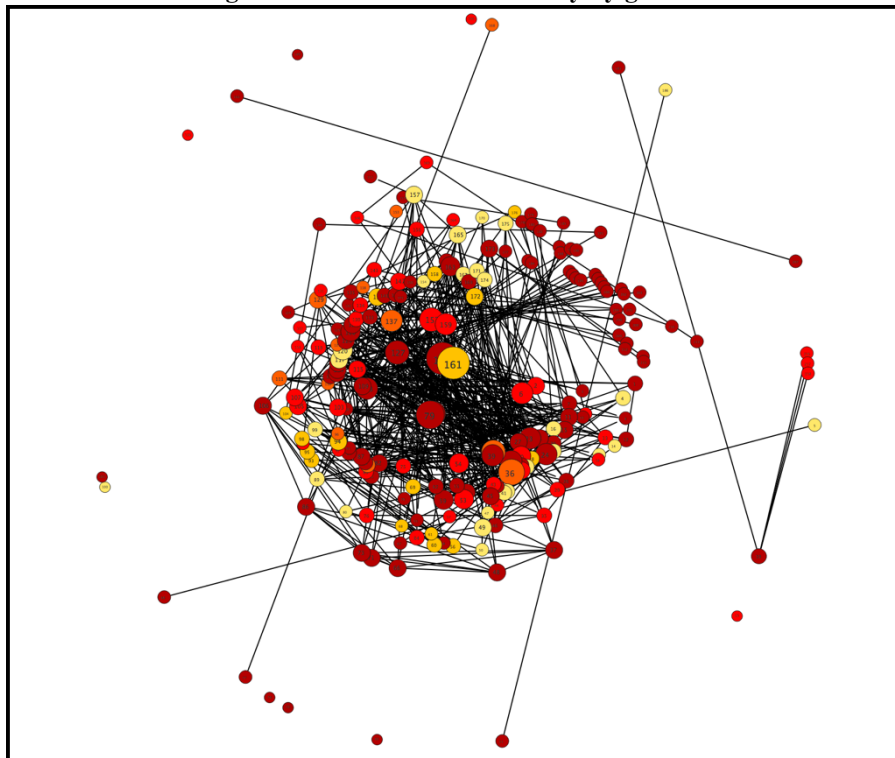


Figure 3.6.12 Closeness centrality by religious status

As regards the presence of women, the distribution of closeness centralities shows no significant change with respect to the results of the analysis based on eigenvector values. Five women appear among the twenty actors with the lowest closeness centralities—that is

25% of said actors are women, slightly below their average representation in the network—and the Boneta cluster is still at the top, with Bernarda d'Antusan right behind them. However, it should be noted that in this case for the first time Alisseta occupies a better position than her sister Prous, which would again point to the importance of mobility to improve the access of any individual to network resources. Prous did move around, especially inside Montpellier and, at least on one occasion, she went on pilgrimage to Olivi's tomb in Narbonne, but Alisseta had a wider daily range of action which took her to Maguelone and Gignac and allowed her to maintain more varied connections.

Unfortunately, there are not enough data as to gauge the degree of distortion potentially introduced by long transmission delays, or, in network terms, high closeness centralities. This would be especially important in order to understand how doctrinal tenets and practices spread, but the gaps and lack of consistency of inquisitorial records make it impossible to correlate both variables. For instance, the case of the Sacourt brothers, introduced in Section 3.4, shows how the Olivian notion of marriage as a state had been remarkably transformed into the idea that likened it to a sort of prostitution. Both Guilhem and Raimon Sacourt show some of the highest closeness centralities, which would in turn support the connection between message distortion and their peripheral positions in the network. However, the truth is that the two brothers also had some of the lowest connectivities and potentially least influential positions and therefore it is not possible to discern whether the distortion of the message was simply due to the fact that they had indeed very little to do with the network as a whole.

It is not possible either to compare the cases of the inhabitants of Montréal in these terms, for the sources about them are too different in nature; whereas the deposition of Peire Tort is full of doctrinal content, the *culpae* of Flors and Paula Baró are mostly concerned with clandestine practices and only mention the belief that the executed men and women had been unjustly sentenced and were holy martyrs, which was in fact the most widespread belief among Beguins. Furthermore, even in cases of very high closeness centrality, that is, of peripheral actors with little access to network resources, we find very well informed individuals. This is the case of Peire Gastaud, a tertiary from Belpech whose *culpa* was focused on a set of doctrinal tenets that were mostly the same as those maintained by other

Beguin actors in the region.⁷⁷³ This is also apparent in the charges brought against Germà Frener for “blaspheming against Pope John XXII and in favour of the Bavarian emperor and the new Franciscan pope.” As noted above, Germà was praising the Antipope Nicholas V only a month after his appointment by Emperor Louis the Bavarian. Thus, on the one hand, the differences in the sources hinder comparative analyses of the fidelity of the information flowing through the network. On the other though, the available data suggest that said information spread at the same time from a rather varied set of sources scattered over the territory.

On average, the presence of these sources of information, which could be either network actors or different kinds of written texts, improved the possibilities of any individual to access said information regardless of their position. In contrast, only a few actors were in a position to control the flow of resources, and betweenness centrality is the most suitable centrality measure to find them out. As discussed in Section 1.3, betweenness centrality quantifies the role of an actor as an intermediary; the higher its value, the more an actor is likely to act as a broker between different groups that would otherwise not be connected to each other. For instance, according to the extant records, the repeatedly mentioned Guilhem Serraller is the only explicit link between the active communities of Lodève—his hometown—and Montpellier, where he was not only acquainted with the Bonetas but also with the wealthy draper Johan Orlach. In principle, were we to remove Serraller from the network, these two numerous groups would not maintain any connection whatsoever. Of course, this is taking matters too far, in particular, for two main reasons. First and foremost, the extent to which a single actor is essential is inversely proportional to the ability of other actors to form new ties. In other words, would the need arise to establish a link, to get resources flowing from Lodève to Montpellier or vice versa, new connections would form. Secondly, the cross-examination of the different testimonies reveals that despite the fact that we cannot identify their names, Bernard Peyrotas—who was also from Lodève—stayed in Montpellier for several months and it stands to reason that he made new acquaintances or reinforced previous connections while he was there.⁷⁷⁴

⁷⁷³ For Peire Gastaud’s *culpa*, see Pales-Gobilliard, *Le livre des sentences*, 1396.

⁷⁷⁴ As noted in Section 3.5 above, Bernard Peyrotas described a quite personal relation with the Beguins imprisoned in the episcopal gaol of Maguelone, but this group was also assisted by Alisseta Boneta and the

However, in spite of these caveats, considering cases such as that of Guilhem Serraller can provide insight into the overall connectedness of the network and the links between different communities. Individuals who act as brokers are also known as gatekeepers due to the potentially high level of control they can exert, which can in turn either facilitate the flow of beliefs, information, and all kinds of material resources, or impede it disrupting the performance of the network. In general, a well-connected network will have many redundancies so that the number of actors who play a gate-keeping role is minimised as much as possible. In a context of persecution, where any actor, but especially the most visible ones are likely to be captured and removed from the equation, this optimisation of links between communities is especially important, for it can mean the difference between survival and dismantlement.

The list of the ten actors with the highest betweenness centrality (Table 3.6.7) again includes some of the names that keep appearing as the most central individuals: Peire Trencavel, Raimon de Johan, Guilhem Serraller, and Guilhem Verrier. However, it shows some particularities that need to be interpreted in light of a more qualitative approach to the sources and the network as a whole. The most apparent one is that Table 3.6.7 in fact lists eleven names. The reason behind it is the exceptionality of the presence of Raimon Forner among the potential brokers. Forner was burned in Pézenas in September 1321, and it was for clandestinely salvaging his remains that the notary Raimon Berlet was falsely denounced before the inquisitor by the group of conspirators who wanted to bring about his downfall. Thus, although in all likelihood they were not directly acquainted with Forner, he is actually the only link between this group and the rest of the network, hence his seemingly high betweenness, which needs to be nuanced accordingly.

merchant Bernard Castilló. Thus, despite the lack of a direct connection, it is rather likely that Peyrotas knew these two prominent actors of the community of Montpellier.

	Highest betweenness centralities
Peire Trencavel	5697,83
Raimon de Johan	5359,19
Guilhem Serraller	3767,48
Guilhem Verrier	2869,84
Bernard Peyrotas	2827,41
Peire Arrufat	2448,30
Raimon Forner	1674,00
Raimon d'Antusan	1580,95
Peire de Tornamira	1394,43
Bernard Mauri	1370,49
Bernard Malaura	1362,64

Table 3.6.7 Betweenness centrality

The reappearance of the priests Bernard Mauri and Peire de Tornamira among the most central actors can be explained in terms of the extant sources available for them. As noted above, their cases provide information about numerous connections, but more importantly in regard to betweenness, the depositions of Mauri and Tornamira are the only recorded instance of the involvement of most of said connections in the Beguin movement. Out of the nineteen individuals who appear in Mauri's deposition, as many as fourteen were only ever mentioned there, and the same happens with twelve of the seventeen people singled out in Tornamira's case. Thus, to all effects and purposes, these two priests act as brokers between those individuals and the Beguin network, a result that would be significantly altered were the other extant sources to include more details. Likewise, the presence of the butcher Bernard Malaura in Table 3.6.7 follows from the fact that his deposition is the only evidence of the connection of several Franciscan friars to the Beguin network and of the execution of some of them on these grounds.⁷⁷⁵

In contrast, the high betweenness centrality of Peire Arrufat and Raimon d'Antusan is based on their actual role as brokers between the communities of Cintegabelle and

⁷⁷⁵ Doat 28, fols. 18v: "Item dixit quod a fratribus Francisco Ariberti, Stephano Seret, Jacobo de Cesteramnicis, et Janneto de Claromonte et Johanne Bauscii postea condempnatis et combustis, dum starent apud ecclesiam Beati Antonii prope Lodovam, audivit."

Belpech and the rest of the network, and the same can be said about Bernard Peyrotas, who linked together the active group of Lodève, the cluster of Béziers and, probably, some members of the Beguin scene in Montpellier. Accordingly, the significantly lower position of the Boneta sisters and their companion Alaraxis Bedoc regarding betweenness centrality is precisely due to the same fact that makes them so central for the overall network. They were outstanding members of the Beguin community of Montpellier, one of the most vigorous foci of the movement, and therefore, despite their centrality in terms of access to resources and potential influence, they did not act as brokers, mostly because they did not need to, for most of their connections were already well-connected themselves.

In general, the centrality of women appears significantly reduced when looking at the value of betweenness centrality. As can be seen in Table 3.6.7, there are no women among the ten actors with the highest betweenness, and only three women make it to the group of the twenty best positioned individuals—Bernarda d’Antusan, Prous, and Alisseta Boneta—which is much below the statistic representativeness of women in the movement (around 30%) and must therefore be explored. This is also evident in Figure 3.6.13, a layout by betweenness centrality and gender. On the one hand, the cases above show how betweenness is particularly sensitive to source bias and, as established in the previous pages, source bias particularly affects women, whose connectivity is downplayed by the inquisitorial sampling method. On the other, the role played by the connectedness of each separate community in the centrality measures of its members suggests that the granularity of the dataset is likely to obscure the workings of smaller groups with respect to the whole network.

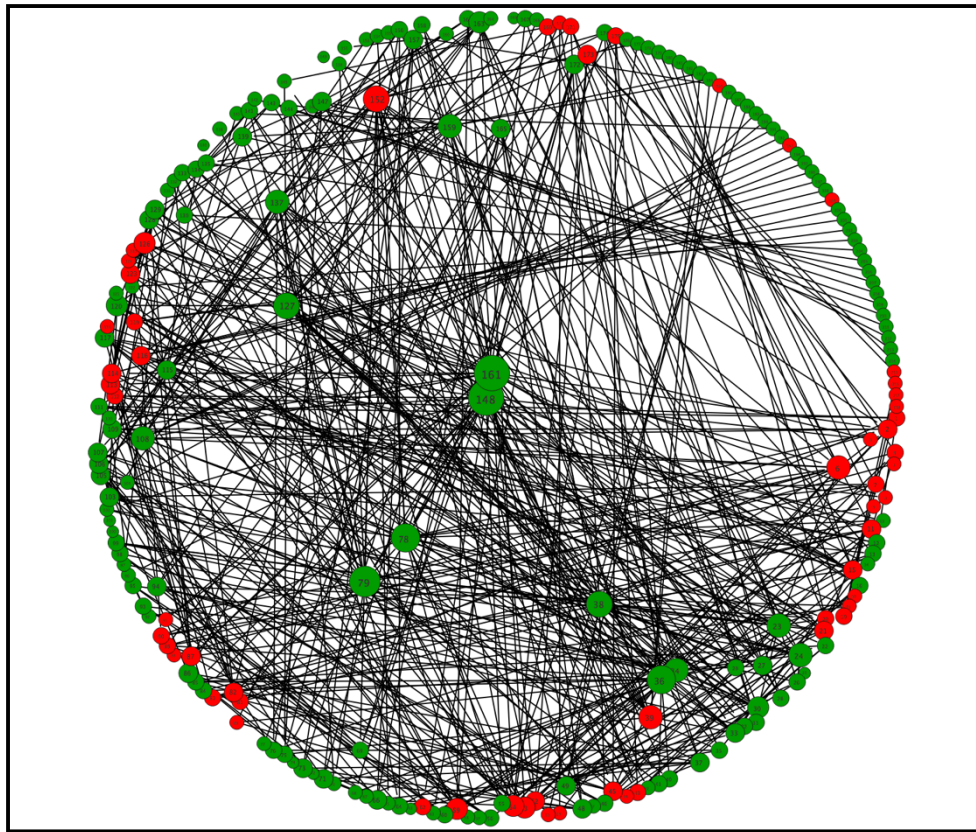


Figure 3.6.13 Betweenness centrality by gender

That is to say, aside from the aforementioned exceptions, the individuals with the highest betweenness centrality share two main features, namely, their mobility and the fact that they act as brokers between whole village- or town-based communities. As befits the social context, male mobility was on average greater than female mobility and, as a result, women are far less likely to be acting as intermediaries between communities settled far apart from each other. Furthermore, the four ‘operative’ leaders of the movement were also the most mobile elements of the network and therefore the most visible, as can be seen both in the aforementioned Figure 3.6.13 and in Figure 3.6.14, its counterpart by religious status. The subsequent inclusion of their names in inquisitorial questionings proposed above would then reinforce their betweenness, which could be the cause for their four topmost positions in the betweenness ranking. However, whereas men are unequivocally predominant in outbound brokering roles, examples such as that of Flors Baró show that it is necessary to reassess the betweenness centrality of women within smaller community boundaries.

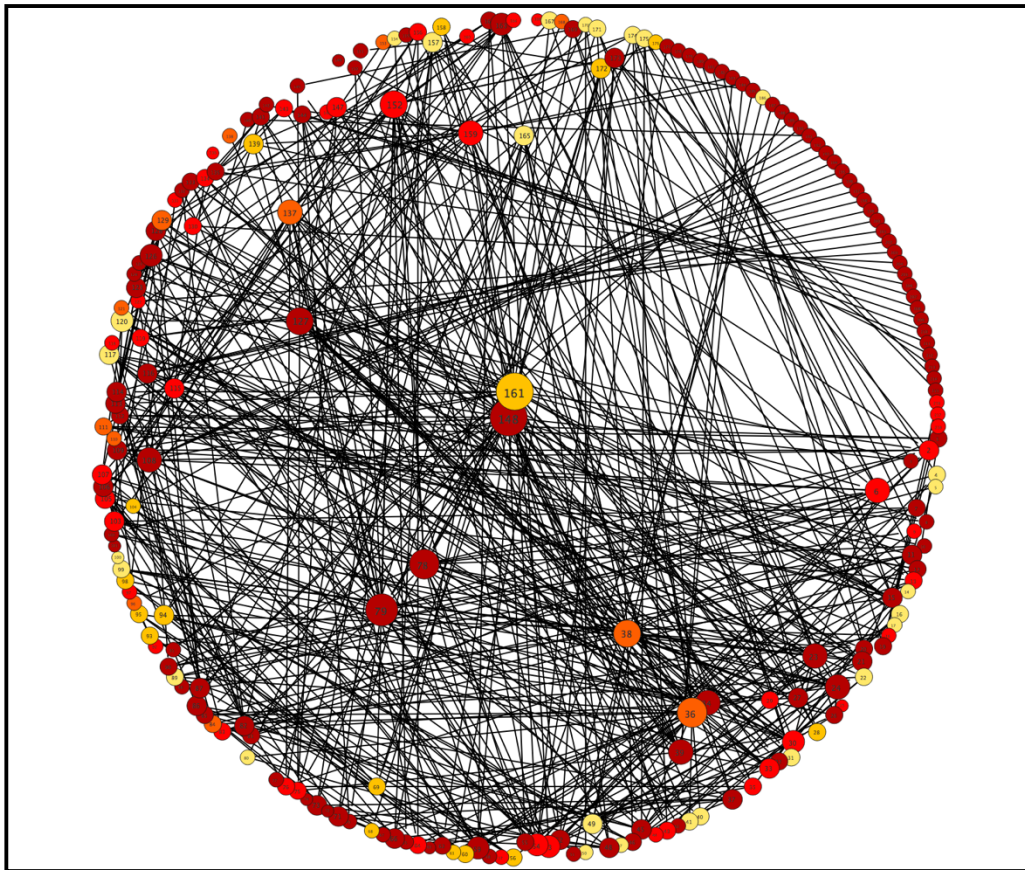


Figure 3.6.14 Betweenness centrality by religious status

Finally, it should be noted that the measures of closeness and betweenness presented here refer to the network of acquaintances, that is, they respectively point to those individuals with the greatest potential access to resources and the greatest potential ability to control the Beguin network as a whole. But acquaintanceship only encompasses the most basic and at the same time broadest type of ties that the relational approach to inquisitorial sources can help analyse. It is also necessary to take into account other subsets of relational data to fully grasp the different roles played by the actors and the centrality of their positions. Thus, analysing the structure of the material support network as a directed network formed by in- and out-ties can shed light on the relative importance of recipients and benefactors but also on the links between communities and on the organisational level of the Beguin network in its entirety and the reach of its survival strategies. Likewise, the commensality network can add to the qualitative approach to the sources to help nuance the results yielded by the analysis of the acquaintanceship network. These combined perspectives further our understanding of the social dynamics at play and of their interaction with the spread of doctrinal content and devotional practices among dissident movements. In this respect, it is

especially important to gauge the stance of actors with high betweenness centralities, not only because they can potentially control what flows through the network but also because in the case of beliefs, practices, and information, what they choose to pass on will influence the performance and evolution of the whole movement.

3.6.4 Node Filtering: The Beguin Network without Its Leaders

At some point between August and November 1328, Pope John XXII sent a letter to Jean du Prat—by then the inquisitor of Carcassonne—so that he would refrain from pronouncing a sentence on the case of a “certain woman” named Boneta in the city of Montpellier.⁷⁷⁶ Instead, she was to be taken to Carcassonne, where she would be sentenced as a heretic and, presumably, handed over to the secular arm to be executed. There is little doubt that this woman was none other than Na Prous Boneta, and although the document gives no inkling as to the nature of the “reasonable causes” that advised the transfer of the prisoner, the fact that she was singled out in this manner can be interpreted in terms of her influential position in the community of Montpellier. Moving her to a different diocese altogether was likely to diminish the social impact of her execution.

As noted above, Na Prous was condemned not only as a heretic but also as a heresiarch; in fact, according to the extant records, as the only heresiarch in the whole Beguin movement. She claimed to be the incarnation of the Holy Spirit and, as such, the herald of the forthcoming Third Age prophesied by Olivi; a role that Christ himself had revealed to her. The exceptionality of her visionary authority did not go unnoticed by

⁷⁷⁶ This letter, extant in the Vatican Archive (Reg. Vat., vol. CXIV, n. 1795) is damaged to the point that some parts are illegible, including the date, so that only the year of the pontificate has survived, “anno duodecimo.” Since John XXII was elected in August 1316, this provides a terminus post quem for the letter, which had to be written after August 1328 but before the public pronouncement of the sentence, which took place on 11 November that same year. Jean-Marie Vidal, who edited the letter in 1913 erroneously dated it to 1326-1327; Vidal, *Bullaire*, 128–29: “Johanni de Prato, ordinis fratrum predicatorum, inquisitori heretice pravitatis in partibus Carcassonensis. Nuper fidedigna relatione percepimus quod super inquisitione contra quamdam mulierem (...) Bonete, ratione criminis heresis cuius (...) fore culpabilis dicitur per te factam, intendis apud Montepessulanum, Magalonensis diocesis, diffinitivam sententiam proferendam. Sane cum certis causis rationabilibus melius et expedientius videatur quod apud Carcassonam locum utique ad tale opus accomodum sententia huiusmodi proferatur, discretioni tue presentium tenore mandamus quatinus apud Carcassonam et non in Montepessulano dictam sententiam prout et quando tipi expedierit proferre te disponas. Datum Avinioni, idibus (...), anno duodecimo.”

inquisitors, who strived both to convince her to recant and to build a strong case against her. Thus, Na Prous was the only woman whose name was explicitly incorporated into the inquisitorial questioning of other members of the Beguin community, including that of the renowned former fugitive Raimon de Johan. Raimon had frequently visited the Boneta household—as did Guilhem Verrier and Guilhem Serraller—and just as the widows Ermessenda Grossa and Sibil·la Cazelle, he had listened to Na Prous's teachings.⁷⁷⁷ None of the visitors interrogated about Na Prous's exceptional claims admitted to ever having believed her, but neither did they denounce her and, in fact, they kept visiting the house and sharing meals with Prous and her companions, Alisseta Boneta and Alaraxis Bedoc, who even under questioning proved to be her staunch defenders.⁷⁷⁸ The records of the case against the priest Peire de Tornamira show how Na Prous was deeply involved in the Beguin scene of Montpellier, she attended Beguin gatherings and even participated in the decisions regarding the escape strategies and routes for the most wanted members.⁷⁷⁹ After her capture and imprisonment—in all likelihood, in the episcopal gaol of Maguelone—she was still visited by outstanding members of the community, such as the draper Johan Orlach, and even after her transfer to the inquisitorial *mur* in Carcassonne, she kept influencing other prisoners with her example and teachings.⁷⁸⁰

⁷⁷⁷ For Raimon de Johan's words on the teachings of Na Prous Boneta, see Doat 27, fols. 40v–41r: "Item audivit a Na Prous vel a sociabus suis errores infrascriptos, videlicet quod Spiritus Sanctus datus erat eidem Na Prous sicut filius Dei datus est beatæ Virgini. Item quod sacramenta non sunt salutis. Item quod Ecclesia mortua est spiritualiter. Item quod non indigemus corpore Christi quia tempus est Spiritus sancti. Item quod si aliqui volebat salvari oportebat quod crederet ipsi Na Prous." Ermessenda Grossa and Sibil·la Cazelle's versions are recorded in *ibid.*, fols. 14v–15r, and 16v–17r, respectively.

⁷⁷⁸ As noted above, the deposition of Estevana Boneta is not extant but she was condemned to life imprisonment in Carcassonne in September 1329, a little less than a year after Alisseta and Alaraxis Bedoc received the same sentence; see Doat 27, fols. 228r–230v.

⁷⁷⁹ Germain, "Une consultation inquisitoriale," 338: "Postmodum dictus loquens fuit conversatus in Montepessulano cum personis quas nominat, scilicet cum Bernardo de Castilhon, sederio, cum Na Bodina, cum Na Pros, cum Vidaletto de Montepessulano et Raymundo Johannis de Montereali, apostata Fratrum Minorum, cum quibus aliquando comedit et bibit in domo dicte Na Bodina, in qua domo fuit tractatum et concordatum, quod ipse loquens procuraret ad eundem et transeundum mare, cum illis qui volebant ire."

⁷⁸⁰ Johan Orlach confessed to having visited Na Prous in prison, where he learned of the capture of Guilhem Serraller and decided to change his name and flee; see Doat 27, fols. 25v–26r: "(...) sed ad visitandum Na Prous Bonete hæresiarcham in dicto muro detentæ venit auditaque captione præfati Guillelmi Serralii citatus per officialem Magalonensem aufugit a principio cognomen suum mutavit." After her transfer to Carcassonne, both Guilhema Civile and Guilhem Ademar, who were also imprisoned there, claimed that she had convinced them not to confess before the inquisitor; see Doat 28, fol. 228r: "(...) dicens quod citius dixisset veritatem nisi fuisset Na Prous Boneta detenta in muro prope ipsam quæ a confitendo retraxit eandem," and *ibid.*, fol. 231r: "(...) inductus fuit primo, ut asserit, ad negandum prædictam per Na Prous Bonete de Montepesullano detentam in muro."

This qualitative approach to the relevance of her figure and her connections is further confirmed by her rather extensive ego-network (Figure 3.6.15), which comprises nineteen individuals—twelve men and seven women—and, with the only exception of Peire Trencavel, includes all the other repeatedly mentioned leaders of the Beguin movement.

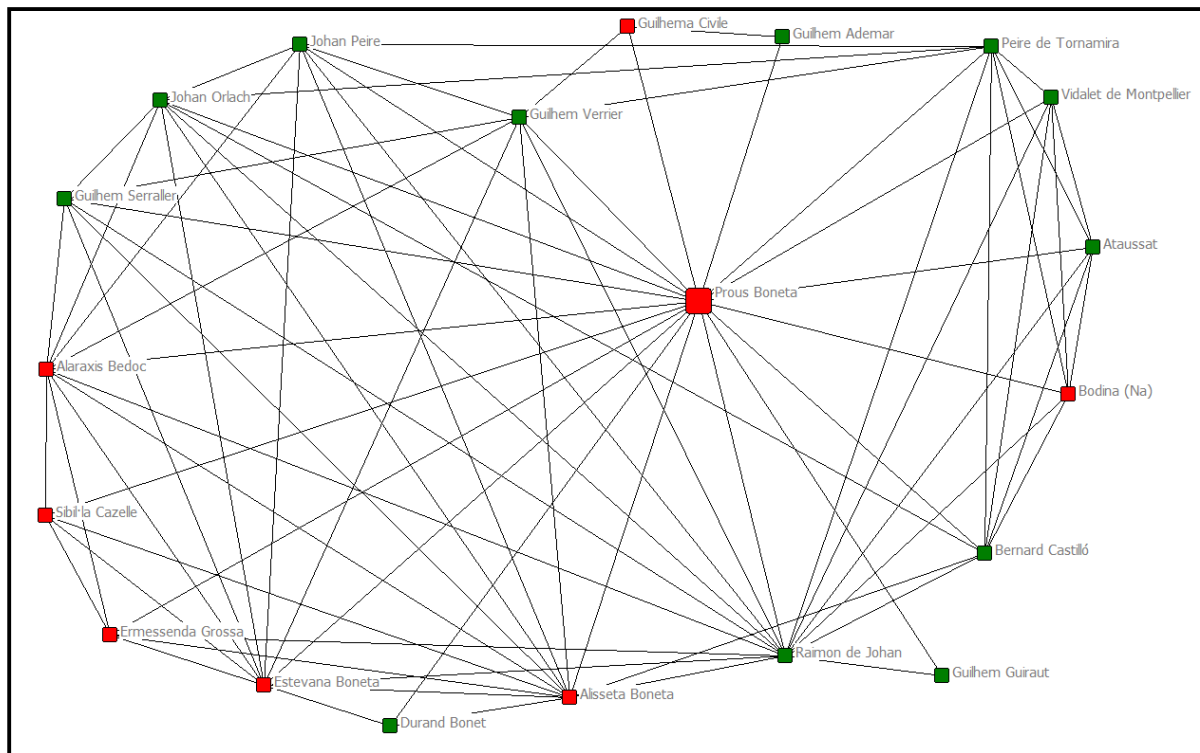


Figure 3.6.15 Ego-network of Na Prous Boneta

Along with said leaders, Na Prous features prominently in most of the centrality measures discussed in the previous sub-sections, but it is worth noting that unlike them, she does not appear to have been particularly involved in the material support of the Beguin network nor in the circulation of the different resources flowing through it. Since her leading role can hardly be denied in light of the previous analysis, this lack of involvement would suggest that hers was a kind of leadership based not so much on her intervention in operational aspects as in her unique spiritual charisma. In order to gain a deeper understanding of the workings of the community that surrounded her and, ultimately, of her function in it, it may be useful to apply a specific type of node filtering that consists in

removing the 'ego' from their own ego network, that is, in this case, removing Na Prous and analysing the remaining structure (Figure 3.6.16).⁷⁸¹

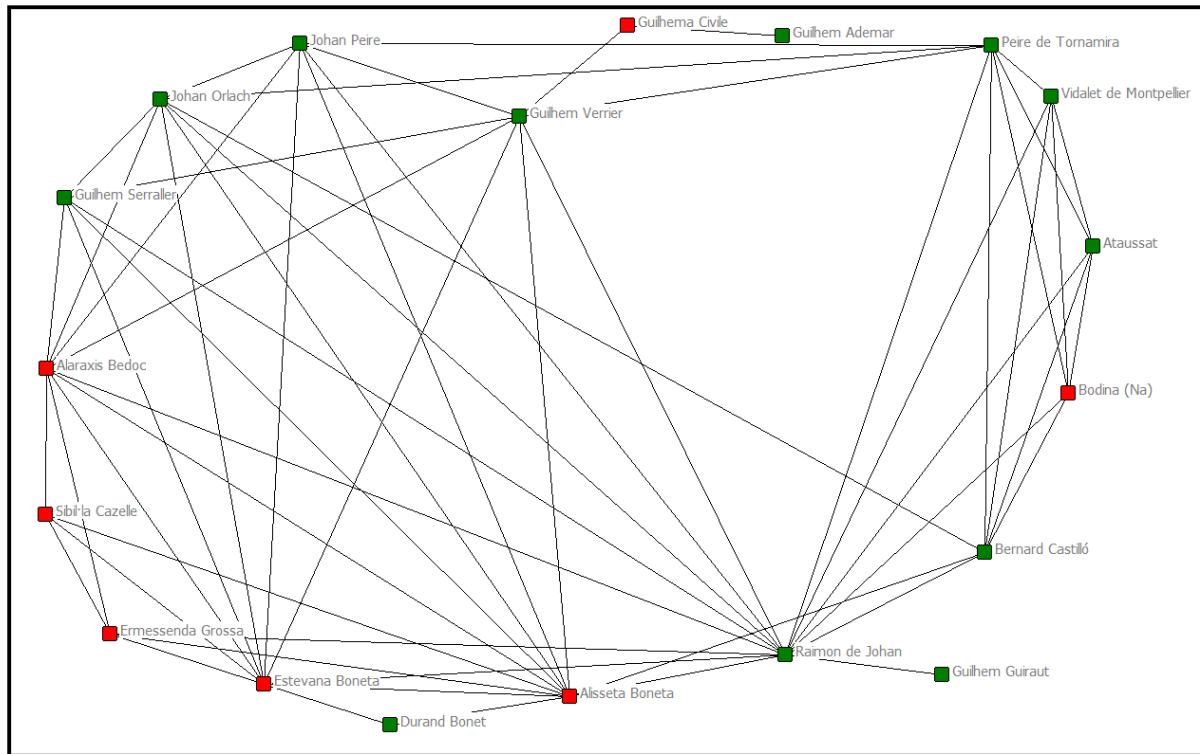


Figure 3.6.16 Ego-network of Na Prous Boneta without 'ego'

The resulting graph is rather striking in the sense that it remains much the same despite the removal of the ego. In other words, the absence of Na Prous does not result in the dismantlement of her ego-network, furthermore, it does not even leave any of the alters isolated. There are multiple paths binding actors to each other, thus resulting in a redundantly connected community where Na Prous does not act as a broker but rather as a pole of attraction. This structure in fact matches the model of several other female figures of spiritual authority in a wide variety of religious contexts. To name but a couple of related examples, this was the case of Rixendis of Narbonne, whose visionary experience had attracted the attention of over thirty men and women who gathered around her in 1288, and also that of Guglielma of Bohemia, a holy woman who established herself near Milan around the 1260s–1270s soon acquiring a reputation as a miracle-worker among the laity, and

⁷⁸¹ As discussed above, an ego network is the part of a network formed by a specific node, called 'ego', and the actors he or she is connected to, known as 'alters'. On ego networks see, among others, Borgatti, Everett and Johnson, *Analyzing Social Networks*, 494–432.

ending up as the inspiring figure that, after her death, would give rise to the dissident Guglielmite movement.⁷⁸²

Performing the same kind of analysis on the ego network of one of the more logistically involved leaders of the Beguin community, in particular Peire Trencavel, sheds further light on the dynamics at play. Figure 3.6.17 shows his thirty-three most direct acquaintances—only a fourth of which were women—and how he was connected to all the other major players of the movement, with the only exception of Na Prous Boneta.

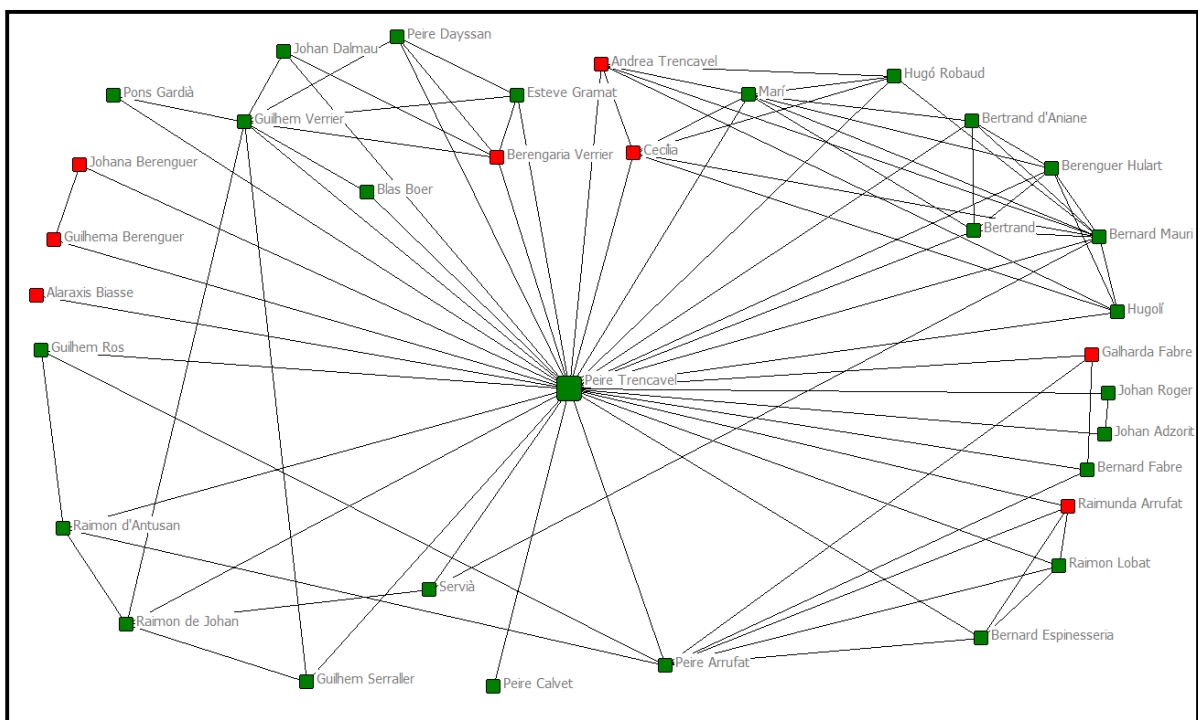


Figure 3.6.17 Ego-network of Peire Trencavel

Once Trencavel is removed from his ego network (Figure 3.6.18) the picture does change, but again, not so much as could be expected. In this case a few actors end up isolated from the rest. However, it is important to recall that this is only Trencavel's ego network and

⁷⁸² For a comparison between the figures of Na Prous and Guglielma, see Barbara Newman, *From Virile Woman to WomanChrist. Studies in Medieval Religion and Literature* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995). For further reading on the Guglielmite movement, see, among others Luisa Muraro, *Guglielma e Maifreda: storia di un'eresia femminista* (Milan: La Tartaruga, 2003); Janine Larmon Peterson, "Social Roles, Gender Inversion, and the Heretical Sect: The Case of the Guglielmites," *Viator* 35 (2004): 203–20; Barbara Newman, "The Heretic Saint: Guglielma of Bohemia, Milan, and Brunate," *Church History* 74, no. 1 (2005): 1–38; and Marina Benedetti, *Milano 1300: i processi inquisitoriali contro le devote e i devoti di santa Guglielma* (Milan: Libri Scheiwiller, 1999).

therefore this isolation only means that said actors were connected to the rest of the thirty three alters thanks to Trencavel, but does not imply that they lacked acquaintances elsewhere.

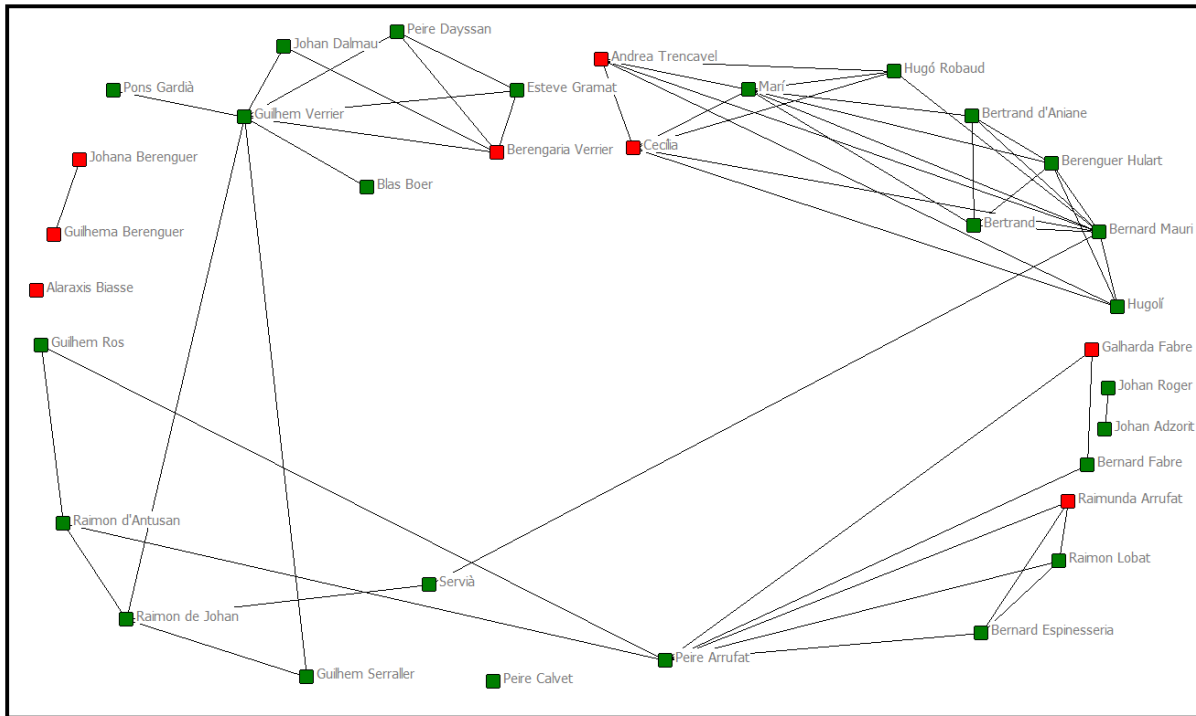


Figure 3.6.18 Ego-network of Peire Trencavel without 'ego'

For instance, Peire Calvet, a tertiary from Cintegabelle, was acquainted with other Franciscan tertiaries and sympathisers in Narbonne and Montpellier, but these individuals were not connected to Peire Trencavel, and thus do not appear in the ego network above.⁷⁸³ Furthermore, being from Cintegabelle, which was not a large village, it is highly unlikely that Calvet did not know the members of the Beguin community there, although there is no direct evidence supporting this fact. Something similar happens in the case of the Berenguer sisters, Johana and Guilhema. In the pages above I have shown that they had family ties that linked them to their home village of Montagnac, and that once established in Narbonne they were in a position to help fugitive Franciscans and to get help from others, but in Figure 3.6.14, in the absence of Trencavel, they seem to be only connected to each other. Likewise, the priests Johan Roger and Johan Adzorit, with no other ties in the ego network above, did

⁷⁸³ See Calvet's *culpa* in Pales-Gobilliard, *Le livre des sentences*, 1366–70.

share other acquaintances among the Beguins of Béziers.⁷⁸⁴ In fact, the only member of Trencavel's ego network who ends up truly isolated without him is Alaraxis Biasse, for whom no other explicit connections are recorded. This apparent isolation is in fact due to the nature of the extant sources, for Alaraxis, Olivi's own niece, was very well-connected within the Franciscan milieu, even if the only name present in her deposition is Trencavel's.

The comparison between the cases of Na Prous and Peire Trencavel thus yields some interesting results. Besides the relative isolation of some alters just discussed, the most remarkable difference between these two examples is the apparent decrease in connectedness of Trencavel's ego network once the ego is removed. Although the result is by no means a dismantled network, the existence of different components is quite evident. In other words, there are several distinct sets of actors in which every actor can reach every other but is not so easily connected to other parts of the ego network. This model suggests that, unlike Na Prous, Trencavel was not a pole of attraction around which the members of a pre-existing close-knit community gathered, but rather a broker-like figure that actively facilitated the connection between different groups. Furthermore, as regards gender homophily, that is, the tendency to establish connections with people of the same sex, whereas 36% of Na Prous's acquaintances were women—which is in accordance with the statistical representativeness of women in the Beguin movement—76% of Peire Trencavel's ego network was formed by men, which suggests a higher ratio of same sex ties. I will return to this point in the following sub-section.

The model of Peire Trencavel largely matches the structure of the ego networks of Raimon de Johan, Guilhem Verrier, and Guilhem Serraller. This seems to support the idea that their perceived leadership was based on their active involvement in the workings of the Beguin network, which in turn made them extremely visible to inquisitors. Their centrality relied on their role as intermediaries in the exchange of resources: receiving, providing, or simply transferring material support, but also carrying books, spreading news and doctrinal content, and in the case of Raimon de Johan, attending to pastoral needs.⁷⁸⁵ Given the

⁷⁸⁴ For Johan Roger and Johan Adzorit's connections, see Roger's deposition in Doat 27, fols. 172v–175v.

⁷⁸⁵ According to his own confession and to many other depositions, Raimon de Johan celebrated mass and administered the sacraments while on the run; see, among many others, the depositions of Miracle Esteve (Doat 28, fol. 191v: "(...) dictoque apostata confessa fuit sacramentaliter"), Arnauda Mainier (*ibid.*, fol. 197r:

structural importance of their functions, it is worth questioning to what extent the centrality of these five individuals—including Na Prous and her spiritual leadership—made them essential for the existence of the Beguin network. I have already pointed out that only very few individuals ended up truly isolated without their intervention, but applying similar node filtering strategies to the whole acquaintanceship network can provide a better idea about whether their brokering and cohesive roles were vital to the point that removing them would prompt the dismantlement of the community.

In order to gauge the structural importance of these individuals, the graphs in Figures 3.6.19 and 3.6.20 show the effect of removing them from the complete Beguin acquaintanceship network (the different colours of the squares representing the actors respond to the different religious statuses considered in this case, see legend to Figure 3.6.20).

“(…) eidemque portanti secularem habitum subtus unum mantellum peccata sua sacramentaliter confessa fuit”), and Peire Montlaur (*ibid.*, fol. 223r: “missamque ab uno apostatarum prædictorum scilicet a fratre Raymundo Johannis semel aut bis audivit).

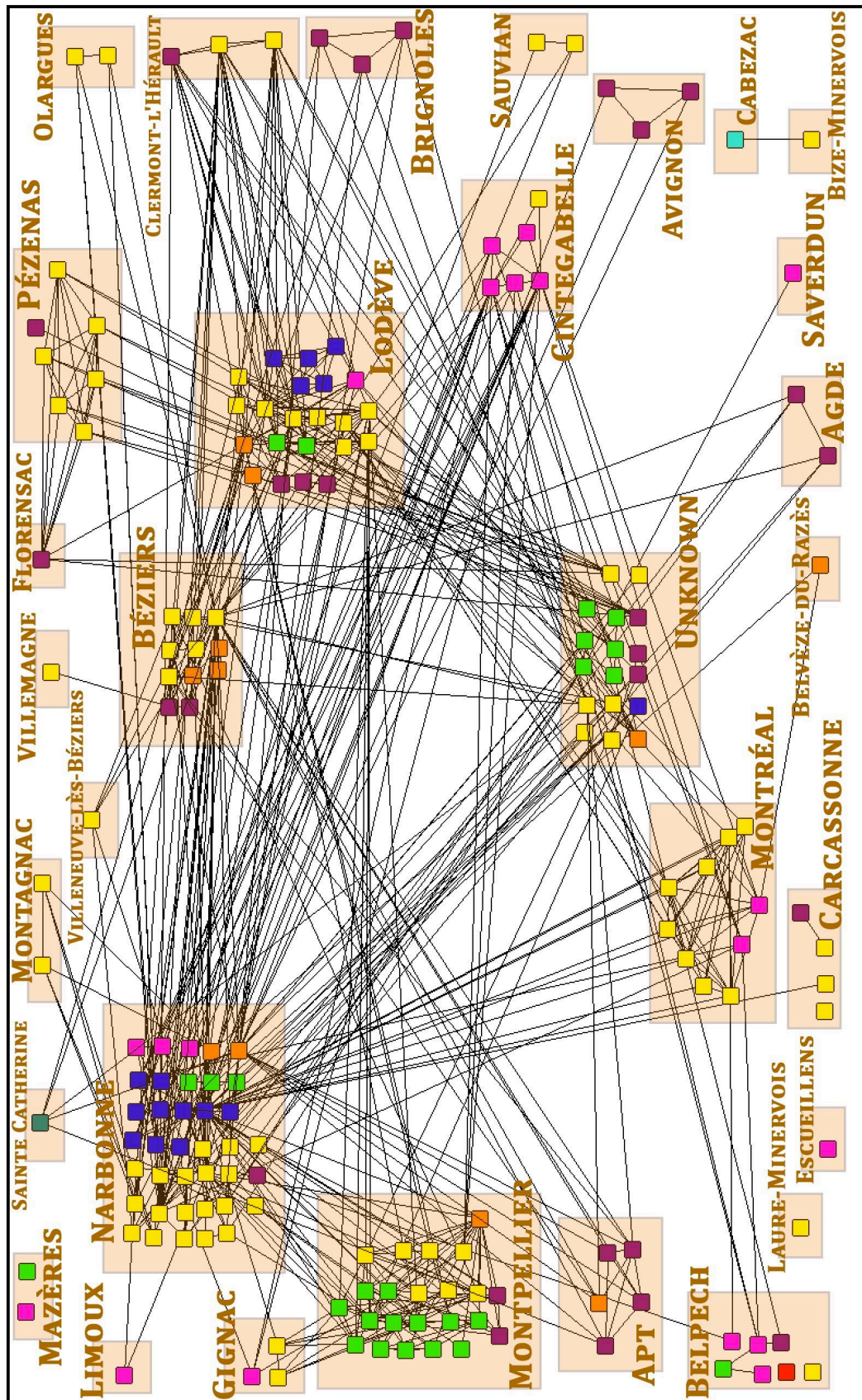


Figure 3.6.19 Beguin acquaintanceship network

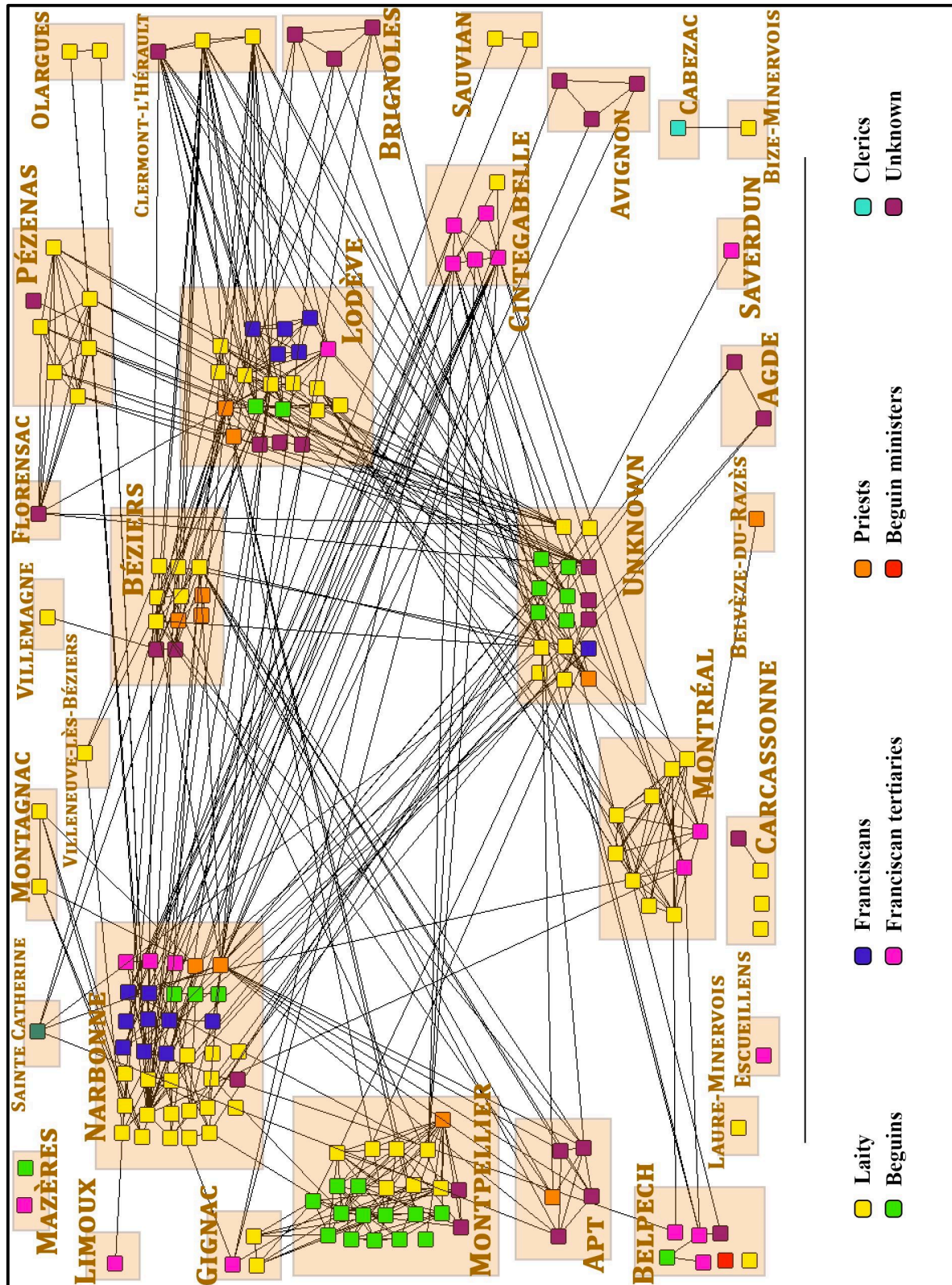


Figure 3.6.20 Beguin acquaintanceship network without 'leaders'

As can be seen from the comparison of both graphs, in the absence of these figures most of the network components, that is, most of the different communities remain connected to the rest of the network. The only exception is the community of Carcassonne. The members of said group were Alax d'Aubourt, Isabel de Bourges, the widow Jacma Sobiran, and her late husband Bertrand. The deposition of Alax is not extant, although from the confession of her companion Isabel it is apparent that both women had moved to Carcassonne from the rather distant village of Bourges and that both of them were summoned before the inquisitorial court.⁷⁸⁶ Isabel's *culpa* does not include any explicit mention to any other actor of the Beguin network but she had frequently visited the Beguins imprisoned in the *mur* providing them with food that she and Alax had bought with the money that two unnamed members of the Beguin community had given them. Thus, their isolation is only apparent and does not depend on the absence of the leading figures of the movement. In contrast, Jacma Sobiran's only explicit connection was Raimon de Johan and therefore she and her husband end up isolated without him. However, thanks to her deposition we learn that although Jacma's relation with Raimon de Johan predates the beginning of the inquisitorial persecution, once it started she went to visit him in Montréal where she would have met the Baró family or at least Raimon de Johan's nephew—if she did not know them already, for someone had to inform her of Raimon's whereabouts.⁷⁸⁷ Moreover, it should be noted that given the demographic importance of Carcassonne at the time, the presence of a Franciscan convent there since 1240, and the fact that it was one of the seats of inquisitorial power in the area, this city is quite underrepresented in the Beguin dataset, which points to a possible differential preservation of the sources that would in turn nuance the apparent isolation of this community.⁷⁸⁸

All in all, the most evident result of this operation of node filtering is the decrease in the density of ties holding the Beguin network together, but even this decrease is not so substantial that it changes the network topology. The graph in Figure 3.6.21 quantifies the

⁷⁸⁶ Doat 28, fol. 116r: "Isabellis de civitate Bituricensi oriunda, habitatrix dicti Burgi constituta in iudicio coram inquisitore ut Alax socia sua prædicta."

⁷⁸⁷ Doat 28, fol. 211v: "Item post prædicta per aliquos annos, dum dictus frater Raymundus apostatasset et ipsa loquens hoc audivisset, visitavit dictum fratrem Raymundum apostatam apud Montemregalem."

⁷⁸⁸ For documentation on the foundation of the Franciscan convent of Carcassonne, see Emery, *Friars in Medieval France*, 31.

variation in the connectedness of the network once the five leading figures mentioned above are removed. The result is that over 80% of the actors remain connected and 75.8% of the ties still hold.

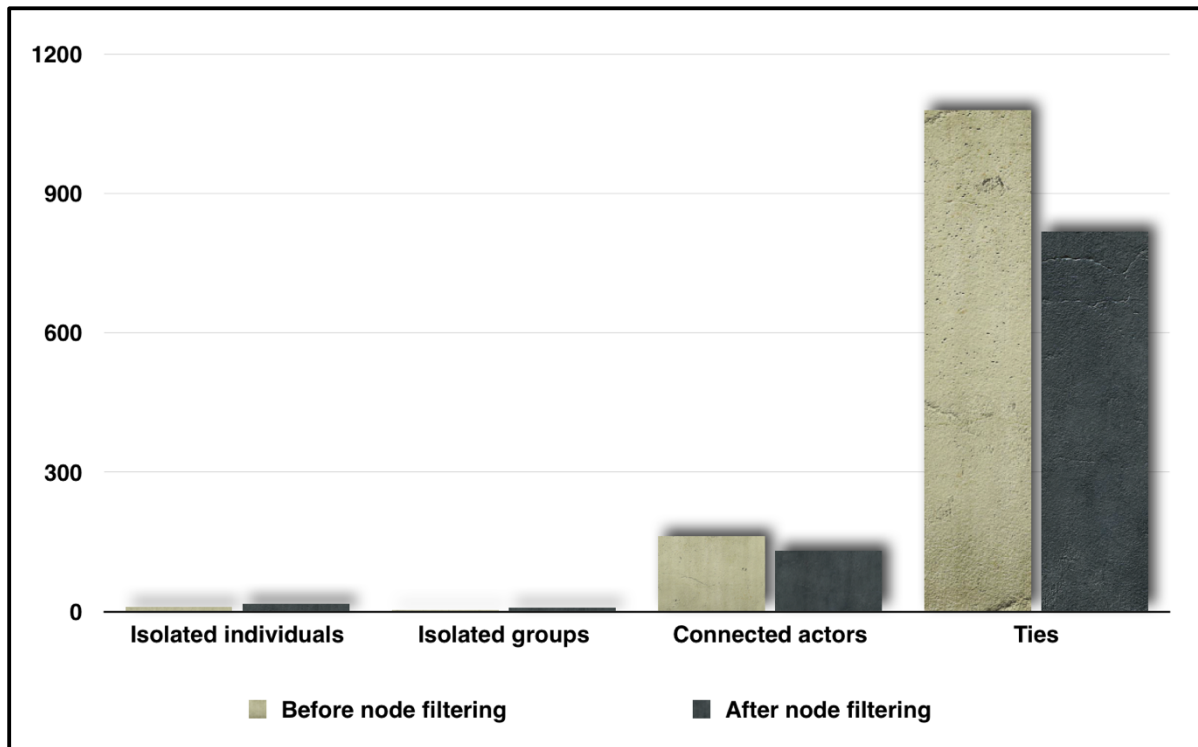


Figure 3.6.21 Effects of node filtering

To sum it up, despite the importance of the role played by those individuals that have been usually considered as the leadership of the movement, the Beguin community seems to have been able to hold its structure even without their presence. The thought experiment consisting in the node filtering of the network to remove its most visible individuals in fact reproduces the characteristic inquisitorial approach of identifying the most outspoken and dangerous elements in order to convert them or, when this was not possible, to eliminate them. The application of Social Network Analysis to the Beguin dissidence reveals the ineffectuality of such a strategy for the network that the inquisitors were trying to dismantle was cohesive enough as to sustain an attack targeting its *de facto* leaders. The following subsection will therefore be devoted to explore the extent of its connectedness as well as the features that define the network as a whole.

3.6.5 Network Effects: The Structure of Beguin Communities

Guilhem Verrier was burned at the stake as an unrepentant heretic at the market square of Carcassonne on 1 March 1327. According to his own deposition of 15 May 1325 and to that of his fellow candlemaker Pons Gardià, Guilhem was captured in Orange—about 30 km to the north of Avignon—in the spring of 1325, and he had been hiding there at least since October 1324.⁷⁸⁹ Guilhem and his wife Berengaria were originally from Narbonne, where both of them had many connections—including Guilhem’s mother—and probably where Guilhem first became involved with the Spiritual Franciscan milieu.⁷⁹⁰

As early as 1313, it was Guilhem who first introduced the tailor Blas Boer to the Beguin community of the city, and the weaver Peire Esperendiu also claimed that around 1316 Guilhem had encouraged him to attend the Beguin gatherings held in Narbonne on Sundays and other religious holidays.⁷⁹¹ The tertiary Amoda Sepian settled part of the rent of the house where a group of Beguins lived at the request of Verrier, and according to Berengaria’s own *culpa*, the Verriers also maintained a close friendship with many Spiritual Franciscans and Beguins who would later be executed as heretics, providing for them and frequently receiving them in their home. After becoming a fugitive himself, Guilhem still spent some time hiding in Narbonne, no doubt making use of his extensive network there. Guilhema and Peire Civile visited him, conversed and shared meals with him during that time—as did the shoemaker Johan Dalmau—and Jacme Castillon carried letters for him and many other members of the community who shared the same predicament.⁷⁹² The records

⁷⁸⁹ See Pons Gardià’s deposition, Doat 28, fol. 236r: “(...) cum prædicto Guillermo Veirerii quem sciebat aufugisse de Narbona propter factum Begguinorum qui fuerant condemnati in Narbona quos dictus Guillermus se dixit ipsi qui loquitur receptasse ivit apud Aurasitam moraturus et stetit cum eo, comedit et bibit ac iacuit usquequo captus fuit”; *ibid.*, fol. 237r: “(...) fuit cum dicto Guillermo ab octo diebus post festum Sancti Michaelis usque ad tempus captionis prædicta scilicet post Pascha.”

⁷⁹⁰ According to the records of the general sermon held at the market square of Carcassonne on 24 and 25 February 1325, Berengaria was sentenced to life imprisonment in the *mur* of the city.

⁷⁹¹ See, respectively, Doat 27, fol. 84r: “(...) duodecim anni possunt esse inductus per Guillelmum Dominici Veirerium de Narbona familiaritatem fratrum minorum qui portabant habitus parvos et etiam Begguinorum habere incepit”; and Doat 28, fol. 250r: “(...) inductus per Guillelmum Verrerii de Narbona quosdam Beguinos tunc morantes Narbonæ, quorum aliqui postea fuerant combusti, visitavit diebus dominicis et festivis.”

⁷⁹² For the Civiles, see *ibid.*, fol. 227r–v: “Item Guillelmum Dominici Verrerium pro hæresi fugitivum, dum occulte venerat Narbonam, mandata per ipsum visitavit, cum eo loquuta fuit, sibique dixit, quod nisi aufugeret caperetur, sciens quod per gente inquisitoris querebatur. Item cum eodem Guillermo antequam aufugisset de Narbona aliquotiens comedit cum dicto marito suo et bibit.” For Blas Boer’s deposition, see *ibid.*, fol. 209r: “Item, in domo Guillelmi Dominici Veirerii semel cum quodam alio comedit”; and for Jacme Castillon, see

show how Guilhem's mobility was quite remarkable, and the same can be said about his wife Berengaria, who accompanied him on a few occasions, for instance during a stay in Béziers and part of a stay in Montpellier, as indicated by the testimonies of the harness maker Peire Massot and the tailor Peire Dayssan.⁷⁹³ In this period his presence is also documented in Provence and Avignon, but he frequently went back to Narbonne where he kept fostering the clandestine activities of the Beguin network.⁷⁹⁴

Guilhem Verrier was directly connected to all the major players of the Beguin movement. He had a long-standing relationship with Peire Trencavel, but he was also friends with Guilhem Serraller, shared frequent meals with Raimon de Johan while on the run, and visited the Boneta household during his stay in Montpellier. Guilhem's centrality has sufficiently been established in the pages above and a cursory overview of his activities and connections reveals the profile of a brokering figure that was constantly on the move not only maintaining the material support network, and carrying books and news, but also spreading doctrinal contents.⁷⁹⁵ These individuals with the capability of moving around were better suited to establish relations across the boundaries of hometowns and villages, and acted as poles of attraction for network resources, becoming more relevant and visible. However, that which made them more useful as far as the global network was concerned is precisely what made them less relevant for daily practices, and therefore for the endurance of local communities. In other words, even if it was indeed Guilhem Verrier who put in contact Blas Boer, Peire Esperendiu, and Amoda Sepian with the Beguin community of Narbonne, their confessions show how they soon branched out on their own. They all

ibid., fol. 119v: "(...) pro Guillermo Verrerii de Narbona et pro multis aliis Begguinis et apostatis ab ordine minorum quos nominat pro hæresi fugitivis diversas litteras frequenter et in diversis locis portavit."

⁷⁹³ According to Massot, he first met the Verriers in Montpellier but later saw them regularly in Narbonne and Béziers; see Doat 27, fol. 13r: "(...) semel comedit in Montepessulano quod tunc non cognoscebat Guillelmum Verrerii de Narbonensi et eius uxorem, in domo sua et alibi vidit et cum eis comedit et bibit tam in Narbona quam in Bitterris." Dayssan shared meals with the Verriers and several other fugitives in his hometown, Béziers; see Doat 28, fol. 214r: "(...) cum dicto Petro Trancavelli antequam fuisset captus et detentus in muro Carcassonæ et aufugisset ab eodem et cum Guillermo Verrerii de Narbona et eius uxore fugitivis et quibusdam aliis qui fuerunt postea combusti in diversis locis frequenter fuit bibit et comedit."

⁷⁹⁴ The episode of the confiscated cheese recounted by Peire Esperendiu attests to Verrier's continued involvement, see Section 3.5.

⁷⁹⁵ The same Guilhema Civile admitted that it was from Verrier that she and her husband heard that the condemned Beguins were martyrs and had joined the other saints in paradise; see Doat 28, fol. 227v: "(...) et ab eo audivit ea quæ sequuntur, videlicet, quod Begguini condemnati erant ita magni sancti et tam veri martires sicut aliqui alii sancti qui sint in paradiso, et hoc idem ipsa loquens credidit sicut dixit."

became increasingly involved in the circulation of supplies, money, books, and relics, and in the provision of shelter but, more importantly, they managed to engage in community-binding practices that allowed the establishment of strong ties, such as gatherings, doctrinal discussions, and community readings, which could still function even in the absence of the mobile and most central elements of the network.⁷⁹⁶ These strong ties ensured the connectedness of the different communities, even when they were forced into clandestinity, and in fact provided resilience to the whole network, so that, according to the analysis at the end of the previous sub-section, the capture of the leading figures would not necessarily result in the dismantlement of the movement. This begs for a deeper analysis of the structure of the Beguin communities, which, at a first approximation, can be carried out on the relational dataset provided by the acquaintanceship network presented above.

As previously discussed, scale-free and small-world networks are two of the most frequent patterns displayed by real-world networks. The former are mostly defined in terms of their degree distribution, which tends to follow a power law where nodes with below-average degrees are the majority and there are only a few highest-degree nodes, called ‘hubs’. The formation of such a network heavily depends on the mechanism known as preferential attachment, that is, the fact that the new nodes that join the network tend to connect to pre-existing nodes with large degree centralities.⁷⁹⁷ In terms of religious movements, this would imply that new members joined the community through the action of the most connected actors. The robustness of scale-free networks in fact relies on these connection hubs, so much so that the whole structure can survive random attacks because even if one of the hubs falls the rest of the components will hold. The downside, however, is that a coordinated attack that simultaneously targets a large number of hubs is likely to take down the network.⁷⁹⁸ This feature is particularly relevant in the case of persecuted religious groups, especially when the persecutors share the expertise and strategies that the inquisitors developed over nearly a century of struggle against spiritual dissent. A dissident network with a scale-free structure would therefore be quite resilient to unorganised

⁷⁹⁶ See, respectively, Doat 27, fols. 83v–85v; Doat 28, fols. 249v–252v; and *ibid.*, fols. 237r–240r.

⁷⁹⁷ This mechanism, commonly referred to as ‘the rich get richer’ was already taken into account in Barabási and Albert’s model for understanding the formation mechanisms of this kind of networks in 1999; see Albert-László Barabási and Réka Albert, “Emergence of scaling in random networks,” *Science* 286 (1999): 509–12.

⁷⁹⁸ See a discussion on the robustness of complex networks in Wang and Chen, “Complex Networks,” 15.

preaching campaigns and episcopal attempts against it, but would be far more vulnerable to the systematic round-up of its leaders ensuing from coordinated inquisitorial enquiries across diocesan boundaries. However, as shown at the end of the previous sub-section, the Beguin network was able to remain connected despite the capture of its most visible figures—its hubs—which means that it is necessary to further nuance the analysis by resorting to other models.

Small-world networks are characterised by a high clustering coefficient and low average paths, that is, clusters connected to each other by a few nodes that bridge the gaps between them. The clustering coefficient of a network can be defined as the percentage of pairs of actors connected to a third actor that are also connected to each other.⁷⁹⁹ For instance, the ego-network of Flors Baró, shown in Figure 3.6.2 above, has an extremely high clustering coefficient for almost every pair of actors connected to Flors also knew each other. Thus, in the social sciences, a clique is precisely a group of individuals with the highest clustering coefficient, for every member is acquainted with all others. As for the low average path characteristic of small-world networks, this entails that any actor in the network is connected to any other actor either directly or by means of only a low number of intermediaries.

Barábasi and Albert, and Watts and Strogatz proposed mathematical models for scale-free and small-world networks, respectively. Figure 3.6.22 compares simplified versions of such models, showing that, generally speaking, the structure of small-world networks is much more costly to maintain. Indeed, on average, the number of ties in the Watts-Strogatz model needs to be much higher, for most nodes have the same numbers of ties and, unlike in the case of scale-free networks, the degree distribution shows a low variance with respect to average degree, that is, in small-world networks, most actors have a similar number of connections. Moreover, such a network includes two clearly different sets of relations between nodes, which have been dubbed as strong and weak ties.⁸⁰⁰ The

⁷⁹⁹ See a more extensive and mathematically detailed definition of the clustering coefficient in Wang and Chen, “Complex Networks,” 9.

⁸⁰⁰ See Section 1.3, note 70.

former are established among members of the same group, whereas the latter connect members of different groups to each other.

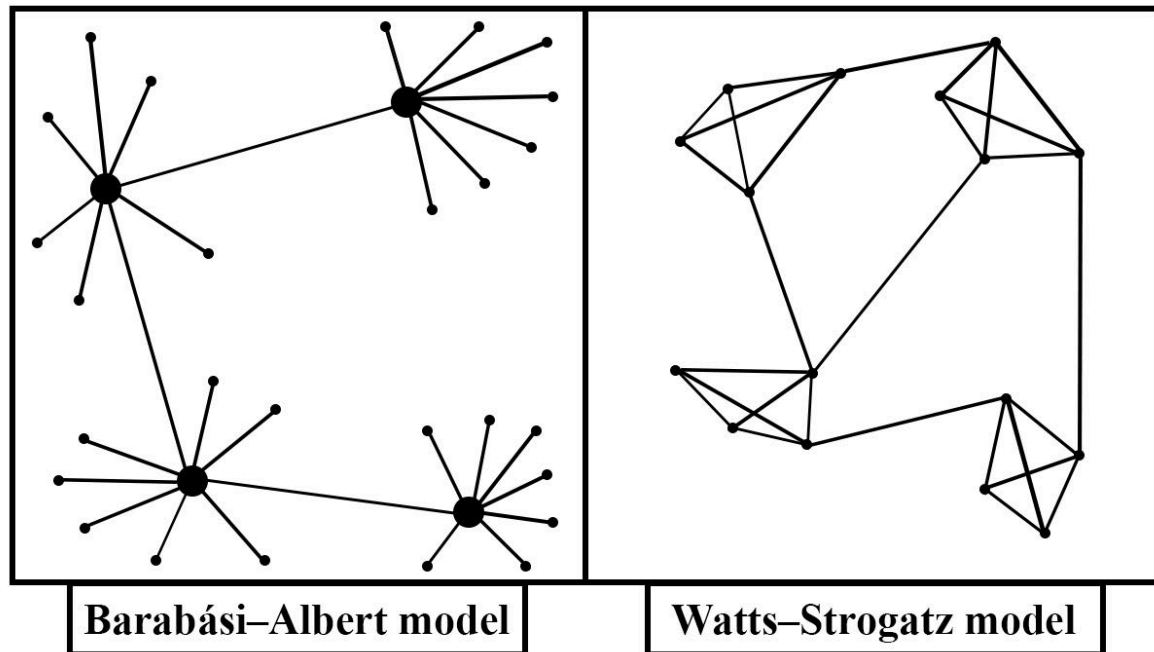


Figure 3.6.22 Simplified scale-free and small-world models

Whereas the previous models are widely used to understand the intricacies of all sorts of networks, social networks show certain particularities that need to be considered, namely clustering and degree assortativity, that is, the fact that social actors tend to connect to other actors with a similar number of connections.⁸⁰¹ Thus, determining these parameters for the Beguin dataset extracted from the inquisitorial sources analysed in this dissertation can shed further light on its structure. The relational information available results in a clustering coefficient of 0.509 for the Beguin network as a whole, which, considered in absolute terms does not provide much information. In order to better gauge whether this is in fact a high value, it is necessary to compare it to the clustering coefficient that stems merely from random connections, in other words, with the clustering coefficient that can be expected from a random network with similar features. To that purpose I have generated a random network with the same characteristics as the Beguin network—that is, 218 relational

⁸⁰¹ For a discussion on the mathematic features characteristic of social networks, see M. E. J. Newman, and Juyong Park, “Why social networks are different from other types of networks,” *Physical Review E* 68, no. 036122 (2003).

actors and 1156 ties between them—using the widespread model first developed in 1959 by mathematicians Paul Erdős and Alfred Rényi for the generation of random graphs.⁸⁰² The resulting clustering coefficient for the random network is 0.030, that is, a full order of magnitude below the value obtained for the Beguin dataset, which would confirm that the structure of Beguin communities conforms with what can be expected from a social network.

As regards assortativity, the literature provides several methods to assess whether a network shows a significant degree correlation. Among others, the Pastor-Satorras method is based on plotting the degree of each actor against the mean degree of its neighbours, so that if the resulting slope is positive the network is considered assortative.⁸⁰³ As can be seen in Figure 3.6.23, the application of this method to the case of the Beguin network is non-conclusive. Acquaintanceship data do not result in an assortative structure but neither do they appear as disassortative.

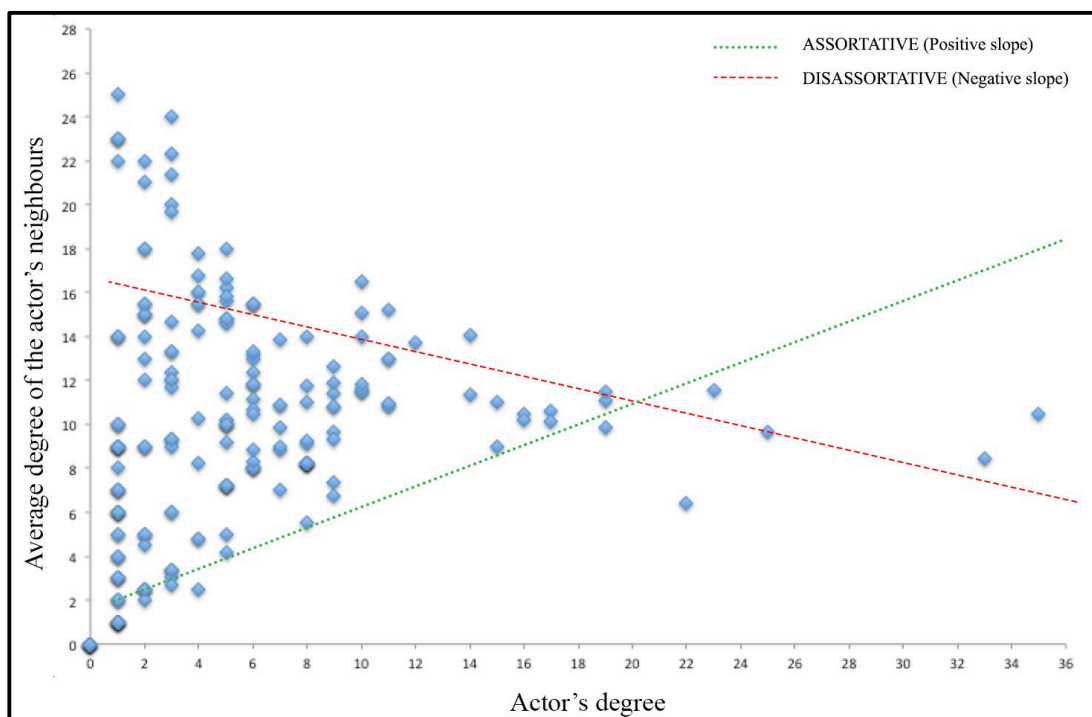
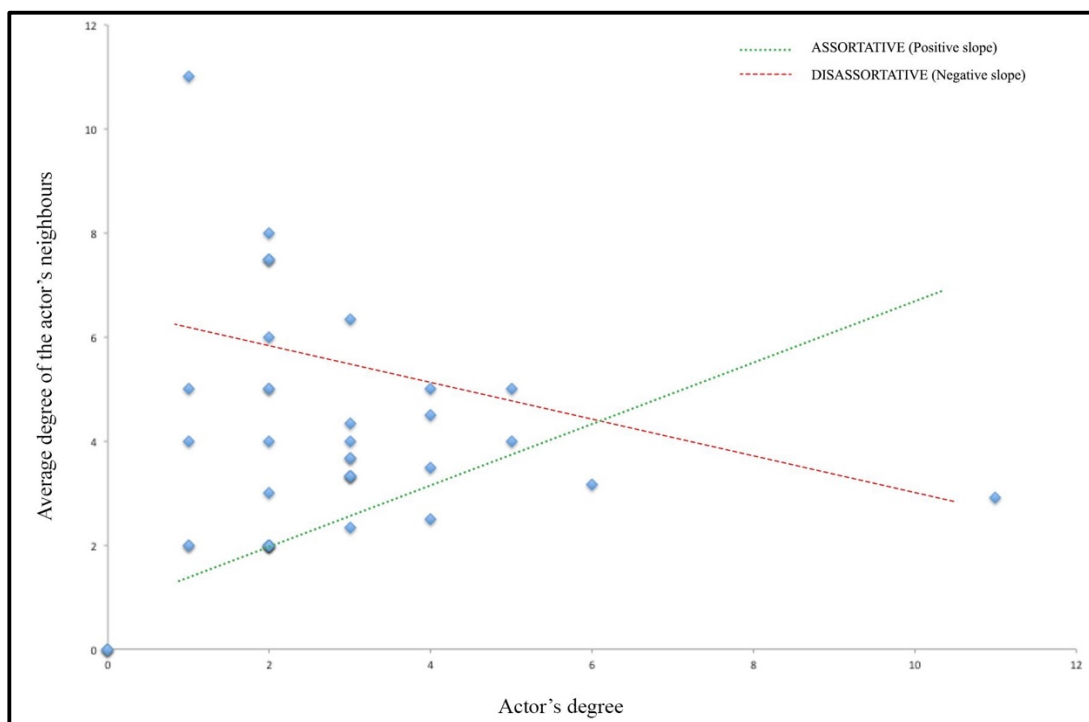


Figure 3.6.23 Assortativity analysis of the whole Beguin network

⁸⁰² See Paul Erdős, and Alfréd Rényi, “On Random Graphs I,” *Publicationes Mathematicae Debrecen* 6 (1959): 290–97.

⁸⁰³ Romualdo Pastor-Satorras, Alexei Vázquez, and Alessandro Vespignani, “Dynamical and correlation properties of the Internet,” *Physical Review Letters* 87, no. 258701 (2001).

Using other methods, such as the one defined by M. E. J. Newman in 2002, also yields a similar outcome. According to Newman's approach, rather common in network studies, a sort of assortativity coefficient is defined between 1 and -1, so that a value of 1 would indicate an assortative network and a value of -1 would suggest disassortativity.⁸⁰⁴ The Beguin network presents a Newman measure of -0.0296, which, despite being negative is again non-conclusive. Taking into account that a network is said to be disassortative when highly connected actors are mostly connected with lower degree actors and viceversa, it is clear that the Beguin network does not follow this pattern, for its most connected members, its 'leaders' or hubs, are also connected to each other. However, the application of the aforementioned methods does not allow us to maintain the assortativity of the Beguin structure either. It could be argued that despite the fact that the whole network is not particularly assortative, the analysis of smaller communities connected by what we have defined as strong ties and usually defined within the boundaries of a single village or town would be much more forthcoming. However, as Figure 3.6.24 shows for the case of one of the most important Beguin communities, Narbonne, the sample is again non-conclusive.



⁸⁰⁴ M. E. J. Newman, "Assortative mixing in networks," *Physical Review Letters* 89, no. 208701 (2002).

Figure 3.6.24 Assortativity analysis for the community of Montpellier

Although there is still debate on whether assortativity is in fact a property of social networks, the most recent studies seem to point in that direction.⁸⁰⁵ Therefore, it is necessary to understand why the analysis of the Beguin network does not produce a far more decisive result in this regard, as indeed it does in the case of the clustering coefficient. In order to do so, one main factor that needs to be considered is the sampling method that underlies the construction of the network itself, which in the case of historical datasets is inextricably related to the nature of the extant sources. Given that the basis for the present work is provided by inquisitorial sources, the structure of the resulting network is therefore strongly conditioned by the inquisitorial methods of persecution and prosecution of religious dissident movements. Inquisitors approached the uncovering and dismantlement of heretical groups through the implementation of a sort of snowball sampling technique, which as has been discussed in previous sections introduced a remarkable bias in the overrepresentation of certain individuals. Furthermore, snowball sampling strongly affects the perceived assortativity of networks. Whereas the most connected actors are likely to be identified and targeted by such means, the less connected members of the group are easily overlooked. More importantly, their connections tend to be underrepresented so that only the ties considered relevant, usually to the leaders of the movement, are actually recorded, thus increasing the number of connections of the latter and the overall disassortativity of the whole group.⁸⁰⁶ This partialness of information for the less connected individuals is clearly apparent in the case of the actors of the Beguin network, as can be seen, for instance, in the depositions of Alaraxis Biasse and Jacme Castillon, to name but a couple of examples from different communities. Alaraxis's house in Sauvian was instrumental in sheltering Franciscan and Beguin fugitives, as she was deeply involved in maintaining escape routes towards the Mediterranean; however, her only identifiable link—besides her mother, whose name was not recorded—is to Peire Trencavel, one of the Beguin connection hubs that spent

⁸⁰⁵ For a discussion on this issue see, especially, David N. Fisher, Matthew J. Silk, and Daniel W. Franks, "The Perceived Assortativity of Social Networks: Methodological Problems and Solutions," in *Trends in Social Network Analysis: Information Propagation, User Behavior Modeling, Forecasting, and Vulnerability Assessment*, ed. Rokia Missaoui, Talel Abdessalem, and Matthieu Latapy (Cham: Springer, 2017), 1–19.

⁸⁰⁶ On the effect of snowball sampling on network measures in general and on assortativity in particular see Waters, "Snowball sampling," and especially, Lee, Kim, and Jeong, "Statistical properties of sampled networks."

most of the persecution period on the run. As for Jacme Castillon who, according to his own confession, acted as a courier for many members of the Beguin network, only his connection to Guilhem Verrier was deemed important enough as to make it to the record.

On the one hand, inquisitorial sampling patterns tend to favour a scale-free type distribution, imposing a sort of relative hierarchy in the number of connections with only a few individuals at the very top: the perceived leaders of the movement. The fact that the group is suffering persecution also favours this topology, for certain individuals will become relevant not so much because of their original position within the community but thanks to their ability to channel group efforts and to implement defence strategies. Inquisitors see these individuals as more dangerous than others, which shows in their questioning techniques and, as a result, introduces a bias in the structure of the network as we perceive it. These actors who feature more prominently in the extant inquisitorial records belong to two different categories: individuals who are especially relevant in terms of those crimes that inquisitors see as most grievous, and individuals who are relevant to the group regardless of inquisitors, that is, those who perform special roles as brokers, couriers, and teachers. It is true that inquisitorial records can overestimate the relevance of certain actors, thus downplaying the role of others, but this does not imply that they create false leaders or brokers; that is, in terms of the concept of preferential attachment presented above, inquisitorial sampling methods do help the rich get richer, but they do not make the poor turn rich.

On the other hand, small-world network patterns can still happen within this kind of hierarchical structures, provided that they show high clustering coefficients and low average paths between actors.⁸⁰⁷ Residence homophily, that is, the overwhelming predominance of strong ties between actors who lived or came from the same town, reinforces the idea of clustering for the Beguin network, and as a result, the idea that we are actually reconstructing the traces of a real small-world social network. The lowest residence homophily corresponds in fact to Narbonne, which is consistent with the fact that the city became a pole of attraction

⁸⁰⁷ The average path for the Beguin network is 3.634 connections, which is consistent with the 3.373 links established in the random Erdős-Rényi model discussed above.

for the whole movement where people from across the region—and therefore, from different communities—travelled on pilgrimage to visit Olivi's tomb.

Conclusions

To conclude this analysis of the overall structure of the Beguin network, it is worth mentioning the work of the sociologist Nick Crossley, who in 2002 proposed a model according to which scale-free patterns would be more easily associated with hierarchical power, and small-world models would be more fitting to describe transgressive movements that challenge and resist the established authorities.⁸⁰⁸ The data above show that Beguin communities did not respond to any of these categories but rather displayed a combination of features, which, in my opinion suggests that the network reconstructed from the extant inquisitorial records could be the result of a small-world network seen from the hierarchical perspective of inquisitors, who imposed their top-down views and methods on a far more horizontal structure. At any rate, it is important to note that although inquisitorial records nuanced the structure of the network, they did not fabricate its relational pattern. Unfortunately, the granularity of the sources does not allow us to distinguish the extent to which said horizontal small-world like topology may have become more hierarchical—and therefore more scale-free—as a result of being forced underground.

This calls attention to the period before the persecution, which can only be reconstructed partially from indirect testimonies. As has been sufficiently established, the movement was deeply rooted in Spiritual Franciscanism, but its underlying teachings—apocalyptic expectations, a corrupted pontiff, the role of the true church, and adhesion to radical poverty—were soon widespread enough for the components of the network to gain a certain independence. The documented evidence of collective readings, gatherings, and circulation of texts in the vernacular points to the existence of smaller communities and even individuals who could commit to this particular religious culture without depending on the constant presence of a priestly elite. This would tip the ‘structural scales’ towards a decentralised movement, although certain individuals would still be more prominent by virtue of their skills—such as literacy, which allowed them to read aloud to others—or their pastoral powers—which enabled them to administer the sacraments. During its first

⁸⁰⁸ Nick Crossley, “Small-World Networks, Complex Systems and Sociology,” *Sociology* 42, no. 2 (2008): 261–77.

development stage, that is, from the last quarter of the thirteenth century to the summoning of the friars to Avignon, the Beguin movement was probably expansive and rather visible, with public demonstrations in the form of preaching, and the open commemoration of Olivi's feast. It was in this period that most of the connections were established and the groundwork for the community structure was laid. In contrast, a second phase took place in a situation of clandestinity, and was naturally characterised by far more withdrawn attitudes. The individuals that up to that point had only mildly sympathised with the Beguin milieu probably detached themselves from it while the most staunch and veteran believers would adopt defensive stances. It was also in this moment that certain views were reinforced, especially the apocalyptic expectations, that new cohesive activities emerged, such as attending executions together to support the new would-be martyrs of the movement, and that the actors identified above as connection hubs became more apparent, alongside the practices related to the material support of the Beguin network.

The centrality measures discussed in the subsections above and the dataset with which the overall network coefficients have been estimated correspond to the acquaintanceship network, but as I have already noted elsewhere, this is not the only relational space available. The extant sources also allow for the analysis of the wide variety of relations that were established between actors. In fact, taking this multiplexity into account does not only shed further light on the structure of these communities but also helps levelling down the aforementioned effects of the inquisitorial bias on the overrepresentation of some individuals. Mentioning someone's name in a deposition evinces the existence of the most basic of social links, but detailing, for instance, how meals, books, and conversation were shared with said person, how shelter, supplies, or money were provided for or by them, or how frequent the encounters were, strengthens the link remarkably. Thus, the Beguin dataset contains multiple relations for the same set of actors, and can then be treated as multiple networks connecting the same group of individuals. According to this approach we can then define the conversation network as the one formed by people who gathered and engaged in conversation to discuss issues related to their shared religious culture. Likewise, it is possible to define, among others, the commensality network—including actors who shared meals—the supply network, the sheltering network, the money network, and the

teaching network—which only comprises actors who either taught or were taught the doctrinal tenets of the movement.

The comparison between these subsets of relations reveals how the Beguin acquaintanceship network that has so far been the main basis for the analysis is strongly correlated on the one hand with the conversation network, and on the other, with the commensality network. This is a meaningful result for it supports the representativeness of the acquaintanceship dataset to study the structure of Beguin communities. Were these different relational networks not correlated, this would suggest that mentioning someone or being mentioned by someone in this context of inquisitorial enquiries was unrelated to their religious identity. In other words, the resulting networks would be very much social but would not correspond to an actual spiritual community that perceives itself as cohesive and distinct. In contrast, the aforementioned correlations indicate that actors were mostly connected through their shared conversations and meals, and these instances provided the foundations for the consolidation of the dissident network. Moreover, the correlation between the commensality and sheltering networks is to be expected, for the actors who hid fugitive members of the group once the persecution started would naturally sit around the same table with them.

As for the analysis of the connection between the attributes of the Beguin actors and the relations that linked them, neither gender, nor religious status appear to be correlated with the relational subsets just discussed. This provides further evidence that these two parameters were not determinant for an individual to be connected to any of these networks; as noted in Section 3.5 above, men and women, lay members and priestly elite were all involved in religious conversations, material support, commensality, and teaching practices, and none of these activities was exclusive to a specific gender or religious status group. The importance of the roles women played in the movement has also been sufficiently established above, but in order to better understand the workings of the Beguin network in this respect, it is essential to question whether female participation favoured a same-sex environment. Gender homophily has been frequently presented as one of the basis of religious clustering, especially in the medieval context; thus, women would be more likely to join mostly female groups, especially in movements whose doctrinal tenets called for sex

segregation.⁸⁰⁹ In the case of the Beguin network, however, the data shows a remarkable absence of this trait. Figure 3.6.25 charts the percentage of same-sex and other-sex ties for men and women, which, as can be seen, mostly conform to the overall statistical representativeness of male and female actors. Thus women appear to establish around 30% of their ties with other women because 30% of the available actors were indeed women. Likewise, man-to-man links amount to about 65% of the connections established by men, which again is quite close to the available 69% of male actors in the Beguin network.

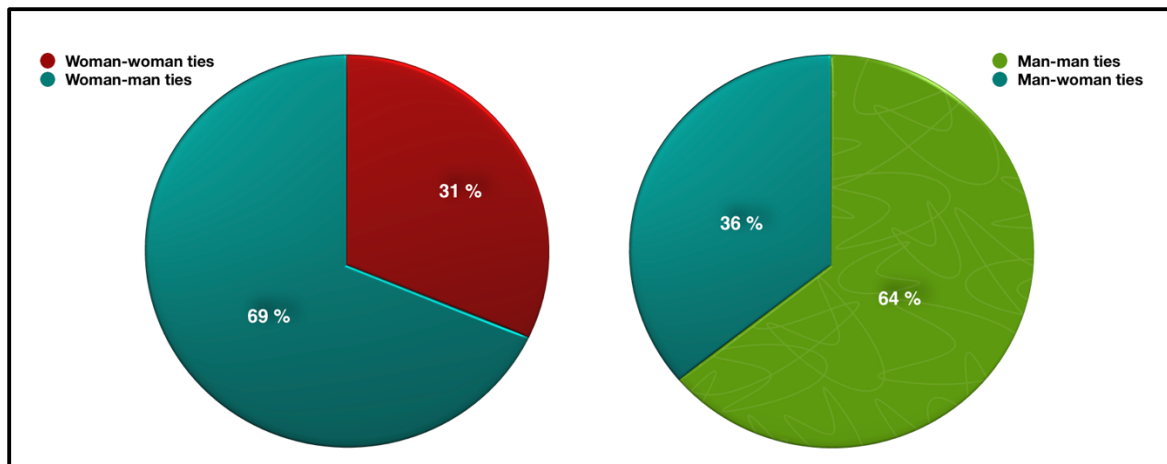


Figure 3.6.25 Gender homophily

Finally, as for the origin of Beguin actors and the connection between their place of residence and their participation in the different relational networks, I have already noted the predominance of strong ties—that is, those connecting individuals who live in the same place and thus belong to the same community—in the acquaintanceship dataset. This result in fact reinforces the clustering tendency displayed by the whole group and the idea that the Beguin acquaintanceship network reconstructed from inquisitorial records is an actual social network. The outcome of considering smaller subsets linked to more specific relations is quite different and allows for a better understanding of the overall structure (see Figure 3.6.26)

⁸⁰⁹ On homophily and its effects on community formation, see Sean F. Everton, “Networks and Religion: Ties that Bind, Loose, Build Up, and Tear Down,” *Journal of Social Structure* 16, no. 10 (2015): 1–34, and McPherson, Smith-Lovin, and Cook, “Birds of a Feather.”

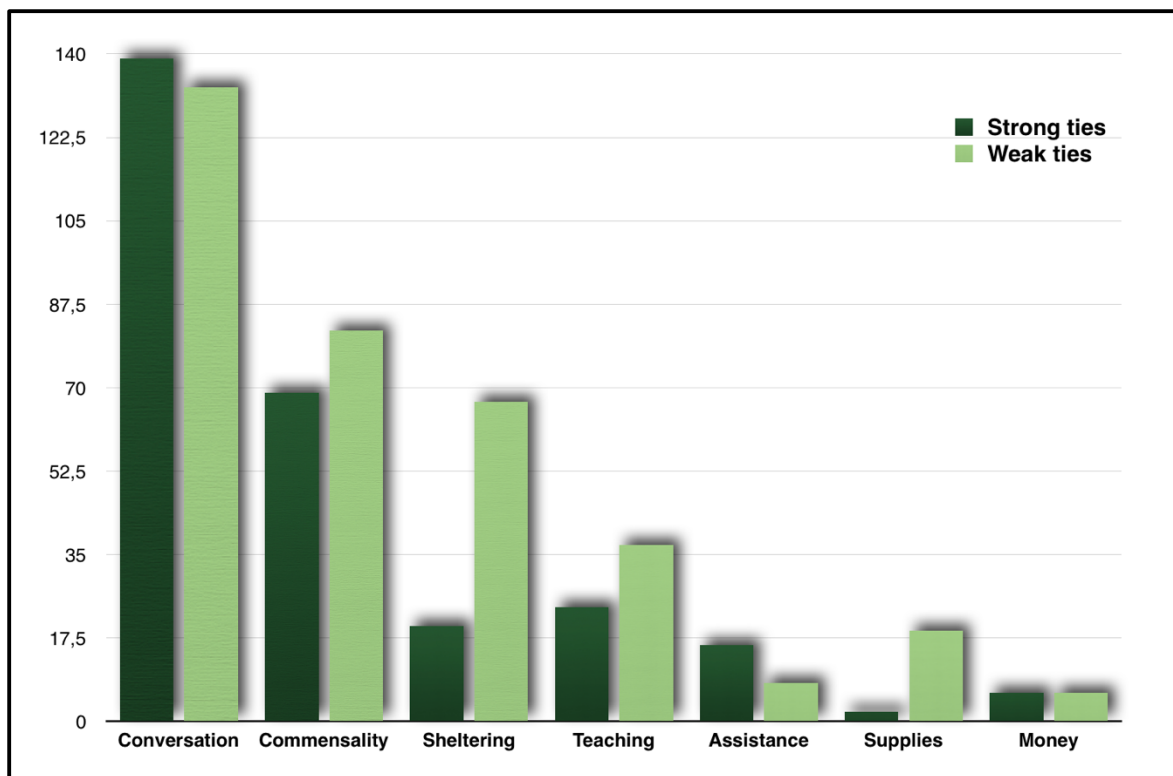


Figure 3.6.26 Strong ties versus weak ties in multiplex approach

With the exception of the sheltering and supply networks, strong and weak ties appear well balanced in most relational subsets. Thus, despite the fact that individuals would find most of their acquaintances among the members of their own community, their involvement in religious conversations, commensality practices, and provision of assistance and money would also connect them to Beguin actors from other communities. Again, this reinforces the validity of considering the Beguin structure as a social network, for whereas social networks are divided into communities, nonsocial networks are not.⁸¹⁰ Furthermore, the remarkable presence of weak ties in sheltering and supply relations bespeaks a situation of clandestinity where these practices would be essential for the survival not only of the smaller communities but also, and more importantly, for the existence of the whole network. Thus, fugitives usually moved to other villages to escape the inquisitorial machinery but most of them chose to run to places where the local Beguin community would welcome and

⁸¹⁰ Newman, and Park, "Why social networks are different."

hide them from prying eyes. As for other forms of assistance, strong ties seem to have been slightly more important, especially regarding the custody of personal possessions and books of convicted Beguins who would naturally entrust this task to their closest connections. Similarly, the most frequent assistance practice considered, helping out imprisoned Beguins by bringing them food, money, and sometimes comfort, would again be easier for the actors who already lived in the area. As for the important role played by weak ties on teaching, this mostly responds to the inquisitorial pattern repeatedly discussed, given that the individuals with the highest degree centrality in the teaching network—that is, those that were most repeatedly mentioned for having taught Beguin doctrines to others—are Peire Trencavel, Guilhem Verrier, Raimon de Johan, and Na Prous Boneta. All of them were connection hubs specifically targeted by inquisitorial questionings, but moreover, except for Na Prous, whose teachings were mostly disseminated among the Beguins of her own community, Montpellier, the other three spent several years on the run, hiding among the members of several different communities and carrying Beguin beliefs wherever they went.

CHAPTER FOUR



The Good Men and Women: The Dismantlement of a ‘Cathar’ Network

*Fear is a strange soil.
Mainly it grows obedience like corn,
which grows in straight lines to make weeding easier.
But sometimes it grows the potatoes of defiance,
which flourish underground.*

(Terry Pratchett, *Small Gods*)

Estevana de Proault was a young widow from Toulouse who was sentenced to death in March 1308 as an unrepentant heretic. According to Bernard Gui and the bishop Galhard de Preyssac, Estevana’s beliefs had been “imbued with a pestilential doctrine” which she stubbornly refused to abandon.⁸¹¹ Among other “intolerable and abominable errors against the Catholic faith,” Estevana maintained that the Cross was not the symbol of the Passion but the sign of the Devil, denied the resurrection of the flesh and the fact that Christ incarnated through a woman, attributed the creation of the visible world to the Devil, and condemned the sacraments.⁸¹² The record of her *culpa* claims that Bernard Gui himself, along with several vicars, Dominican, and Franciscan friars, and even some of her relatives reprimanded her, but still Estevana persevered, and therefore the only possible outcome of

⁸¹¹ Pales-Gobilliard, *Le livre des sentences*, 194: “(...) doctrinis pestiferis hereticorum inbuta.” Estevana’s sentence and conversion can be found in *ibid.*, 194–98 and 198–200, respectively.

⁸¹² *Ibid.*: “(...) errores intolerabiles et abhominabiles (...) contra fidem catholicam sacrosancte ecclesie Domini Jhesu Christi ipsius incarnationem ex muliere profannis labiis factam fuisse vel esse denegando. Et resurrectionem sanctam humanorum corporum diffidendo. Creationem visibilium attribuendo dyabolo quem asseris principem hujus mundi et eandem omnipotenti Deo subtrahendo. Et omnia septem sacramenta salutis nostre vituperabiliter diffiteris abnegas et condempnas.”

her trial was to be handed over to the secular arm.⁸¹³ However, upon seeing the stake, she claimed to repent and insisted on “wanting to die within the Church” even after being told that the time for grace was long gone.⁸¹⁴ A new council held the following day decided to have her publicly abjure the next Sunday. Estevana would afterwards be remanded to the *mur* while the death sentence remained in force until her conversion was proven sincere. Furthermore, the council ordered for her to be put under constant surveillance, so that she was not able to “corrupt others.”⁸¹⁵

Estevana's beliefs seem outright scandalous and against the very framework of mainstream Christianity, and yet, despite the fact that hers was an exceptionally detailed statement in this regard, similar doctrinal tenets can be found in many other contemporary depositions. The young Peire de Clairac, from Verlhac-Tescou, who was sentenced as a relapser in April 1310, admitted, as many other suspects, to having heard the “doctrine and preaching of the heretics against the faith.”⁸¹⁶ Said doctrine denied the validity of baptism for it was performed with “corrupt water,” and described “carnal marriage” as illegitimate.⁸¹⁷ In fact, the invalidity of Catholic baptism was one of the most frequently mentioned arguments among the deponents interrogated by Bernard Gui: Peire Guilhem Sanchas, from Prunet, also sentenced as a relapser in April 1310, claimed that the Roman baptism “in material and corporal water” was not capable of delivering salvation;⁸¹⁸ and Lombarda d'Hugoux, from a small place called Les Hugoux, near Tarabel, heard the heretics who stayed at her house say that “the baptism of the Church, performed with water, was

⁸¹³ Ibid., 196: “Super quibus erroribus et heresibus frequenter fuisti admonita et exortata rationibus et auctoritatibus scripture sacre et verbis dulcibus in Domino obsecrata tam per me inquisitorem preffatum et vicarios quam per multos religiosos Predicatorum et Minorum et aliorum ordinum quam per multos alios probos viros clericos et laycos de villa Tholose ac etiam per parentes tuos.”

⁸¹⁴ Ibid., 198: “Et proposito et exposito sibi prius quod tempus gratie elapsus erat sibi et de salute anime cogitaret et quecumque de facto heresis de se vel de aliis sciebat integraliter revelaret, promisit se hoc facere et dicere et in fide sancte ecclesie Romane velle mori.”

⁸¹⁵ Ibid.: “(...) sic demum reduceretur ad murum ubi probaretur an ejus conversio esset vera vel ficta et sic custodiretur quod non posset inficere seu corrumpere alios suis erroribus.” Apparently Estevana passed the test, for she would be released fourteen years later, on 12 September 1322, when her sentence was commuted to wearing double crosses and pilgrimages; see *ibid.*, 1140–44.

⁸¹⁶ Ibid., 512–14: “Item audivit doctrinam hereticorum et predicationem eorum contra fidem.”

⁸¹⁷ Ibid., 514: “(...) videlicet quod baptismus ecclesie Romane nichil valebat quia fit in aqua corrupta (...) Item quod matrimonium carnale non erat licitum nec institutum.”

⁸¹⁸ Ibid., 534: “(...) quod tu non credis baptismum quem Romana ecclesia facit in aqua materiali et corporali quod tibi vel alicui valeat ad salutem.”

void.”⁸¹⁹ Furthermore, like Estevana and Peire de Clairac, many suspects confessed to having learned that marriage was not a sacrament, but a sinful and very public act. In March 1316, Pons Coutellier, a comb maker from Limoux who lived in Toulouse, heard the heretic Peire Auter say that “lying with one’s wife was a sin,” and Peire Raimon Domenge, from Le Born, in his deposition of September 1322, took the argument even further by claiming that “having intercourse with one’s own wife was worse than lying with any other woman, for it happened much more often and was more public.”⁸²⁰

Adding to this attack on the sacraments, transubstantiation was also the target of these preachings, as the consecrated Host was recurrently described as “simple bread.” The aforementioned Peire de Clairac confessed to having heard that “the Host consecrated on the altar was not the true body of Christ, but merely bread”;⁸²¹ Raimunda Bertric, from Marnhiac, heard the heretic Peire Sans preach “against the consecrated Host”;⁸²² Bernard Obrer, from Cordes, confessed to having heard the preachings of the heretics, especially focused on “the sacrament of the altar, about which he heard them say that it could not be the body of Christ”;⁸²³ and Arnau Bru, from Prunet, in his deposition of April 1309, admitted that the heretics claimed that “the body of Christ was not on the altar, that the only thing there was simple bread.”⁸²⁴

Just as in the case of Estevana’s deposition, the adoration of the Cross, or rather, the alleged futility of such adoration, can also be found in other depositions along with more or less colourful remarks. The simple statement that the Cross was not to be adored included in Guilhem Monjo’s 1309 confession, was common enough, but the aforementioned Peire

⁸¹⁹ Ibid., 590: “(...) quod baptismus ecclesie qui fit aqua nichil valebat.”

⁸²⁰ For Pons Coutellier’s comment on marriage, see *ibid.*, 916: “Item audivit ab eodem heretico quod peccatum erat jacere cum uxore sua”; on Peire Raimon Domenge, see *ibid.*, 1476: “Item quod matrimonium carnale non erat verum matrimonium ymmo erat peccatum et quod majus peccatum erat jacere cum uxore quam cum alia muliere, quia frequencius et magis publice hoc fiebat.”

⁸²¹ Ibid., 514: “Item quod in hostia consecrata in altari non est verum corpus Christi, set tantum modo purus panis.”

⁸²² Ibid., 702: “(...) audivit verba et predicationem et errores heretici predicti expresse contra hostiam consecratam.”;

⁸²³ Ibid., 1104: “(...) specialiter sacramentum altaris, de quo audivit eos dicentes quod ibi non poterat esse corpus Christi.”

⁸²⁴ Ibid., 476: “(...) quod dicebant quod Corpus Christi non erat in altari, nec erat ibi nisi purus pani.”

Raimon Domenge offered a far more reasoned explanation when he argued that “no one would adore the gallows on which their father had been hanged.”⁸²⁵ Likewise, both the resurrection of the flesh and Christ’s incarnation were denied by a certain Benet Moliner in his deposition of 1301, in which he added that “God would have never demeaned himself by entering the womb of a woman.”⁸²⁶

Finally, Estevana’s view that God was not responsible for the creation of the material world was shared by many others: Guerauda Arnau, an inhabitant of Toulouse who moved there from Castelsarrasin and was posthumously sentenced to prison in April 1312, had admitted in her deposition of May 1309 to having heard that “Satan, the prince of the world, had created all that was corruptible.”⁸²⁷ Guilhem Monjo had heard the “heretics” Peire Sans and Peire Raimon de Pontgibaud say that “God did not make plants bloom nor germinate”;⁸²⁸ and Benet Moliner claimed that there were two gods—one good and the other one evil—and that it was the evil one who had created all that was visible.⁸²⁹

Alongside their antisacramental and anticlerical stance, these doctrines had an undeniable dualist feel that Bernard Gui did not fail to reflect in the section of his *Practica* devoted to what he called “modern Manicheans”. Manicheanism was a dualist religious system allegedly founded in Persia in the third century by a man called Mani. A major religious movement, it competed with Christianity after the decline of paganism, and even a major Christian figure such as Augustine of Hippo had belonged to the group for almost a decade before converting. However, as noted in Chapter 1 above, despite the extensive scholarship devoted to connect the original Manicheans to the medieval dissenters presented here, said connection largely stems from taking at face value the identification proposed not only by late inquisitors such as Bernard Gui, but also by earlier medieval polemicists and

⁸²⁵ For Guilhem Monjo’s deposition, see *ibid.*, 740: “(...) quod homo non debebat adorare crucem”; on Peire Raimon Domenge’s comment, see *ibid.*, 1476: “Item quod crux Christi non debebat adorari, quia nullus adoraret furcas in quibus pater suus fuisset suspensus.”

⁸²⁶ *Ibid.*, 1116: “Dicebant etiam quod impossibile erat Deum fuisse incarnatum, quia nunquam tantum humiliavit se quod poneret se in utero mulieris (...) Item negabat resurrectionem corporum.”

⁸²⁷ *Ibid.*, 778: “(...) quod princeps hujus mundi dyabolus fecerat omnia corruptibilia.”

⁸²⁸ *Ibid.*, 740: “(...) item quod Deus non faciebat florere nec germinare.”

⁸²⁹ *Ibid.*, 1116: “Item dicebat quod erat duo dii, bonus et malignus, et malignus creaverat omnia visibilia.”

theologians who found in Augustinian writings a description that suited quite well a new and unfamiliar reality. Be that as it may, the suspects interrogated by Gui and other contemporary inquisitors had little to do with late ancient dualists and were instead the result of centuries of Western religious tradition.

On the basis of his own fieldwork and moved by the ultimate goal of producing a manual for his fellow inquisitors, Bernard Gui compiled the belief system of these “modern Manicheans,” their practices, and rituals together with a list of questions and patterns that could supposedly help identify them and make them recant their “erroneous opinions.”⁸³⁰ In this section we find again the doctrinal tenets presented above, given that, despite the use of previous compilations for the composition of the *Practica*, Gui’s description of this group largely drew on his own experience as inquisitor between 3 March 1308 and 19 June 1323. Although the general sermons held from 1308 to 1312 were entirely devoted to the prosecution of these “modern Manicheans”, the trials against the members of this religious movement carried on until the very end of Gui’s inquisitorial career, to the point that 499 men and women out of the total 636 people whose sentences are recorded in the *Liber sententiarum* of this Dominican inquisitor were accused of involvement in the heresy of the *bons omes*.

According to Bernard Gui, these particular heretics believed in two gods, one good and one evil, and it was the latter—promptly identified with Satan or the Devil—who was responsible for the creation of the visible and material world.⁸³¹ Similarly, they claimed that there were two Churches: the good one, that is, their own group, and the evil one, which, according to them, was the Roman Church, also described as “the mother of fornication, Babylon, the great prostitute, and basilica of the Devil and Satan’s synagogue.”⁸³² They

⁸³⁰ All quotations from the *Practica* included in this chapter refer to the section entitled “De Manicheis moderni temporis”, in Doat 30, fols. 191r–202r. An edition of this same section can be found in Mollat, *Manuel de l’inquisiteur*, vol. 1, 10–32.

⁸³¹ Doat 30, fol. 191r–v: “Manicheorum itaque secta et hæresis et eius devii sectatores duos Deos aut Deos duos asserunt et fatentur, benignum Deum scilicet et malignum, creationem omnium rerum visibilium et corporalium asserentes non esse factam a Deo patri cœlesti, quem dicunt Deum benignum, sed a Diabolo, malo deo, Sathana, quia ipsum vocant Deum malignum et Deum huius sæculi et principem huius mundi.”

⁸³² Doat 30, fol. 191v: “Item duas confingunt esse ecclesias, unam benignam, quam dicunt esse sectam suam, eamque esse asserunt ecclesiam Jesu Christi, aliam vero ecclesiam vocant malignam, quam dicunt esse

maintained that the traditional sacraments, all of which involved some sort of material component, were void, and promoted their own spiritual versions of these rituals that were instead based on the intervention of the Holy Spirit.⁸³³ Finally, these "Manicheans" denied Christ's incarnation, his human nature, his Passion and resurrection, the Ascension, the human nature of the Virgin Mary, whom they saw as a representation of their own Church, and the resurrection of the flesh.⁸³⁴

It is worth noting that the word 'Manicheans' only appears once in Gui's *Book of Sentences*, in particular as part of a formula for the abjuration of a certain group of individuals who had to publicly state that they "completely abjured and recanted all heresies raised against the Catholic faith of the Lord Jesus Christ and the Holy Roman Church and all heretical beliefs of all condemned sects, and especially that of the Manicheans, as well as the errors of the Beguins who claim to belong to the Third Order of Saint Francis, and any others whatever their names."⁸³⁵ However, neither were these *heretici* called 'Cathars', a word by which they have come to be known but whose usage was mostly restricted to Italian groups and some ecclesiastical sources.⁸³⁶

As shown by the inquisitorial records of the period, in early fourteenth-century Languedoc, Bernard Gui's "modern Machineans" were known as Good Men and Women—

Romanam ecclesiam, eamque impudenter appellant matrem fornicationum, Babilonem magnam meretricem et basilicam Diaboli et Sathanæ sinagogam."

⁸³³ Doat 30, fol. 192r: "Item omnia sacramenta Romanæ Ecclesiæ domini Jesu Christi, videlicet eucharistiæ seu altaris et baptismi qui fit in aqua materiali necnon confirmationis et ordinis et extremæ unctionis et pœnitentiæ et matrimonium inter virum et mulierem, singularum et singula asserunt esse inania atque vana."

⁸³⁴ Doat 30, fol. 193r–v: "Item incarnationem Domini Jesu Christi ex Maria semper virgine negant, asserentes ipsum non habuisse verum corpus humanum nec veram carnem hominis sicut habent cæteri homines ex natura humana nec vere fuisse passum aut mortuum in cruce nec vere surrexisse a mortuis nec vere ascendisse in cœlum cum corpore et carne humana, sed omnia cum similitudine fuisse facta. Item beatam Mariam Virginem negant fuisse veram matrem Domini Jesu Christi, nec fuisse mulierem carnalem, sed sectam suam et ordinem (...) Item resurrectionem corporum humanorum futuram negant."

⁸³⁵ Pales-Gobilliard, *Le livre des sentences*, 1288: "(...) abjuramus et renegamus penitus omnem heresim extollentem se adversus fidem catholicam Domini Jhesu Christi et sancte Romane ecclesie et omnem credenciam hereticorum cujuscumque secte dampnate et specialiter Manicheorum, ac etiam errorum Beguinorum qui se dicunt esse de terciâ regula sancti Francisci moderni temporis, et aliorum quibuscumque nominibus censeantur."

⁸³⁶ Pope Alexander III used the term in the Third Lateran Council (1179), Rainier Sacconi, a Dominican inquisitor and former heretic, used it in 1250 in his *Summa de Cathari*, and Pope Alexander IV mentions the word 'Catharos' in Doat 31, fol. 273r.

bons omes, bonas femnas—as they had been called for over a century. Most of the times, however, they were simply referred to as ‘heretics’—*heretico, heretica*—in these sources, because even at a point when the term had evolved to encompass a wider variety of religious expressions, the long-standing tradition of these groups, their massive following, and the repeated outbreaks of similar versions of their belief system still made them a major threat to Christianity in the eyes of inquisitors. Regarding the widespread term ‘perfect’, commonly used by scholars to single out the priestly elite of the movement, inquisitorial sources do speak of “perfect heretics”—*hereticos perfectos*—but this expression seems to belong more to inquisitorial vocabulary than to the everyday use of the members of the community. In fact, the aforementioned denominations of ‘Good Men’ and ‘Good Women’ were reserved for the privileged individuals who had already been at the receiving end of their most sacred ritual, the *consolamen*. As its Latin translation, *hereticatio*, so explicitly puts it—that is, the process whereby someone was turned into a heretic—it was this ceremony, described in detail in some depositions, that marked the official entrance of any man or woman into the group. Meanwhile, those who still had not gone through the *consolamen* participated in the life of the community both as recipients of intangible benefits and as providers of material support, but did not deserve to be called Good Men or Women until they had been administered this sacrament.

The *consolamen* was described as a sort of spiritual baptism by deponents, as Bernard Gui promptly recorded—and ridiculed—in his *Practica*: “In ape-like fashion, they have fabricated other sacraments in their stead [that of the sacraments of the Roman Church] that appear similar to these. Instead of the baptism with water they have invented a spiritual one, which they call *consolamentum* of the Holy Spirit, whereby they receive both healthy and sick people into their sect and order by laying their hands on said person according to their despicable rite.”⁸³⁷ Indeed, denials of the validity of the Roman baptism were often accompanied by claims as to the power of this alternative ritual. For instance, not only did the aforementioned Estevana de Proault renounce baptism but she also stated her preference

⁸³⁷ Doat 30, fol. 192r: “(...) et confingunt tanquam simiæ quædam alia loco ipsorum quæ quasi similia videantur confingentes loco baptismi facti in aqua baptismum alium spiritualem quem vocant consolamentum Spiritus Sancti quando scilicet recipiunt aliquam personam in sanitate vel in infirmitate ad sectam et ordinem suum per inpositionem manuum secundum ritum suum execrabilem.”

for the *consolamen*, which, according to her *culpa*, she called “spiritual baptism.”⁸³⁸ Likewise, according to Benet Moliner, this laying on of hands superseded the baptism with water and, furthermore, granted salvation and redeemed all sins without need for confession or penance.⁸³⁹

Further attesting to this seemingly all-in-one sacramental nature, the *consolamen* was not just an initiation rite that, as baptism, introduced individuals into the cult, but it also acted as an ordination sacrament that marked the acceptance of new members into the priestly elite of the group. In the latter instance, this meant that from that moment onwards the *consolamen* turned them into what inquisitorial sources describe as ‘perfect heretics’, who were entitled to perform sacramental duties as well as to receive the respectful treatment of believers and sympathisers. Said duties included performing the *consolamen* on others, either to welcome them into the group or to ordain them, preaching, and blessing bread that the community shared and distributed among the faithful during their gatherings—the so-called *aparelhamen*. Inquisitorial sources provide many examples of the ordination ritual, albeit the process that led to it is far less documented. Thirteenth-century sources reveal the less than systematic training period that preceded it, but this information is all but absent from later testimonies.

By the early fourteenth century, the groups of Good Men and Women had been forced into clandestinity for over half a century and the rituals were far more secretive and probably practical due to necessity. Many depositions in Bernard Gui’s *Book of Sentences* account for the ordinations of some of these ‘perfects’, which took place in private households owned by sympathisers and were witnessed by many attendants. Thus, Peire Sans, the third most renowned Good Men according to that same source, was ‘consoled’—that is, ordained—by the much revered Peire Auter at the Durand household in Beauvais-sur-Tescou, surrounded by members of the Durand family and their neighbours. Among others, Arnauda Durand confessed to having witnessed the moment when Peire Sans was

⁸³⁸ Pales-Gobilliard, *Le livre des sentences*, 194: “(...) eidem prefferendo execrabilem inpositionem manuum quam ipsi vocant baptismum spirituale seu consolamentum vel receptionem et bonum finem.”

⁸³⁹ Ibid., 1116: “Item dampnabant baptismus aque, dicentes quod per inposicionem manuum ab eis factam suis credentibus salvabatur homo et remittebantur omnia peccata sine confessione et satisfaccione.”

“made a heretic” by Peire Auter in the family home, after which Sans stayed with them for the winter and until the following Lent.⁸⁴⁰ Peire Sans was fully active in the years that followed, performing many *consolamens* himself, preaching, blessing bread, and being granted special treatment by believers, who also assisted him in times of need, and provided him with money, supplies, and shelter to help him avoid capture, all of which will be discussed below. Likewise, another prominent Good Man, Sanç Mercader, was also ordained by Peire Auter, this time in the Salas household, in the nearby village of Verlhac-Tescou, as the testimonies of the children of the Salas confirm, for Peire and Sibil·la Salas, aged 20 and 15 respectively, were among those who witnessed the ritual that “made Sanç Mercader a heretic.”⁸⁴¹ Just as Peire Sans, Sanç Mercader also went on to perform his duties as a member of the priestly elite, being widely known and supported by the members of the group.

In theory, this applied to both men and women, for members of both sexes could be ordained. The Good Woman Auda Borrell changed her name to Jacma—maybe in order to escape inquisitorial persecution—and fled first to Lombardy and later to Sicily, where she was ordained. The inquisitorial rhetoric is particularly sharp in its description of Auda's experience there, “where she was received into the execrable heretical sect as a perfect—or rather *infecta* (repulsive)—heretic, and ‘consoled’—or rather *desolata* (forsaken)—following and in accordance with the damnable life, sect, and rite of the heretics, attracting others to said sect and corrupting the Catholic faith with her perfidy.”⁸⁴² Later Auda came back to Toulouse where she exercised her ministry and died surrounded by believers, many of whom attended her funeral, and her remains were finally exhumed and burned in May 1309.⁸⁴³ However, the fact is that Good Women were a glaring minority, at least according

⁸⁴⁰ Pales-Gobilliard, *Le livre des sentences*, 174: “Item vidit et interfuit et consenciit quando Petrus Sancii fuit factus hereticus seu receptus ad ordinem et sectam hereticorum per Petrum Auterii in domo ipsius et viri sui.”

⁸⁴¹ For Peire's deposition, see *ibid.*, 346: “Item interfuit presens quando Sancius Mercaderii fuit factus hereticus et receptus ad sectam hereticorum per Petrus Auterii in domo sua et patris sui predicti.” For Sibil·la's deposition, see *ibid.*, 348: “Item vidit et interfuit quando Sancius Mercaderii de Borno fuit factus hereticus et receptus per Petrum Auterii hereticum in domo sua et patris sui.”

⁸⁴² *Ibid.*, 310: “(...) ubi recepta fuit in sectam heresis execratam heretica jam perfecta immo infecta et consolata, immo verius desolata, vitam et sectam et ritum hereticorum dampnabilem tenendo et servando et ad eam personas alias pertrahendo fidemque catholicam sua perfidia corrumpendo.”

⁸⁴³ *Ibid.*, 314: “Precipientes ut in signo perditionis ossa ipsarum, si ab alibis catholicorum ossibus possint discerni, de sacris cimiteriis exhumentur et conburantur in detestationem criminis tam nephandi.”

to early fourteenth-century inquisitorial sources. For example, only three out of the forty-three 'perfects' documented in Bernard Gui's *Book of Sentences* were women, two of which cannot even be identified by name. This situation marked the culmination of a trend that seems to have started at least in the mid-thirteenth century, when even though the number of women among what could be called the 'Cathar clergy' was far larger, their functions were rather more restricted than those of their male counterparts, especially with regard to preaching and sacramental duties.⁸⁴⁴ In contrast, the number of women among the recipients of the *consolamen* as an initiation rather than an ordination sacrament in the early fourteenth-century inquisitorial sources analysed is well above the overall ratio of women documented as members of these groups, that is, around 35%, an issue I will shortly go back to.

It is worth noting that both the fact that in its facet as initiation ritual the *consolamen* was performed on men and women who received it on their dying bed, and its power to provide redemption from all sins, turned it into a sort of anointment of the sick, and more specifically and to all intents and purposes, into an extreme unction. Members of the priestly elite usually administered the sacrament to believers regardless of gender and age but only if they were actually about to die. Mothers and grandmothers were usually keen to have the *consolamen* performed on their little children when they fell ill. Thus, Bonassia Gui, a widow described as the concubine of one notorious fugitive and supporter of heretics, Peire Filh, called on the Good Men to perform the ritual on her daughter, a little girl who died afterwards, and even advised other parents of sick little children to do the same.⁸⁴⁵ Likewise, Blanca Gilabert procured the assistance of a Good Man to 'console' a dying little girl, her son's youngest daughter.⁸⁴⁶ The large number of testimonies that refer to men and women calling for Good Men to assist them on their own dying beds or those of a relative reveals how administering the *consolamen* to the dying so that they would be granted salvation

⁸⁴⁴ See Abels and Harrison, "Participation of Women," 225–40, for an analysis of this aspect mostly based on thirteenth-century inquisitorial sources; see also Arnold, "Heresy and Gender," for a discussion of the results of the previous paper.

⁸⁴⁵ See, for instance, Guilhem Huc Sastre's deposition, Pales-Gobilliard, *Le livre des sentences*, 1038: "Item audivit a quadam muliere que vocabatur Bonassias quod ipsa fecerat recipi quandam filiam suam parvulam in infirmitate de qua obiit per quendam hereticum quem non nominavit ad sectam suam et dicta mulier consulebat dicto Guillelmo quod faceret recipi quendam puerum ipsius Guillelmi, qui puer tunc infirmabatur."

⁸⁴⁶ Ibid., 272: "item procuravit et fecit venire quendam hereticum ad hereticandum quandam puellulam, filiam filii sui parvulam, in fine suo, et ipsa presente et vidente hereticus hereticavit dictam puellam que obiit."

became the main sacramental duty of the priestly elite of the group. In this case, the formulaic nature of inquisitorial interrogation helps to stress this point, for it was important for inquisitors to determine whether those who died had had the opportunity to repent their sins in order to determine possible posthumous consequences to their acts or those of their relatives. Thus, the recurrent use of the expression “in infirmitate de qua obiit”—that is, “during the illness from which he or she died”—to specify the moment when the *consolamen* had been administered was meant to record the fact that the recipient had not been able to recover nor to convert back to the ‘Catholic faith’ after receiving it.

Conversely, when recovery seemed likely, the ritual was often not performed. For instance, several members of the Bolha family, from Verdun-Lauragais, confirmed that when the head of the family, Bernard, fell sick, his wife Bernarda sent for two Good Men—in this case Peire Raimon and Ameli de Perles—to go to the family household and administer him the *consolamen*; however, when they arrived, Bernard’s health seemed to be on the mend and therefore they did not proceed with the ritual.⁸⁴⁷ Ultimately, it was up to the Good Men to determine the most probable outcome and therefore whether or not they should administer the sacrament. Sometimes, as was to be expected, they failed in their estimated prognosis and the recipient survived, but this did not seem to pose a problem and ‘consolated’ believers went on with their lives rather unchanged. Benet Moliner, a man from Cordes who was gravely ill several times during the last part of his life, asked to be administered the *consolamen* on one of those occasions. The Good Man Bernard de Goch performed the ritual by holding Benet’s hands while reading the Gospel of John from a book he held over Benet’s head, and finally gave Benet a “delicate thread that he was to wear as a mark of heresy.”⁸⁴⁸ After that, Benet healed and promptly sent a considerable alm—50 *sous tournois*—to Bernard and then kept on with his life supporting the priestly elite of the group and participating in their activities until his death. Although he never received the *consolamen*

⁸⁴⁷ See, among others, Bernarda’s deposition, *ibid.*, 254: “(...) et ipsa miserat pro eisdem quod venirent ad maritum suum qui tunc infirmabatur ut reciperent eum in ordine suo, quia audiverat dici quod in ordine ipsorum homo salvabatur, set dictus maritus tunc convaluit et ideo tunc non fuit hereticatus.”

⁸⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 1112: “Item predictus Benedictus Molinerii in quadam infirmitate de qua convaluit, voluit et petiit recipi in sectam hereticorum et Bernardus de Goch hereticus recepit ipsum et hereticavit volentem et petentem secundum modum ipsorum, tenendo manus ipsius infirmi inter manus suas et tenendo quendam librum super ipsum infirmum in quo legebat Evangelium beati Johannis, ‘In principio erat Verbum’, dicens quod hereticus tradidit eidem infirmo unum filum subtile quo pro heresi cingeretur.”

again, he was posthumously sentenced to being handed over to the secular arm in September 1319 for dying not as a 'perfect' but as an unrepentant believer.⁸⁴⁹

Benet's case is but one of the examples that suggest that these 'consoled' survivors were not considered as part of the priestly elite of the group but as believers, probably because they maintained a sort of privileged status only for a few days before they abandoned the strict way of life of 'perfect heretics'. Thus, Huc Ruf, a man from Marnhiac whose grandmother and brother had received the *consolamen* on their dying beds, was also 'consoled' at a time of illness, but when he did not die he only managed to maintain his new status, and all the constraints it involved, for three days.⁸⁵⁰ According both to Bernard Gui's *Practica* and to the depositions of believers and Good Men alike, such status required, among other things, frequent fasting periods, abstaining from eating meat, eggs, and dairy, and renouncing to partake in sexual relations.⁸⁵¹

Not only did dietary constraints affect the kind of supplies provided for the priestly elite, but also the way in which 'consoled' dying believers acted after receiving the *consolamen*. On the one hand, the victuals these 'perfects' received consisted of different types of fish—for the common belief was that fish were not born from sexual interaction—fruit, vegetables, nuts, bread, wine, and none of the forbidden products. On the other, this very specific diet had acted as an identity trait for the Good Men and Women since the late twelfth century, but fourteenth-century sources attest to the fact that this was still one of the most renowned features of these groups. In 1306, the record of the case against Adhemar Peire, from Bannières, charged him, among other things, with not revealing the whereabouts of the Good Men Felip de Coustaussa and Raimon Fabre, "who observed the abstinences of

⁸⁴⁹ Ibid., 1118: "(...) declaramus ipsum Benedictum Molinerii fuisse credentem hereticorum erroribus dum vivebat ipsumque si viveret nisi de premissis penitere vellet et redire ad ecclesie unitatem fore relinquendum brachio et curia seculari."

⁸⁵⁰ Ibid., 700: "Item postmodum Hugo, filius dicte Guillelme, in infirmitate de qua convaluit, fuit hereticatus et receptus ad sectam et ordinem hereticorum per dictum Petrum Auterii hereticum (...) et dictam hereticationem tenuit et servabit postea per tres dies."

⁸⁵¹ Doat 30, fol. 195r-v: "Item ieunant tres quadragesimas in anno (...) et septimanam primam et ultimam cuiuslibet quadragesimæ vocant septimanam strictam, quia in illa ieunant in pane et aqua (...) Item nunquam comedunt carnes nec etiam tangunt eas, nec caseum nec ova, nec aliquid quod nascatur ex carne per viam generationis seu cohitus. (...) Item non tangunt aliquam mulierem."

the heretics.”⁸⁵² Still two decades later, an inhabitant of Albi named Johan de Port who was posthumously condemned to life imprisonment in February 1325, had confessed to having shared a meal with ‘heretics’, specifying that while he and other believers ate meat, the Good Men had only had fish.⁸⁵³

These strict precepts set the priestly elite of the movement apart, for once ordained, Good Men and Women were expected to follow them for life. However, much the same applied to the dying men and women who received the *consolamen* as an initiation sacrament and extreme unction that would grant them salvation in the afterlife, even if they only had to comply with said requirement for the short time they had left. The belief that for as long as they adhered to the creed of the group their sins were forgiven and their salvation ensured led to the appearance of one of the most striking religious practices, the so-called *endura*, a vernacular term that described the ritual suicide whereby believers basically starved themselves to death after receiving the *consolamen*.⁸⁵⁴ According to the tenets of the Good Men and Women, souls were trapped in bodies and transferred from one body to the next after death in a never-ending cycle unless the *consolamen* was performed, at which moment the soul was finally free to return to God provided that its owner died in that state of grace, hence the usefulness of the *endura*.⁸⁵⁵ The first recorded instance of *endura* dates back to August 1274, when Rixendis de Mireval, from the village of Graulhet, testified against the late *domina* Fays claiming that after receiving the *consolamen*, said lady had voluntarily refused to eat for fifteen days until she died.⁸⁵⁶ The almost twenty similar cases documented in the *Book of Sentences* of Bernard Gui and the ten examples in

⁸⁵² Pales-Gobilliard, *Le livre des sentences*, 656: “(...) celavit multa de predictis scienter et specialiter quod Philippum hereticum et Ramundum Fabri qui tenebat abstinencias hereticorum sciebat esse in Condomio.”

⁸⁵³ Doat 28, fol. 137r: “(...) cum dictis hæreticis in eadem mensa per dictos hæreticos secundum modum eorum benedicta comedit, scilicet ipse et alii præsentis carnes et dicti hæretici pisces.”

⁸⁵⁴ For an analysis of this practice in relation to suicide with a discussion of the related literature, see Alexander Murray, *Suicide in the Middle Ages. The Violent against Themselves* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 197–91.

⁸⁵⁵ Doat 30, fol. 195v: “Item nullomodo occiderent aliquod animal nec alium volatile quia dicunt et credunt quod in animalibus brutis et in avibus sint spiritus illi qui recedunt de corporibus hominum quando non sunt recepti ad sectam nec ordinem suum per impositionem manuum suarum secundum ritum eorum, et quod transeunt de uno corpore in aliud corpus.”

⁸⁵⁶ Doat 25, fols. 175v–176r: “(...) dixit etiam ipsa testis quod prædicta domina iuxta postquam fuit hæreticata per quindecim dies vel circa, nihil comedens nec bibens aliquid non aquam, et ipsa testis servivit ei continuo usque ad obitum, sciens eam esse hæreticam.”

Fournier’s Register show that although this practice was not generalised it was still frequent in the early decades of the fourteenth century.

To mention but a few examples, Montoliva Francesc “put herself to the *endura*” until she died and was secretly buried in the back garden of the household where she had received the *consolamen*, presumably to avoid detection and the exhumation of her remains;⁸⁵⁷ Likewise, a certain unnamed man encouraged Peirona Pagès, whose own mother Arnauda had been ‘consoled’ on her dying bed, to accept the *consolamen* during her illness and then put herself to the *endura*;⁸⁵⁸ Much has been discussed about the implications and true nature of the *endura*, but the fact that not even little children were spared this final ordeal attests to the strength of their parents’ trust in the power of the *consolamen* as a means to free the soul from its bodily confinement. Thus, the case of the two-year-old Johanet de Fays provides one of the more distressing examples of such deep convictions. Alasaytz de Fays, his mother, was advised by Bona Durand, Johanet’s grandmother, to summon the renowned Good Man Peire Auter so that the little boy, who was gravely ill, could be accepted into the group. Alasaytz acted on behalf of his son and agreed to the ritual after Auter instructed her not to give the child neither meat, nor cheese, eggs or any other kind of animal fat once the *consolamen* had been performed. Alasaytz complied and Johanet died three or four days later.⁸⁵⁹

Despite the most staunch beliefs in the power of the *consolamen*, when death did not arrive quickly enough, the *endura* was such a high price to pay that not everybody was able, or willing, to stick to it until the very end. Like Alasaytz de Fays, Estevana de Caussens confessed in 1310 that the Good Man Peire Auter had instructed her not to provide any kind

⁸⁵⁷ See the deposition of Guilhem Arnau Fabre in Pales-Gobilliard, *Le livre des sentences*, 292: “Item vidit Montolivam, uxorem Martini Francisci, que se posuerat in *endura* quam servabat et in qua obiit, fuit recepta in sectam hereticorum et sepulta, ut credit, in orto Bernardi, fratris ipsius Guillelmi.”

⁸⁵⁸ Ibid., 907: “Item in quadam infirmitate quam ipsa habuit, fuit requisita per quendam hominem quem nominat, quod poneret se in *endura* et vellet recipi ad ordinem hereticorum et facere illum bonum finem.”

⁸⁵⁹ Ibid., 890: “Item in infirmitate de qua obiit quidam filius dicte Alazaytz nomine Johannetus, etatis duorum annorum vel circa (...) fuit adductus Petrus Auterii ad dictum puerum in domo Ramundi Durandi et petivit hereticus ab ea de nomine pueri et si volebat quod reciperet eum ad ordinem suum et salvaret sibi animam et ipsa respondit quod sic et dictus hereticus dicit sibi quod ex quo recepisset eum, non debebat ei dare ad comedendum carnes, nec caseum, nec ova, nec aliquem pinguedinem carniū et post dictus hereticus legit in quodam libro et recepit dictum puerum qui supervixit per tres vel quatuor dies.”

of sustenance to her dying mother, Baranhona Peire, on whom he had just performed the *consolamen*. Estevana complied, and although Baranhona asked for food and drink she was not given any for the following day and night, lest she may lose the grace bestowed on her through the ritual. Finally, three days later, Baranhona ended up eating, after which she recovered from her illness and went back to the less strict life of a believer until her death.⁸⁶⁰ In 5 April 1310, Baranhona Peire was posthumously handed over to the secular arm—that is, her remains were to be exhumed and burned—and the text of the sentence against her suggests that although she never again received the *consolamen*, that first instance was enough in the eyes of the inquisitors to condemn her for having died as a fully fledged heretic.⁸⁶¹

There is little doubt that the Church saw the *endura* as an aggravating circumstance for, despite the doubts cast by some scholars on whether it was actually a form of suicide or not, ecclesiastical authorities saw it as such, and early fourteenth-century inquisitorial depositions confirm as much.⁸⁶² The sources reveal that, with the exception of children, the *endura* was a voluntary act inextricably related to the *consolamen* whereby believers and ‘perfects’ alike tried to remain in a sinless estate that would grant them salvation. The practice of the *endura* bespoke a strong sense of agency and commitment in individuals that sought to speed up their demise in order to make sure that the grace bestowed on them by the sacrament was not lost. Avoiding inquisitorial punishment was also considered a valid reason for them to put themselves to the *endura*, which they did not regard as a mortal sin, for it ultimately allowed them to leave behind their mortal coil and therefore to release their souls. Thus, according to the text of the sentence against the Good Man Ameli de Perles of 23 October 1309, he tried to escape his fate in this way, albeit unsuccessfully, because the

⁸⁶⁰ Ibid., 722: “(...) et inhibuit dictus hereticus ne a modo aliquis cibus ministraretur dicte infirme hereticate secundum modum ipsorum hereticorum et dicta Stephana cum quadam alia persona quam nominat, que serviebant dicte infirme, observaverunt quod de tota nocte nec de die sequenti nullus cibus vel potus fuit ei ministratus ne dicta infirma perderet bonum quod receperat et ne faceret contra ordinationem dicti heretici quamvis dicta infirma requireret quod darent sibi cibum et tandem tercia die comedit et convaluit.”

⁸⁶¹ See the sentence in *ibid.*, 490 and 494–95.

⁸⁶² Costas B. Tsiamis, Eleni Tounta, and Effie L. Poulakou-Rebelakou, “The “Endura” of The Cathars’ Heresy: Medieval Concept of Ritual Euthanasia or Suicide?,” *Journal of Religion and Health* 55 (2006): 174–80. The historical veracity of the *endura* was also questioned in Moore, *The Origins of European Dissent*.

inquisitorial court in turn decided to speed up the procedure and the execution of the sentence.⁸⁶³

Particularly revealing in this regard is the case of Estevana de Proault's mother, Guilhema.⁸⁶⁴ Guilhema had frequently received heretics in her home, had heard them preaching against the sacraments, paid them her respects on bended knee, sent them money and gifts, and had also led many other men and women to establish an acquaintance with this heretical elite. Moreover, the testimonies of as many as five different women confirm that Guilhema received the *consolamen* and put herself to the *endura*. It seems that Guilhema, who, by all accounts, was deeply involved in the network supporting the Good Men and Women established around Toulouse, learned that inquisitors were after her, decided to die before they caught her, and in order to do so properly, called on the Good Men to perform the ritual.⁸⁶⁵ Be that as it may, apart from the Good Man who formally received her into the group, Guilhema's death was the result of a complex and determined effort made possible by the collaboration of an entirely female network. Once she received the *consolamen*, the *endura* proved to be too slow, and therefore Guilhema took more extreme measures with the help of several other women.⁸⁶⁶ Alasaytz the Proault procured a barber surgeon to perform bloodlettings, whose effectivity Guilhema tried to improve by taking warm baths while she bled. When this strategy did not work, she spent the night lying on the cold ground, and when that did not work either she drank a mortal potion that finally ended her life.⁸⁶⁷ A certain Raimunda Granet provided another woman, Vesiada Ponsenc,

⁸⁶³ Pales-Gobilliard, *Le livre des sentences*, 328: "Quin immo ad cumulum dampnationis sue tanquam perditionis filius et gehenne mortem corporalem sibi accelerans et properans ad eternam, ab eo tempore quo captus extitit, noluit comedere nec bibere tanquam sui ipsius propius homicida."

⁸⁶⁴ Guilhema is never identified by the record as Estevana's mother, but she was the first wife of Estevana's father, Martí de Proault, and the timeline makes it difficult for Estevana to be the offspring of Alasaytz de Proault, Martí's second wife and Guilhema's close friend. Estevana's sentence was issued on 3 March 1308, when she was already a young widow, and Alasaytz and several others confessed to the events surrounding Guilhema's death between 1309 and 1310, without any of them providing the dates but with no mention of said episode having happened many years before either.

⁸⁶⁵ Deposition of Alasaytz de Proault, Pales-Gobilliard, *Le livre des sentences*, 458: "Item predicta Guillelma revelavit sibi quod multum timebat capi per inquisitores quia credebatur quod factum suum esset manifestum eis."

⁸⁶⁶ *Culpa* of Guilhema de Proault, *ibid.*, 310: "(...) et sic recepta per hereticos in abstinencia quam ipsi vocant enduram multis diebus perdurans ritum sibi traditum."

⁸⁶⁷ The episode is summed up in Guilhema's *culpa*, *ibid.*: "(...) mortemque corporalem sibi accelerans sanguinem minuendo, balneum frequentando potumque lettiferum ex succo cucumerum silvestrium inmisso in eo vitreo fracto quo frangeretur ejus viscera in fine ut finiret celarius petitem auide assumendo et ad mortem

with the main ingredient, wild cucumbers, which Vesiada then gave to Esclarmonda Fabre, a woman from Rabastens who moved to Guilhema and Martís's house in Toulouse to assist Guilhema in her final efforts. Esclarmonda made the potion to which glass shards were added to ensure Guilhema's death. Furthermore, Guilhema also had an alternative and more expedient plan in place in case inquisitorial officers came knocking too soon, Esclarmonda asked Alasaytz to buy an awl with which Guilhema asked them to pierce her side—and her heart—thus killing herself as quickly as possible.⁸⁶⁸ For this, Guilhema's remains were exhumed and burned, and her close-knit group of female helpers were sentenced to life imprisonment.

Guilhema's final stance was thus made possible both by the member of the priestly elite that administered the *consolamen*, and by a network of women who provided for her and helped her along the way. As has been established above, receiving the 'Cathar' initiation ritual on one's deathbed—however sought-after that deathbed was—was not the same as voluntarily receiving it in life with the aim of becoming a Good Man or Woman. Nonetheless, it led to a sort of transitory limbo during which believers were seen as sinless, and therefore ready for salvation, but not as 'perfect'. Therefore, although they could not and were not expected to preach or to perform sacraments, they were entitled to some of the privileges reserved for 'perfects', namely, to be saluted in a very specific way. Guilhema de Proault's example attests to this deferential treatment, for, as her *culpa* records, once she received the *consolamen*, she "let herself be adored in the heretical fashion."⁸⁶⁹

This respectful and specific way of saluting the members of the priestly elite was indeed the most widespread identity marker of the group, even more so than the *consolamen*, for most *culpae* included an admission of some such ceremony. Inquisitorial sources

festinavit eternam, dum dampnabiliter obiit in errore heresis et horrore." The bit about lying on the ground is recounted in Alasaytz's deposition, *ibid.*, 458: "Et scivit et audivit quod dicta Guillelma post balneacionem et minutionem ponebat se super terram frigidam."

⁸⁶⁸ The accounts even include a discussion on the best place to pierce to quickly reach the heart, see *ibid.*, 458–59: "(...) et tunc ipsa et illa mulier que emerat alzenam iverunt ad dictam Guillelmam, que ipsis presentibus et audientibus rogavit dicta Esclarmundam quod omnino perforaret eam cum dicta alzena in latere in illa parte in qua erat cor et fuit sibi collacio habita inter eas ubi erat cor et visum fuit eis quod debebat esse in sinistra parte."

⁸⁶⁹ Pales-Gobilliard, *Le livre des sentences*, 310: "Et sectam ipsorum servando se fecit tanquam hereticam more ipsorum dampnabili adorari."

described it as *adoratio* and, as early as the mid-thirteenth century, the first inquisitorial manual, the aforementioned *Ordo processus Narbonensis*, included it in its question list alongside the most important sacraments of the group: “did you adore them [the heretics], bow your head, bend your knee or ask for their blessing saying *Benedicite*?; did you attend their *consolamen* or *aparelhamen*?”⁸⁷⁰ Whereas inquisitors called it *adoratio*, its participants used the vernacular *melhoramen*, which Bernard Gui also recorded in his *Practica*.⁸⁷¹ Different versions of this ritual salutation were described by a majority of the deponents in early-fourteenth century inquisitorial sources, and in fact, the salutation alone provided grounds for the incrimination of the person performing it. To quote but a couple of such versions, Condors Usabe, from Verdun-Lauragais, confessed in 1305 to having “adored the heretics on bended knee, with clasped hands, and bowing three times while saying *Benedicite*, following the heretical custom”;⁸⁷² and in 1310, the widow Guilhema de Combe Guilha, from Caufours, admitted that she had adored the heretics as she had been taught, “genuflecting three times, bowing, and placing her hands on the ground while saying *Benedicite*.”⁸⁷³ Although some authors have dismissed it as a mere social convention rooted in local customs that had little to do with religious practices, early-fourteenth sources show that both deponents and inquisitors saw it as a specific ritual that set the group apart from their neighbours.⁸⁷⁴

Furthermore, not only did the *melhoramen* serve to set its priestly elite apart, for believers had no particular way of addressing or saluting each other, but, sometimes, it was also linked to the final and most important ritual, the aforementioned *consolamen*. It was as part of this salutation that believers were able to introduce a special turn of phrase that

⁸⁷⁰ Tardif, “Document pour l’histoire du *processus*,” 672: “Si hereticum adoravit, vel caput inclinavit, vel genua flexit, vel dixit Benedicite coram eis; vel si eorum consolamentis aut appareillamentis interfuit.”

⁸⁷¹ Doat 30, fol. 196r: “Item docent credentes suos quod exhibeant eis reverentiam quam vocant melioramentum, nos autem vocamus adorationem, videlicet flectendo genua et inclinando se profunde coram ipsis super aliquam bancam vel usque ad terram iunctis manibus tribus vicibus inclinando et surgendo et dicendo qualibet vice ‘Benedicite’.”

⁸⁷² Pales-Gobilliard, *Le livre des sentences*, 252: “(...) et adoravit eos flexis genibus et iunctis manibus et inclinando se ter coram eis et dicendo ter ‘Benedicite’ secundum modum hereticorum.”

⁸⁷³ Ibid., 348: “(...) et adoravit eos sicut fuit edocta flectendo genua ter, inclinando et ponendo manus super terram et dicendo ‘Benedicite’.”

⁸⁷⁴ For the argument that this was a common enough solution in the region, at least in the thirteenth century, see Pegg, *Corruption of Angels*.

resulted in yet another religious practice with far-reaching consequences, the *covenensa*, a pact between believer and ‘perfect’ whereby the former asked to receive the *consolamen* on their deathbed and the latter vowed to assist them. In some cases this pact was made explicit in the *culpa*, as for instance when the widow Raimunda d’Albigès confessed in June 1315 that she had “adored the heretics by bowing before them with clasped hands and saying Benedicite three times and that she made a pact with them to be received into their sect and order upon her death.”⁸⁷⁵ Most often, the word *covenensa* was included and left in the vernacular on the record, as in the deposition of Guilhem Falquet—who confessed in 1307 and later escaped the *mur* in April 1310—where he admitted to having “made a pact with the heretics, which they call *la covenensa*, so that, following their dreadful custom, he would be received into their sect upon his death.”⁸⁷⁶ In his *Practica*, Bernard Gui included this ritual pact among the practices of the group, describing it in similar terms but adding an important point, the fact that the main purpose of the *covenensa* was to bind the believer and to ensure their future acceptance into the sect even in case they lost their powers of speech or their memory, for the *consolamen* required the verbal consent of the recipient.⁸⁷⁷ Therefore, the *covenensa* became a placeholder for the initiation ritual, and as such was a community-binding practice that bridged the gap between the strict life of the priestly elite and the devotional and material support of what we could call the ‘laity’ of the group.

The *consolamen* was the sacramental hinge that articulated the groups of Good Men and Women and their believers. These groups were based on a vertical structure that had much to do with the organisation of the Catholic Church. I am not referring here to the ecclesiological hierarchical nature of the movement, for at least in fourteenth-century sources there are only a few mentions of rank among the priestly elite—all of which could have easily been introduced by the inquisitorial discourse—but to a fundamental binary

⁸⁷⁵ Pales-Gobilliard, *Le livre des sentences*, 908: “(...) et adoravit dictos hereticos inclinando se, junctis manibus, coram eis et dicendo ‘Benedicite’ tribus vicibus et concessit eis quod in fine suo volebat recipi ad sectam et ordinem ipsorum.”

⁸⁷⁶ Ibid., 228: “Item fecit pactum hereticis quod ipsi vocant *la covenensa* quod reciperetur ab eis in fine suo secundum pessimam consuetudinem eorumdem.”

⁸⁷⁷ Doat 30, fols. 196v–197r: “Item dicunt credentibus suis quod faciant eis pactum quod vocant *la covenensa*, videlicet quod in fine suo velint recipi ad sectam et ordinem ipsorum et ex tunc hæretici possunt recipere tales in infirmitate eorum etiam si perdidissent loquelam aut non haberent memoriam ordinatam.”

division into laity and clergy.⁸⁷⁸ However, unlike in the case of the Catholic Church, such division was only temporary as all believers could eventually become privileged members of the elite, if only on their deathbed, for the *consolamen* made it possible. As noted in the chapter above, heresy was perceived by the Church as an infectious disease that spread through contact, and therefore it was of paramount importance not only to identify 'heretical leaders' but also to locate and interrogate their sympathisers and supporters. This was even more important in the case of this religious group, for once men and women came into contact with the alternative religious culture of the Good Men and Women, they had the potential both to be 'corrupted' by their beliefs and to become part of its clergy as converted irredeemable heretics.

⁸⁷⁸ The problem of the existence and structure of the 'Cathar Church' was introduced in previous chapters and merits a much longer discussion with a wider variety of sources. As for the sources mentioned here, Guilhem Durall confessed in 1276 that he had seen Aymeric Collet, whom appears in Guilhem's *culpa* as "bishop of the heretics of Albi," see Pales-Gobilliard, *Le livre des sentences*, 1105: "Aymericus de Colleto, episcopus hereticorum Albiensium." In turn, the deposition of Guilhem Falquet distinguishes the Good Man Raimon Isarn as a "major deacon", see *ibid.*, 230: "(...) item Ramundum Ysarni, dyaconum majorem."

4.1 *Liber sententiarum*: A ‘Cathar’ Network

Peire Auter was a notary from Ax-les-Thermes, in the region of Sabarthès, in the upper basin of the river Ariège. His professional activity is documented in relation to the court of the Counts of Foix since the last quarter of the thirteenth century, as is his brother, the also notary Guilhem Auter.⁸⁷⁹ The region had been connected to the “heresy of the Good Men” for the best part of the thirteenth century and another Peire Auter, probably the grandfather of the former, had been involved in supporting the group as early as 1232.⁸⁸⁰ The head of a numerous family and an influential man due to his position as notary public, it seems that Peire—the grandson—sympathised with the doctrinal tenets of the Good Men and Women since at least 1293 or 1294, at least according to the deposition of Peire’s son-in-law, the physician Arnau Teisseyre, questioned by Jacques Fournier in 1321.⁸⁸¹ The turning point of the story took place around 1297, when Peire and Guilhem sold all their belongings and travelled to Lombardy on a very singular pilgrimage. The different testimonies do not agree on the reasons for their departure, which, as the aforementioned Arnau Teisseyre stated, could include an unsettled debt, but whatever those were, the Auter brothers chose a very specific destination that was quite in keeping both with their religious interests and with a pattern that was common enough at the time among other Languedocian believers.⁸⁸²

⁸⁷⁹ The surname ‘Auter’ is one of the possible vernacular equivalents of the Latin ‘Auterii’, the other being Autier. I have chosen it in keeping with the criteria for name translation indicated in the introduction to this dissertation. To this day, Anne Brenon, *Le dernier des cathares, Pèire Autier* (Paris: Perrin, 2016) remains the most extensive work on the biography of the Auter family and their appearance in inquisitorial sources.

⁸⁸⁰ On 30 January 1247, a certain nobleman called Peire de La Caune confessed in his deposition that some Good Men had been received at the house of a certain Peire Auter in Ax-les-Thermes fifteen years earlier; see Doat 24, fols 267v–268r: “Item vidit apud Axs in domo Petri Auterii Bertrandum Martini et Aymengarda Cossa filiam dicti P. Auter et Cossa maritum dictæ Aymengardæ et Poncium de Garano, sed non adoraverunt eos nec vidit adorari et sunt quindecim anni vel circa.”

⁸⁸¹ Arnau recalled an early conversation with his father-in-law during which Peire had shared a dualist reading of the beginning of the Gospel of John that was widespread among the Good Men and Women; see Duvernoy, *Le registre d’Inquisition*, vol. 2, 213–14: “Et tunc subito dictus Petrus dixit ipsi loquenti ‘Arnalde, hoc dicitur in Evngelio Sancti Iohannis, In principio erat verbum, et verbum erat apud Deum. Omnia per ipsum facta sunt, et sine ipso factum est nichil’ (...) et dictus Petrus dixit quod dicta verba non significabant hoc quod dicte loquens dixerat, seu significabant quod omnia erant facta per Ipsum, et quod etiam omnia erant facta sine Eo (...) Et dictus Petrus respondit quod ille intellectus erat Scripture ‘sine Ipso factum est nichil’, id est, omnia facta sunt sine Ipso.”

⁸⁸² Ibid., vol 2., 200: “(...) communiter dictum fuit quod recesserant et aliqui dicebant quod dictus Petrus fugerat propter debita, et aliqui propter lepram, et alii quod propter heresim.”

Lombardy and Sicily had long been a refuge for the remnants of the movement that had been forced to flee Languedoc and settle in Italy from the second half of the thirteenth onwards.⁸⁸³ Several depositions in Bernard Gui's *Book of Sentences* describe the communities established in Cuneo and Chieri—in Lombardy—and in Sicily, where the members of the group either took up residence or spent long periods of time, while staying in contact with their hometowns, family, and coreligionists back in Languedoc. For instance, Guilhem Falquet, whose name was already mentioned in the pages above, travelled several times from his native Lauragais to Italy and back again acting as a courier and also accompanying fugitive Good Men to the settlements there, just as his mother, Raimunda Teisseyre, had done around 1297 “with many other people.”⁸⁸⁴

Soon after, many supporters of the group used the excuse of the *annus jubileus* of 1300 decreed by Pope Boniface VIII to go to Lombardy under the guise of pilgrims who travelled to Rome to be granted full indulgences. Thus, Durand Barrau, an inhabitant of Le Born who had already been involved in heretical activities back in 1279, confessed around 1310 that “at the time of the great indulgences, ten years before, and along with Peire Sans and Raimon de Lanta, under the pretence of travelling to be granted indulgence, they went to Lombardy, to Cuneo, to seek the heretics, and when they did not find them, they made plans to sail to Sicily if at all possible.”⁸⁸⁵ Serdana Fabre, also known as Esclarmonda, the woman who prepared the deadly potion of wild cucumbers for Guilhema de Proault, also travelled to Cuneo with her aunt and uncle and stayed for several years in Genoa, whence

⁸⁸³ On Languedocian groups of Good Men and Women in Italy, see Brenon, *Le denier des cathares*, 110-13 and 132-37. On Cathars in Italy, see Carol Lansing, *Power and Purity. Cathar Heresy in Medieval Italy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

⁸⁸⁴ Pales-Gobilliard, *Le livre des sentences*, 228: “Item cum quibusdam aliis personis ivit in Lombardiam apud Conium ad querendum hereticos (...) et inde reportavit litteram pro aliis hereticis istius patrie et salutationes hereticorum (...) Item quarta vice ivit in Lombardiam et usque in Ciciliam missus per hereticos et duxit illuc duos hereticos, scilicet Poncium Bajuli de Axs et Poncium de Na Rica de Avinione ad majored hereticum qui erat in Cicilia.” See also Raimunda's *culpa*, *ibid.* 222: “(...) primo ivit in Lombardiam ad hereticos apud Conium cum multis aliis personis quas nominat.”

⁸⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 500: “(...) extunc tempore magne indulgencie que fuit Rome et sunt X anni, ipse et Petrus Sancii et Ramundus de Lantario sub similitudine quo irent ad indulgenciam, iverunt in Lombardiam apud Conium ad querendum hereticos quos habere volebant et quia non invenerunt ibi, volebant ire in Ciciliam si potuissent transire ad hereticos.”

she returned to Toulouse in the company of a Good Man, a Good Woman and other believers.⁸⁸⁶

The Auter brothers spent about three years in Lombardy, all the while maintaining contact with the land they had left behind through one of Peire’s illegitimate sons, called “Le Bon Guilhem” in some inquisitorial sources, who accompanied them from the beginning.⁸⁸⁷ Finally, in the autumn of 1299, they returned, but while they had left their native Sabartès as believers, they travelled back to Languedoc as ordained members of a priestly elite, that is, as Good Men (see Map 4.1). As such, they set out on an apostolic mission across the Lauragais that included preaching the doctrinal tenets of the group and performing their sacraments; they blessed bread, presided over gatherings, and administered the *consolamen* to dying believers and to brand new ‘perfects’, such as Peire’s own son, Jacme. As a result of their activity they would come into contact with over 300 people in the span of ten years, until in 1310 they were both executed at the stake as unrepentant heretics.



Map 4.1 The journey of the Auter brothers

⁸⁸⁶ Ibid., 480: “Et in Conio multociens et cum multis personis quas nominat fugitivis pro facto heresis et credentibus hereticorum fuit loquuta de facto heresis tanquam credens. (...) Item in Janua ubi stetit aliquibus annis, scivit aliquos credentes hereticorum et vidit nuncios eorum. Item de Janua recessit et venit ad terram istam cum Philippo de Talayraco de Constanciano heretico et cum Auda Borrela de Limoso, heretica que faciebat se appellari Jacobam, et quibusdam aliis credentibus hereticorum.”

⁸⁸⁷ There is only one mention of this younger Guilhem in Gui’s *Book of Sentences*, precisely in the *culpa* of Serdana Fabre, according to which he was ‘consoled’ on his deathbed, and therefore never belonged to the priestly elite of the group, see *ibid.*, 480: “Item audivit et scivit quod predictus Bertrandus, avunculus suus, et Guillelmus, filius Petri Auterii, fuerunt hereticati in fine suo.” In contrast, he appears repeatedly in Fournier’s Register, where he is always referred to by the moniker “Le Bon Guilhem,” see, for instance, Arnau Teisseyre’s account of Guilhem’s nightly return to Ax-les-Thermes in Duvernoy, *Le registre d’Inquisition*, vol. 2, 209: “(...) et dicta persona dixit quod ipse erat Le Bon Guilhem, filius naturalis Petri Auterii predicti, et volebat intrare ad ipsum quia Petrus Auterii predictus dimiserat eum.”

The large number of references to the Auter brothers—in particular Peire—in the inquisitorial records of the early fourteenth century has led scholars to affirm that inquisitors centred their inquests around Peire Auter. Thus, it has been argued that Bernard Gui, inquisitor of Toulouse, Geoffroy d'Ablis, inquisitor of Carcassonne, and Jacques Fournier, bishop of Pamiers, were mostly focused on exposing the clandestine network that supported Peire Auter with the aim of capturing him.⁸⁸⁸ In fact, the episodes recorded in some of these sources have spurred the development of the notion of what has been described as the "Auterius revival"—using the Latin form of the surname. Several factors advise against this take on the problem.

For starters, the available sources for the inquisitions conducted by Geoffroy d'Ablis are scarce. Although he was the inquisitor of Carcassonne from 1303 to 1316, the only extant document of his tenure as such corresponds to the fragmentary records of an inquest carried out between 1308 and 1309 in the County of Foix; that is, of course, besides the traces left by his collaboration with Bernard Gui, which have survived in the latter's *Liber sententiarum*.⁸⁸⁹ Despite the prominent role played by Peire and Guilhem Auter in the surviving fragment, its incompleteness makes it difficult to argue the point. As for Fournier, the chronology of the extant part of his renowned Register, 1318–1325, that is, starting eight years after Auter's execution, is only one of the factors complicating matters, or rather suggesting that Peire Auter was not the focus of the episcopal inquisition. Finally, Bernard Gui's Book of Sentences contains the *culpa*e of 636 people, 499 of whom were charged in relation to the "heresy of the Good Men". The sheer numbers present Gui's efforts as a much larger endeavour, part of which had to do with Peire Auter's mission but whose ultimately goal was the dismantlement of all heretical networks in the region under Gui's jurisdiction as inquisitor. The following pages will analyse said networks, or, more specifically, the network underlying the activities of Good Men and Women on the basis of Gui's *Book of Sentences*. The main goal is not only to clarify the importance of the role played by the Auter

⁸⁸⁸ See Brenon, *Le denier des cathares*, 18–19.

⁸⁸⁹ The record is extant in Manuscript Latin 4269 of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. The most complete edition of Geoffroy d'Ablis's inquest in Foix is Annette Pales-Gobilliard (ed), *L'inquisiteur Geoffroy d'Ablis et les cathares du comté de Foix (1308-1309)* (Paris: CNRS, 1984).

brothers, but also, and more importantly to understand the structure of the communities of men and women that partook in the spread and consolidation of this alternative religious culture.

4.1.1 Quantifying Dissent: Perfects and Believers

The inquisitorial activity of Bernard Gui can be traced back to July 1307, when he questioned a certain Pons Ameli who would receive his sentence in March 1308. His tenure as inquisitor of Toulouse, a position he occupied until 1323, is documented in his *Liber sententiarum*, which, as noted in Subsection 2.3.2 above, compiles the records of the twenty-one General Sermons held by Gui over the span of fifteen years. Given that the procedures have left no extant register, that is, no full account of the questionings, the abridged *culpae* included in the *Book of Sentences* are the only sources available for the study of the inquisitions conducted by Gui.

According to the contents of the *Book of Sentences*, Bernard Gui presided over the sentencing of 636 suspects, 499 of whom were involved in the “heresy of the modern Manicheans,” to put it in the inquisitor’s own words. However, as discussed in the chapters above, the relational approach to these *culpae* and sentences yields a total of 726 actors that will be the subject of the following analysis. As in the case of the Beguins of Languedoc studied in detail in the previous chapter, all the men and women incriminated by the record have been considered as actors, even those whose names have not survived but whose actions single them out as individuals who cannot be otherwise identified. Thus, for instance, two unnamed Good Women, that is, female members of the priestly elite, have been included in the dataset along with the relational information available about them.⁸⁹⁰ Likewise, individuals who died before inquisitors learned of their involvement in ‘heretical activities’ have also been taken into account, as well as those others who do not appear as subjects of specific questionings or sentences but are only mentioned as playing a marginal role. Among the several unnamed people—mostly women—who have been included in the actor dataset

⁸⁹⁰ The only mention to these women comes from the *culpa* of Guilhem Falquet, who confessed to having seen “two female perfects” in Sicily, see Pales-Gobilliard, *Le livre des sentences*, 230: “(...) item duas hereticas perfectas in Cicilia.”

we find: the unnamed granddaughter of Blanca Gilabert, mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, 'consoled' on her dying bed; the mother of Raimunda de Momolo, from Azas, whose name is never mentioned in the record but who attended the preachings of the Good Men along with her daughter Raimunda;⁸⁹¹ and a woman from the region of Cabardès who left the remarkable sum of 30 small Tournois pounds as a bequest for the Good Men;⁸⁹²

Over a third of the 726 actors included in the network study presented below were women. However, given that the vast majority of the members of the priestly elite were men, it is worth quantifying the gender composition of the group supporters, that is, of the 'laity' of the movement. As shown in Figure 4.1, the percentage of women among the 'laity' is even greater.⁸⁹³

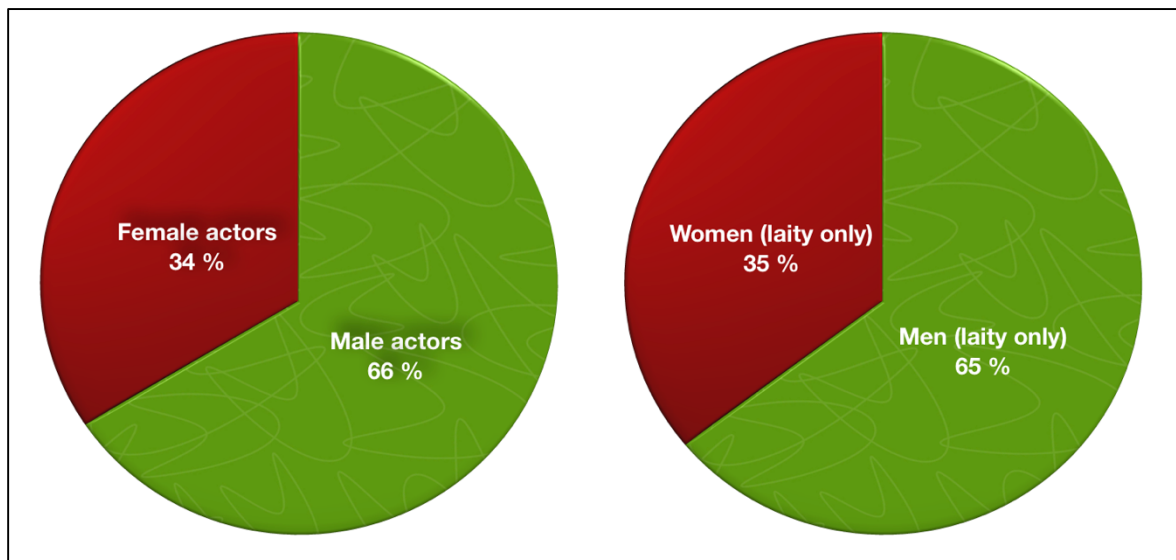


Figure 4.1 Gender distribution of actors

⁸⁹¹ See Pales-Gobilliard, *Le livre des sentences*, 570: "(...) vidit in quodam loco quem nominat in confessione sua duos homines quorum nomina nescivit, quos scivit ibidem esse hereticos et audivit eorum predicationem et quando recessit, dixit eis, 'Orate pro nobis', et tunc erat ibi presens mater sua."

⁸⁹² A sum over which several of them quarrelled, as stated in the *culpa* of Peire Raimon d'Hugoux, see *ibid.*, 450: "(...) et tunc fuit ibi quedam contencio inter eos super quadam summa pecunie triginta librarum turonensium parvorum, quam legaverat eis quedam mulier de Cabardesio."

⁸⁹³ From hereinafter, for simplicity's sake, I will forgo the quotation marks when referring to the laity and the clergy on the understanding that I am using this terms within the framework of the religious group of the Good Men and Women as presented in the introduction to this chapter.

This increase calls attention to the fact that, as noted above, the clergy of the group presented a clear gender bias; Good Women were not an impossibility in the early fourteenth century, but they certainly appear as a rarity (see Figure 4.2). Besides the two aforementioned unnamed ‘female perfects’, the *Book of Sentences* only documents the presence of one other female member of the priestly elite, Auda Borrell. Originally from Limoux, according to the posthumous sentence against her of 25 May 1309, which decreed the exhumation and burning of her remains, Auda changed her name to Jacma to avoid inquisitorial detection and fled first to Lombardy and then to Sicily where she remained with many other fugitives. There she was officially accepted into the clergy of the group by receiving the *consolamen* and eventually returned to Languedoc through Genoa to fulfil her apostolic mission in the company of the Good Man Felip de Coustaussa, to whom she would remain associated until her death. Auda died in Toulouse surrounded by members of the community, and although there are no records of rituals performed by her, she was renowned among the laity, some of whom travelled to Toulouse to attend her burial, which was probably carried out in secrecy.⁸⁹⁴

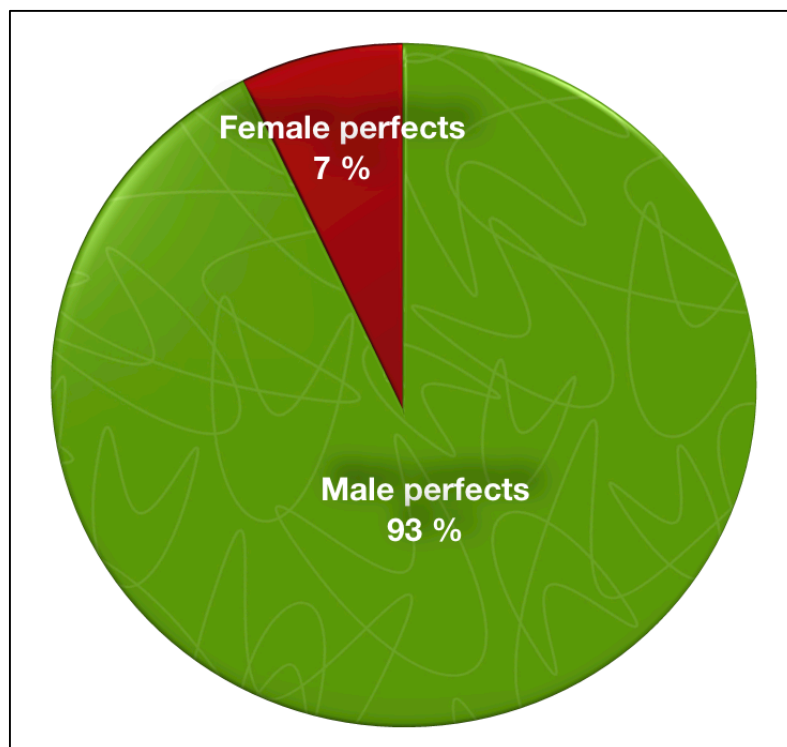


Figure 4.2 Gender distribution of the clergy

⁸⁹⁴ See, for instance, the culpa of Peire Berner, in Pales-Gobilliard, *Le livre des sentences*, 322: “Item scivisti mortem predicte Jacobe heretice et interfuisti sepulture ejusdem et Philippus hereticus erat presens.”

Despite the continuous references to Auda in connection with the aforementioned Felip de Coustaussa, she is never described as her *socia*. This detail merits some discussion, for it was characteristic of the Good Men to travel in pairs, an echo of their apostolic claim to preaching, but they were usually described in the inquisitorial record using the word *socius*. Thus, according to the deposition of Bernarda Germà—the niece of the Good Man Bernard Audouy—both Peire Auter and Peire Raimon, another 'perfect', told Bernarda that they had been *socii* of her uncle at some point, and in much the same manner, the believer Guilhem Durall described the Good Man Pons Raynaud as *socius* of the 'perfect' Bernard de Bordaria.⁸⁹⁵ These apostolic pairs were formed by two men, and nothing seems to suggest that a combination of man and woman was possible. Therefore, Auda was never granted the name of *socia*, although to all intents and purposes she and Felip maintained such a relationship: they travelled together, were received in the same dwellings by the same people, and even shared a house in the *carrerria de Stella*, in Toulouse, according to several testimonies.⁸⁹⁶ The evidence is too sparse to support such a claim, but it is nonetheless in keeping with the trend shown by female clergy within this religious movement. Although the percentage of Good Women in thirteenth-century sources was around 45%, their sacramental role could not be compared to that of the Good Men, and they did not have access to high-ranking positions in the hierarchy of the group either.⁸⁹⁷ Early-fourteenth century records show that the decline in the role of Good Women was not only qualitative but also quantitative.

As for the ratio between clergy and laity, the analysis of the *Book of sentences* shows that only 6% of all the individuals incriminated by the record are 'perfects' (see Figure 4.3). This points to an extremely vertical structure where a very small elite is responsible for providing spiritual services for a large group of believers. In order to maintain such a

⁸⁹⁵ For Bernarda's culpa, see *ibid.*, 476–78: "(...) et dictus P. Auterii dixit sibi quod ipse viderat in Lombardia Bernardum Audoyini et fuerat socius suus (...) Item Petrus Ramundi de Sancto Papulo hereticus quadam vice venit ad domum ipsius et viri sui (...) et manifestavit sibi quod ipse fuerat socius predicti Bernardi Audoyini heretici." For Guilhem Durall, see *ibid.*, 1104: "Nomina autem hereticorum quos vidit sunt hec, Bernardus de Bordaria, Poncius Raynaudi, socius suus."

⁸⁹⁶ See the *culpa* of Bernarda de Sainte-Foy in *ibid.*, 298: "Item ab ipsa habebant et recipiebant panem dictus Philippus hereticus et dicta Jacoba heretica qui morabantur simul Tholose in quadam carreria de Stella."

⁸⁹⁷ See Abels and Harrison, "Participation of Women," 226.

movement alive, the network that sustains it needs to be close-knit, for the presence of the members of the clergy is, of necessity, scarce, and therefore the religious structure heavily relies on social ties and not so much on ritual displays.

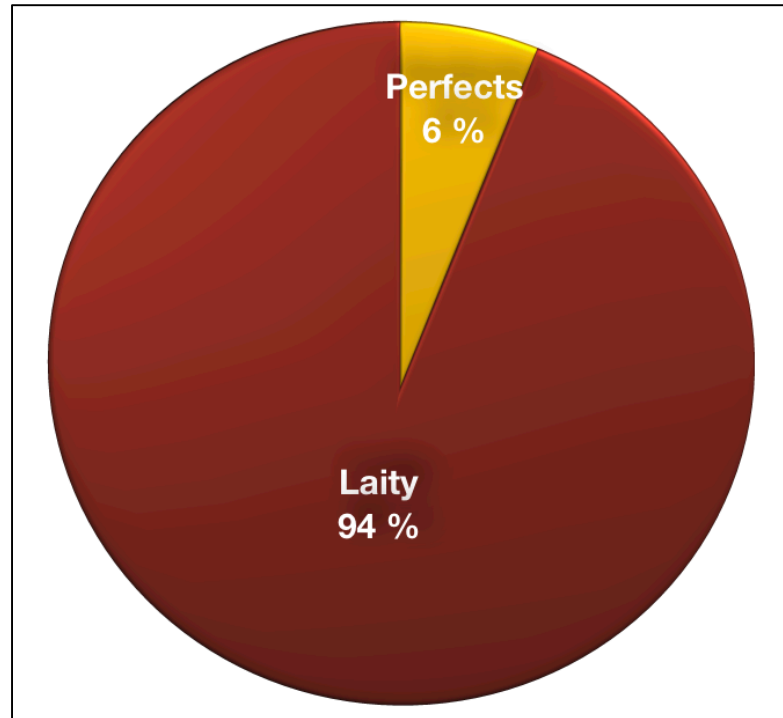


Figure 4.3 Distribution of religious status

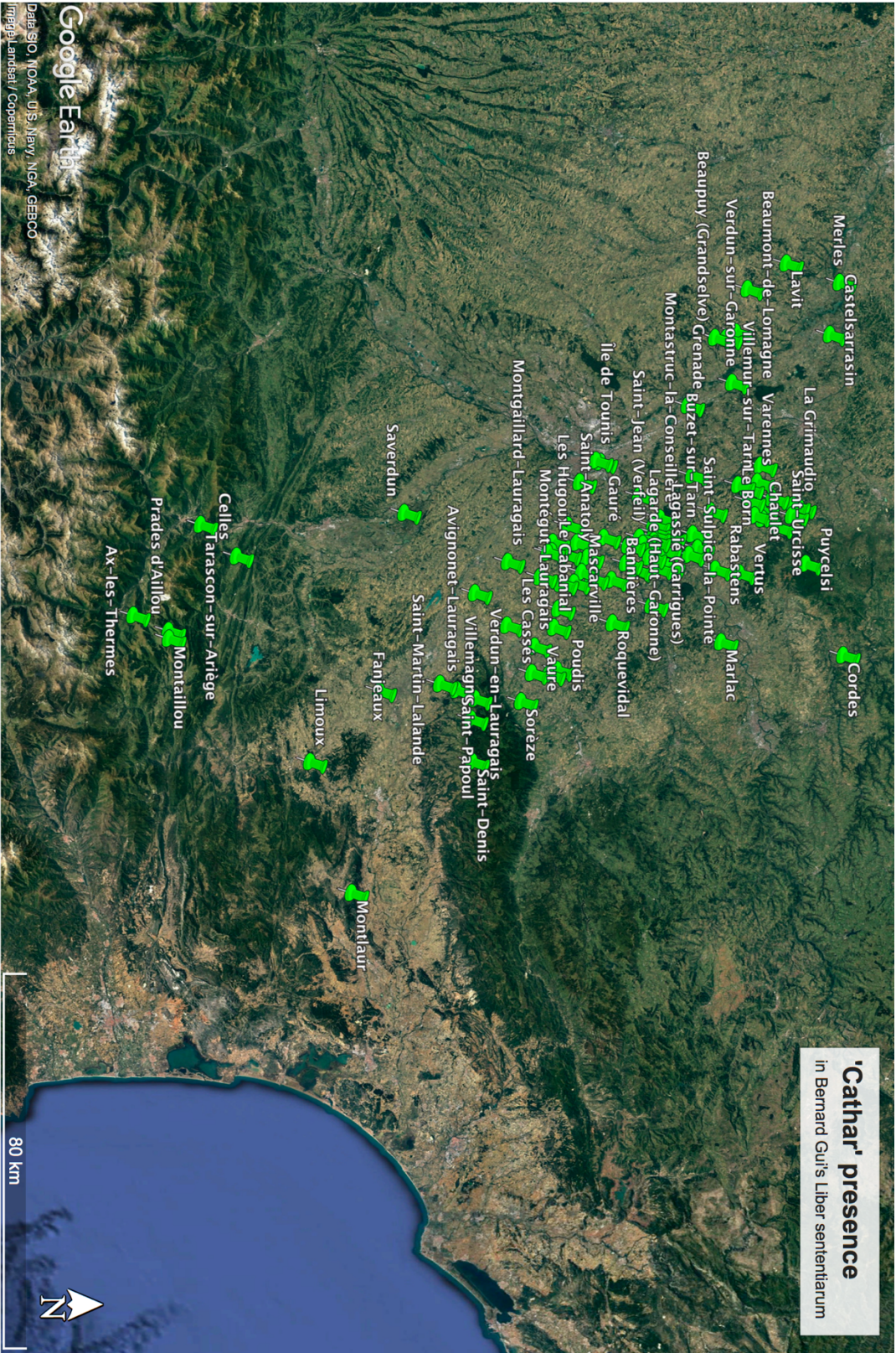
Furthermore, comparing these data to those that can be extracted from earlier sources for the same region—namely, MS 609 of the Bibliothèque municipale of Toulouse, whose statistical analysis was conducted by Abels and Harrison in 1979—reveals a stark contrast.⁸⁹⁸ Thus, the number of members of the clergy in the early fourteenth century had decreased at least by half with respect to the mid-thirteenth century.⁸⁹⁹ This could result from the fact that, during the fifty years in between, the movement was forced deeper into clandestinity, and this both complicated the training process needed to become a ‘perfect’ and made the consequences of doing so much more severe, but it is also worth noting the

⁸⁹⁸ Although, as will be discussed in the pages below, I do not concur with several of the conclusions drawn by Abels and Harrison regarding the role played by women, theirs was a pioneering paper in the application of quantitative methods to the study of medieval heresies. For the data concerning the ratio of clergy, see Abels and Harrison, “Participation of Women,” 225 and 241.

⁸⁹⁹ This estimate is based on the fact that, according to Abels and Harrison, there are 5604 deponents documented in MS 609 and 719 ‘perfects’, see *ibid.* However, it should be noted that, unlike in the case of Gui’s *Book of sentences*, most deponents refused to acknowledge their own involvement, which increases the probability of deponents not actually belonging to the ‘heretical network’ and would therefore result in an even greater increase of the clergy-to-laity ratio.

impact of inquisitorial motivations on the nature of the inquests itself. In the mid-thirteenth century, inquisitors considered of paramount importance to weed out the clergy of the movement, whom they saw as instigators and leaders. Between 1307 and 1323, over 500 deponents were questioned in order to identify the 43 'perfects' documented in the *Liber sententiarum*, but the enquiries continued for over a decade after all the most renowned Good Men had been captured and executed, which again seems to suggest that the members of the clergy—and building solid cases against them—were not the only nor the most important goals of the procedures conducted by Bernard Gui and other contemporary inquisitors. Once the priestly elite was identified, it was essential to uncover all the people that had been 'exposed' to their doctrinal and devotional teachings, and the analysis of the sources seems to reveal as much.

To conclude this brief quantitative outline of the communities that were the subject of Bernard Gui's investigation on the Good Men and Women, it is necessary to situate them on the territory. Map 4.2 below shows the places of residence of the 726 actors of the networks that can be extracted from the *culpae* and sentences compiled in the *Liber sententiarum*, which has allowed the identification of over 100 towns, villages, and hamlets roughly across Toulousan Gascony, the Lauragais, and the Sabarthès.



Map 4.2 'Cathar' presence in the *Liber sententiarum*

With the only exception of Toulouse, a massive urban centre with a dense artisanal quarter, the actors of the 'Cathar' network were based on a constellation of mostly small rural settlements that were closely connected to each other both in terms of geography and, more importantly, of familial bonds. It could of course be argued that this geographical distribution corresponds to the framework of inquisitorial jurisdiction, in particular Bernard Gui's jurisdiction as inquisitor of Toulouse, but despite this constraint, there are other factors that need to be considered in order to understand the territorial organisation of these communities and the opportunities for analysis. In this regard it should be noted that the *Book of sentences* does not only record Gui's activity but also, to a limited extent, that of Jacques Fournier, bishop of Pamiers, and of Geoffrey d'Ablis as inquisitor of Carcassonne, which allows us to bridge some jurisdictional boundaries, especially given the fact that even their own inquisitions were conducted in parts of the same region.⁹⁰⁰ Furthermore, even considering jurisdictional restrictions, the mapping of the locations where believers and Good Men and Women dwelled in the early fourteenth century shows a clear rural pattern, again with the only exception of Toulouse. The actors of this 'late Cathar network' did not live around main trade and transportation routes, but rather in some of the same rural settings that can be mapped from the analysis of thirteenth-century inquisitorial sources.⁹⁰¹ This would support the hypothesis that even if the spread of 'heretical activity' that lies behind Gui's effort could be attributed to the single-handed intervention of Peire Auter and his comrades—a notion I am challenging in this chapter—the success of the Good Men cannot be explained without the deep roots the movement had put down in the region over the previous century.

⁹⁰⁰ Jacques Fournier carried out his inquests in his diocese, which included the Sabarthès and the Ariège valley. In turn, the extant record of Geoffrey d'Ablis's inquisition of 1308 and 1309 was precisely conducted in the Sabarthès, see Pales-Gobilliard, *L'inquisiteur Geoffroy d'Ablis*.

⁹⁰¹ These include not only MS 609, which, as noted in section 2.2 above, is the only extant piece of the records of the Great Inquisition conducted in the Lauragais in 1245–1246, but also the inquisitions recorded in Doat 22 to 26, see Subsection 2.3.1 above.

4.1.2 A Measure of Centrality: A Different Approach to the So-called ‘Auter Revival’

In her confession of May 1308, Guilhema Sentgelia, a married woman from Vaure, admitted to her long-standing involvement in supporting the activities of the Good Men.⁹⁰² She had received them in the family house, provided for them, and given them frequent alms. Moreover, as so many others, she believed them to be good and also maintained that she could be saved by joining their group. Guilhema would eventually be captured and brought to Toulouse, but according to her words, it was the capture of the Good Man Jacme Auter, whom she had often seen and sheltered, that first brought fear to her doorstep.⁹⁰³ The capture of Jacme Auter was in fact the first salvo in the inquisitorial assault on the clergy of the movement in the early fourteenth century, and as such, news of it spread like wildfire among believers, turning Jacme’s fall into a time marker that deponents used in their confessions. Thus, Johan de Salvetat, from Prunet, the son of a convicted supporter of the Good Men, remembered in his confession of December 1311 how around the time when Jacme was captured he had helped Peire Auter hide by moving him from place to place.⁹⁰⁴ Likewise, Sicard Bolha, from Verdun-Lauragais, placed the moment when he had returned 30 gold *maravedis* and 80 silver Tournois to the ‘perfect’ Peire Raimon precisely on the morrow of Jacme Auter’s capture in Limoux.⁹⁰⁵

There is no extant record that pinpoints the date of Jacme’s arrest, and in fact, some pieces of evidence seem to suggest that he had been captured once before but managed to escape the inquisitorial gaol.⁹⁰⁶ Moreover, the only proof of his death at the stake, which

⁹⁰² See Guilhema’s *culpa* in Pales-Gobilliard, *Le livre des sentences*, 264–66.

⁹⁰³ *ibid.*, 266: “Item quando audivit quod predictus Jacobus hereticus, qui fuerat in domo sua, erat captus Carcassone, ipsa multum timuit.”

⁹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 710: “Item illo tempore quo Jacobus Auterii fuit captus, ipse Johannes cum Petro Guillelmi predicto mutaverunt Petrum Auterii hereticum in diversis domibus quas nominat, pluribus vicibus de nocte, ne posset dictus hereticus inveniri et capi per inquisitores.”

⁹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 236: “Item ipse custodivit et tenuit in commenda seu deposito XXX marabotinos aureos et LXXX turonenses argenteos (...) quos commendaverat sibi Petrus Ramundi de Sancto Papulo hereticus et quos restituit sibi in crastino quo Jacobus Auterii hereticus fuerat captus in Limoso.”

⁹⁰⁶ Pales-Gobilliard places Jacme Auter’s first capture, also in Limoux, around September 1303, see *ibid.*, 236. Brenon also maintains that Jacme had escaped the *mur* after his first arrest in Limoux but admits to the difficulty of accurately documenting the timeline. On the one hand, the fact that both captures took place in Limoux seems to suggest that all references describe one single event, but on the other, the capture date of 1303 and his execution in 1309 make it unlikely that he would have been kept in prison for so long without a sentence.

probably took place in March 1309, is a jurisdictional dispute between royal officers and the County of Foix on who had the right to proceed with the execution. However, the traces left by Jacme's end in the depositions compiled in Bernard Gui's *Book of sentences* are to be expected given that if the burst of activity of the communities of Good Men has been dubbed the 'Auterius revival' it is just due as much to Jacme Auter's influence as to the actions of his father. Jacme was the legitimate son of Peire Auter and his wife Alasaytz, the nephew of Guilhem Auter, and the brother—probably the eldest—or half brother of half a dozen other siblings, all of whom appear in different sources as involved in the faith of their father and uncle. It is possible that he received training to become a notary, thus following the family trade, and several depositions connect him to the reading of sacred texts. Among many other similar accounts, in November 1305, Guilhema Berner, from Verdun-Lauragais, confessed that she had heard Jacme read from a certain book, and in July 1307 Bernard de Barri, from Toulouse, claimed that he had heard Jacme read from a book containing the Epistles and the Gospels.⁹⁰⁷

Jacme did not travel to Lombardy along with Peire and Guilhem, but he received the *consolamen* soon after their return in 1299. Once ordained, his presence as an outstanding member of the clergy of the movement is unquestionable. Thus, Jacme is the second most mentioned person in the 499 depositions related to the Good Men and Women and compiled in the *Liber sententiarum*. From 1300 and until his final capture, he joined the apostolic mission of the Good Men in the company of several other 'perfects', including his father Peire, his uncle Guilhem, Andreu de Prades, Peire Raimon and Ameli de Perles among others. Jacme is amply documented exercising his sacramental duties: preaching, administering the *consolamen* to dying believers, receiving the *melhoramen*—the ritual salutation—blessing bread, and presiding over the *aparelhamen*—the gathering of the faithful.⁹⁰⁸ Furthermore, he appears as one of the main receivers of the support of the

⁹⁰⁷ For Guilhema Berner's *culpa*, see Pales-Gobilliard, *Le livre des sentences*, 782: "(...) et audivit ibidem dictum Jacobum legentem in quodam libro"; for Bernard de Barri, see *ibid.*, 210: "(...) et semel audivit dictum Jacobum legentem in quodam libro de Evangeliiis et Epistolis."

⁹⁰⁸ To cite but a few examples: on 24 June 1305, Jacme Auter performed the *consolamen* on Guilhem Isarn, from Villemur-sur-Tarn, see Pales-Gobilliard, *Le livre des sentences*, 192: "Item quod Guillelmus Ysarni (...) in ultima egreditudine de qua decessit, fuit hereticatus et receptus ad sectam dampnatam hereticorum per Jacobum Auterii hereticum secundum modum et ritum execrabilem dicte secte"; in January 1306, Raimunda de Salvetat, from Prunet, confessed to having eaten the blessed bread that Jacme Auter gave her, see *ibid.*, 262: "Item comedit de pane benedicto hereticorum quem dedit sibi Jacobus predictus hereticus"; finally, the

community in its many forms. He was sheltered by dozens of believers, received money, food and drinks from many, and was granted assistance during his time of need, for he suffered from an injured leg throughout his lifetime.⁹⁰⁹

Along with the rest of the members of the clergy, Jacme Auter became a beacon of heresy for inquisitors. Being acquainted with him, helping him in any way, or simply coming into contact with him marked suspects and helped quantify their involvement, to the point that this connection was in a way considered just as incriminating as maintaining that there were two Gods or denying the validity of baptism. For instance, Arnau Isarn, aged 15, was imposed crosses simply for having paid Jacme Auter his respects in the ritual manner “as he had been taught by his parents.”⁹¹⁰

It has been argued that the lack of specific religious connotations inherent to some of these interactions betrays the fact that these were not religious communities but social groups in which the rituals for interaction followed some sort of religious pattern that was actually more cultural than spiritual. Leaving aside this discussion with respect to earlier sources, in early fourteenth century sources, despite occasional claims of ignorance, innocence, and alleged refusal to believe the heretics, the interactions recorded in the *culpae* developed within the religious framework of the community and cannot be explained in other terms.

extensive *culpa* of Peire Tardiu, from Le Cabanial, describes a gathering held at the house of the widow Andrea d’Auriac in Auriac-sur-Vendinelle that Peire refused to attend and that was led by Jacme Auter. Allegedly, Andrea reprimanded Peire for not joining them and told him that he had “missed out on words so good that they were worth more than his whole life”, see *ibid.*, 268: “Et sequenti die dicta Andreea redarguit Petrum Tardivi quia non venerat illuc, dicens quod si venisset, audivisset tot bona verba quod toto tempore vite sue plus valeret.”

⁹⁰⁹ The members of the community that sheltered Jacme Auter at some point are too many to list here—suffice it to recall the aforementioned Guilhema Sentegelia and Andrea Auriac—and the same goes for the many believers who gave him and his companions money, food and drinks. As for the assistance specifically granted to Jacme, the widow Aycelina Julià, Andrea d’Auriac’s neighbour, made him a potion for his ailing leg, see *ibid.* 358: “(...) et ipsa fecit quandam potionem de quadam herba et ministravit dicto heretico pro quadam infirmitate quam paciebatur in tibia.” Likewise, Johana de Sainte-Foy, from Toulouse, collected herbs and gave them to Jacme to alleviate his pain, see *ibid.*, 454: “(...) et quesivit et aportavit quandam herbam pro dicto Jacobo heretico qui paciebatur in tibia.”

⁹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 216: “(...) vidit Jacobum hereticum et adoravit eum flexis genibus, junctis manibus, inclinando se proffunde super unam bancam sicut docuerunt eum quod faceret pater suus et mater sua qui similiter ibidem fecerunt et erat tunc etatis XV annorum.”

Many *culpae* compiled in the *Book of Sentences*—especially the ones corresponding to the earliest general sermons—list the names of ‘perfects’ with whom the suspect had contact not as a means to build a stronger case against the Good Men, but as a conclusion to the part of the *culpa* that recorded the different ways in which such contact took place, which was what truly determined the severity of the sentence. These ‘perfects’ became so toxic that even the barest connection was considered as a sign that the suspect was on his or her way to become a member of the group and therefore needed to be imposed the corresponding penance. It comes as no surprise then that these members of the clergy that were considered as ‘markers of heresy’ were the most mentioned in the inquisitorial record, for, in all likelihood, their names made it into the question list from early on and suspects were explicitly asked about them.⁹¹¹

In terms of Social Network Analysis, this accumulation of mentions translates into what has been defined in the pages above as a higher degree centrality. As in the case of the Beguins of Languedoc, the relational study of the communities surrounding the Good Men and Women has been based on the acquaintanceship network extracted from Bernard Gui’s *Book of Sentences*, for other smaller networks built on more specific relations are a subset of this one. In order to gauge the positions of the 726 actors presented in this chapter, I have first considered their degree centrality, that is, the number of connections documented for each actor. Here I have taken into account both in- and out-ties, that is, an actor’s degree results both from the individuals mentioned by him or her and from those that in turn mention said actor in their depositions. Finally, a methodological remark that was not necessary for the case of the Beguins of Languedoc is important now: the abundance of family ties. As will be discussed in the sections below, the *Book of Sentences* allows for reconstruction of the structure of extended families over several generations, which could easily lead to an overestimation of the number of actual ties. In order to avoid this problem as much as possible, only certain kinship relationships have been considered as valid network connections: grandparents, parents, siblings, parents-in-law, and siblings-in-law. Thus, nieces, nephews, and cousins have only been counted as connections when explicitly

⁹¹¹ In this case, however, the abridged nature of the *culpae* does not allow us to find telling expressions such as “when questioned about”, which would shed some light on this point. Unlike inquisitorial registers, books of sentences were much more succinct, focusing on the transgressions committed and not dwelling on the formulas used to get the answers.

stated by the record. Of course there is still margin for error in such an approach, for instance, if a sister married and moved to a different village it is entirely possible for her siblings not to know her husband, but given the geographic distribution of the dataset as presented in the previous subsection, this is, in my view, the most suitable and conservative solution. Moreover, it should be noted that the actor dataset also includes family members whose appearance before the inquisitorial court is uncertain or was never recorded. Since the aim of this work is to reconstruct the networks supporting dissident communities, or, in other words, the networks through which alternative religious cultures spread, it is important to consider the connections of these individuals, particularly given the aforementioned strong presence of ties between families among the believers of the Good Men and Women.

Table 4.1 lists the ten actors with the highest degree centrality and, as expected, all of them are members of the clergy of the movement, that is, Good Men. Peire Auter and his son Jacme occupy the most prominent positions, while Guilhem Auter appears as the sixth most connected actor. Thus, including the Auters, three ‘spiritual generations’ of ‘perfects’ accumulate the largest number of mentions, and therefore, of connections. The elders among them were Bernard Audouy and Peire Raimon, both of whom were already respected members of the priestly elite of the movement exiled in Lombardy when the Auter brothers arrived in 1297. Audouy was granted the form of address of *messer*, that is, my lord, which bespeaks his prestige among the faithful, and was actually described as an “hereticum ancianum” in the *culpa* of the believer Peire Raimon d’Hugoux, according to whom Bernard had the power to restore a ‘perfect’ who had sinned to the faith.⁹¹² Likewise, Peire Raimon, Audouy’s companion, was established in Lombardy at least since the early 1290s, at least according to the deposition of his own sister, Raimunda Barrera, of June 1307.⁹¹³ The Auter brothers, along with Ameli de Perles and Andreu de Prades, received the *consolamen* and were ordained in Lombardy, making it back to Languedoc around the turn of the century. Felip de Coustaussa, also ordained in Lombardy, returned with Auda Borrell soon after that.

⁹¹² Pales-Gobilliard, *Le livre des sentences*, 450: “(...) iret in Lombardiam ad Bernardum Audoyni, hereticum ancianum, ut reconciliaret dictum Amelium qui peccaverat in secta.”

⁹¹³ Ibid., 599: “Item dicta Ramunda sciebat quod dictus Petrus Ramundi, frater suus, recesserat de patria vista slim XVI anni erant elapsi. Item postquam dictus P. Ramundi rediit ad terram istam, ipsa Ramunda audivit dici quod ipse erat fugitivus inquisitorum et reputatus hereticus.”

As for the rest of the names in the list, they correspond to Good Men who were ordained in Languedoc after 1300: Jacme Auter, Peire Sans, and Sanç Mercader.

Most mentioned actors	Degree centrality
Peire Auter	369
Jacme Auter	265
Peire Sans	207
Ameli de Perles	180
Peire Raimon	132
Guilhem Auter	88
Felip de Coustaussa	51
Messer Bernard Audouy	50
Sanç Mercader	48
Andreu de Prades	44

Table 4.1 Most mentioned actors

Given the unbalance between clergy and laity pointed out in the previous subsections, the overwhelming presence of the former among the most connected actors, and the lack of women among their ranks, analysing the degree centrality among the laity can further explain the structure of these communities especially regarding the role played by women. Thus, Table 4.2, which lists the ten most connected lay actors includes the names of three women: Guilhema Espanhol, Blanca Gilabert, and Baranhona Peire.

Most mentioned lay actors	Degree centrality
Guilhem Aliguer	40
Guilhem Arnau Fabre Espanhol	40
Peire Raimon d'Hugoux	40
Guilhem Porcell Calvet	36
Guilhema Espanhol	35
Blanca Gilabert	33
Peire Berner	33
Peire Guilhem Sanchas	32
Baranhona Peire	29
Raimon Sans	29

Table 4.2 Most mentioned lay actors

These three women had several traits in common. They all belonged to large well-connected families, and their position within them granted them a remarkable amount of social capital, they were respected and renowned. Blanca, from Ferrus, and Baranhona, from Saint-Sulpice-la-Pointe, were both widows who had birthed many children and who, to all intents and purposes, appear as matriarchal figures that wield considerable influence not only over their families but also over neighbours. In turn, Guilhema, born Guilhema de Lanta, had become a member of the Espanhols of Le Born by marriage, and was thus the link between these two families, whose members would all find themselves before Bernard Gui in a few years' span. More importantly, the three *culpae* show how active they were in providing support to the Good Men, paying them their respects, hearing their preachings, sheltering them—to the point that their houses became centres where the faithful could interact with the clergy—participating in ceremonies presided by them, and, above all, compelling others to believe in them.⁹¹⁴ As for the men in Table 4.2, Guilhem Aliguer, from

⁹¹⁴ Guilhema Espanhol's *culpa* is posthumous; she died after receiving the *consolamen* on her deathbed and was exhumed and burned in April 1312, see *ibid.*, 788. Blanca Gilabert was sentenced to life imprisonment in

Le Born, was the head of his household, father of five children and related by marriage to another large family, the Verduns. His house was a frequent stop in the comings and goings of the Good Men across the Lauragais.⁹¹⁵ This was also the case of Guilhem Arnau Fabre Espanhol, Guilhema Espanhol's husband, the eldest brother of the Espanhol siblings, and the head of a household that actively supported the Good Men.⁹¹⁶ Likewise, Guilhem Porcell was the head of the family and owner of the house where the Good Men stayed and gathered in Lugan and many came to see them and hear them preach.⁹¹⁷ Peire Raimon d'Hugoux, from Toulouse, was a friend of one of Peire Auter's sons-in-law, knew most of the Good Men in Table 4.1 and acted as courier and benefactor for them.⁹¹⁸ Peire Guilhem Sanchas, from Prunet, and Peire Berner, from Verdun-Lauragais, were central in accompanying the members of the clergy from village to village, and also fulfilled the role of messengers that always knew where to locate a 'perfect' when the need for them arose.⁹¹⁹ Finally, Raimon Sans was the brother and staunch supporter of the Good Man Peire Sans, for whom he acted as proxy on many occasions.⁹²⁰

The results presented in the previous tables make it clear that any analysis of the network structure for this religious movement will be heavily biased by the presence of the members of the clergy, and more specifically, by the presence of male 'perfects', who were the vast majority at the time. As in the previous chapter, I have statistically compared the overall degree centrality, and therefore the connectivity, of men and women through a t-test.⁹²¹ The results show that although on average men were slightly more connected than women, the difference between the mean degree centrality of men (11.519) and that of

May 1309, see her *culpa* in *ibid.*, 272–74. Baranhona Peire's remains were exhumed and burned in April 1310, as she also died having received the *consolamen*, *ibid.* 490.

⁹¹⁵ Guilhem's remains were exhumed and burned in April 1312, see his *culpa* in *ibid.*, 792.

⁹¹⁶ Guilhem was first sentenced to life imprisonment in May 1309 and finally executed at the stake as a relapser in April 1310; see his *culpae* in *ibid.*, 290–92 and 500–02.

⁹¹⁷ See Guilhem's deposition in *ibid.*, 424–28.

⁹¹⁸ See Peire Raimon d'Hugoux's *culpa* in *ibid.*, 448–52.

⁹¹⁹ Peire Guilhem Sanchas was sentenced as a relapser in April 1312, his involvement considered so deep that he merited a separate sentence; see *ibid.*, 532–36. After spending three years on the run, Peire Berner was sentenced to the stake in May 1309; see *ibid.*, 316–22.

⁹²⁰ Raimon was sentenced as a relapser in April 1312, see his *culpa* in *ibid.*, 818–20.

⁹²¹ See the detailed results of all the t-tests performed in this Section in the Appendices.

women (10.967) is not statistically significant. Furthermore, the standard deviation of the male dataset is four times that of its female counterpart, which means that connectivity varies a great deal among men, with a few of them extremely well connected while the majority have a much smaller number of acquaintances within the network. In contrast, women show a much more homogeneous pattern, with most of them rather well connected. The deviation of the average degree centrality of men is obviously due to the accumulation of mentions—and connections—by some male perfects, which puts forward the need to study the lay component of the network separately to better establish the relation between connectivity and gender. Performing another t-test on the 683 lay actors of the network divided into men and women, on average men appear to be less connected (7.050) than women (8.465). Here, the difference is statistically significant and the standard deviations are similar for both groups. In other words, according to the relational data extracted from the *Book of Sentences*, female believers and supporters were more connected than men.

The apparent great difference between the degree centrality of the laity and that of the clergy can also be confirmed in a similar way. The t-test shows an average degree of 9.676 for the laity, and of 37.651 for the Good Men and Women; a difference which, again, is statistically significant even if the standard deviation for the clergy is quite large due to the very limited number of connection of a few Good Men that will be discussed later. As for the connections between lay actors and ‘perfects’, on average men seem to be slightly more connected to the priestly elite (3.199) than women (2.839), these results being again statistically relevant and showing small standard deviations for both groups. Thus, summing up, the clergy of the movement was significantly more connected than the laity, and whereas women were on average more connected to other lay actors, the links between men and the priestly elite of the group were slightly more numerous.

To conclude this overview of the degree centrality of the network actors let us now turn to the degree distribution, which, as noted in the previous chapter, plots the number of actors of the dataset against their degree centrality. Figure 4.4 below, the degree distribution for the ‘Cathar’ network in Bernard Gui’s *Liber sententiarum*, shows a heavy-tailed pattern that peaks at an average value (2) and decays exponentially, thus combining some of the

properties of small-world networks with the characteristics of scale-free networks as described in the previous chapter.

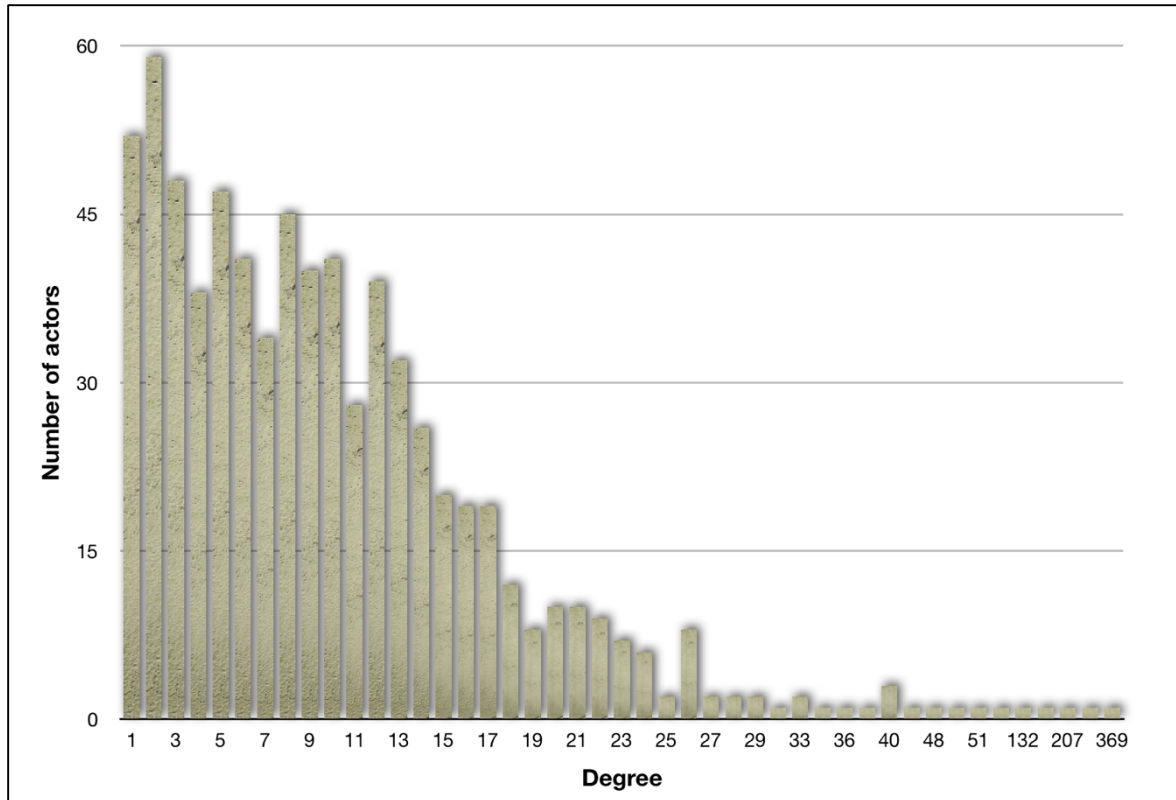


Figure 4. 4 Degree distribution of the acquaintanceship network

The marked difference in the degree centrality of a few members of the clergy—the heavy-tail mentioned above—is especially clear in Figure 4.5, a radial layout of the acquaintanceship network graph by degree centrality distinguishing gender (green for men, red for women). Most of the actors appear in the peripheral areas of the network when compared to the few male ‘perfects’ that stand out in the centre.

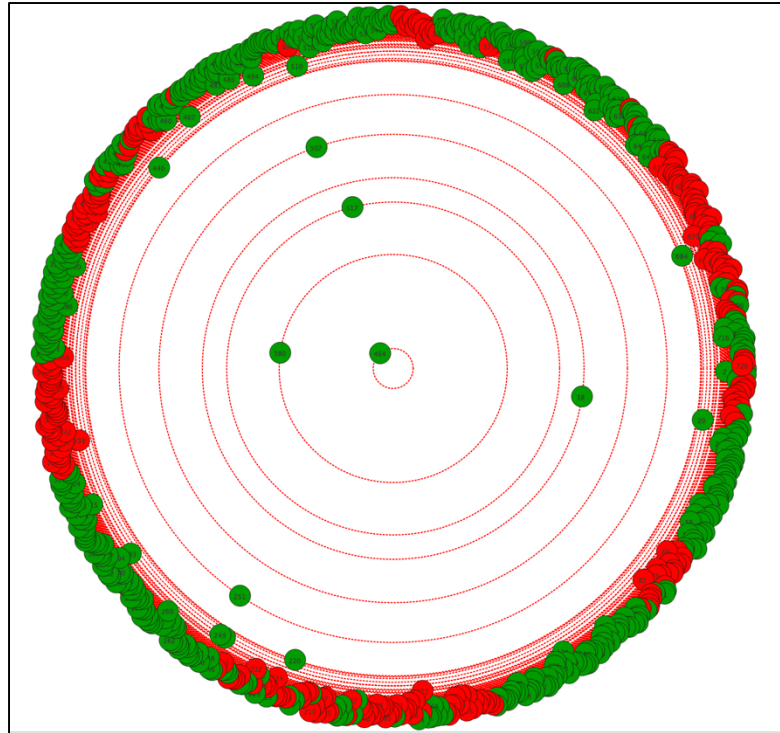


Figure 4.5 Acquaintanceship network by gender

The radial layout by degree and religious status—yellow for members of the clergy, maroon for the laity—further clarifies this structure (see Figure 4.6).

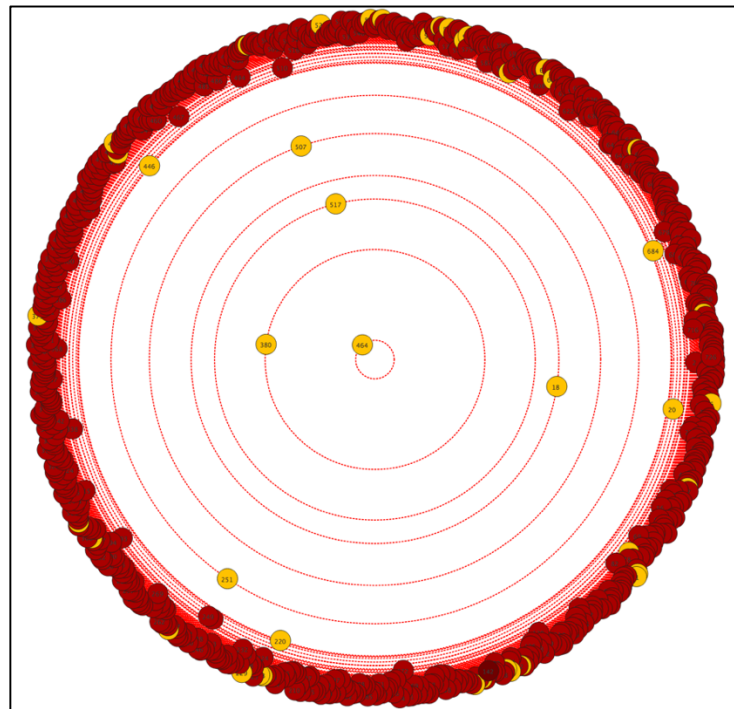


Figure 4.6 Acquaintanceship network by religious status

Plotting the degree distribution by gender can once again provide some information about the way in which the dataset was created, that is, about the inquisitorial procedure regarding this particular group. Figure 4.7 below shows that the pattern of the degree distribution for male actors is quite similar to the degree distribution of the actor dataset as a whole. In contrast, it is harder to assimilate Figure 4.8, the degree distribution of female actors, to the same model. The connectivity of men features the expected increase towards the average peak and the rapid decay, while the graph of women’s degree centralities shows several gaps and peaks. As happened in the case of the Beguins of Languedoc these irregularities can be in terms of the under-representation of women in inquisitorial records, especially for the case of the less connected individuals—that is, the lower degrees—thus distorting the pattern that can be expected of a social network.

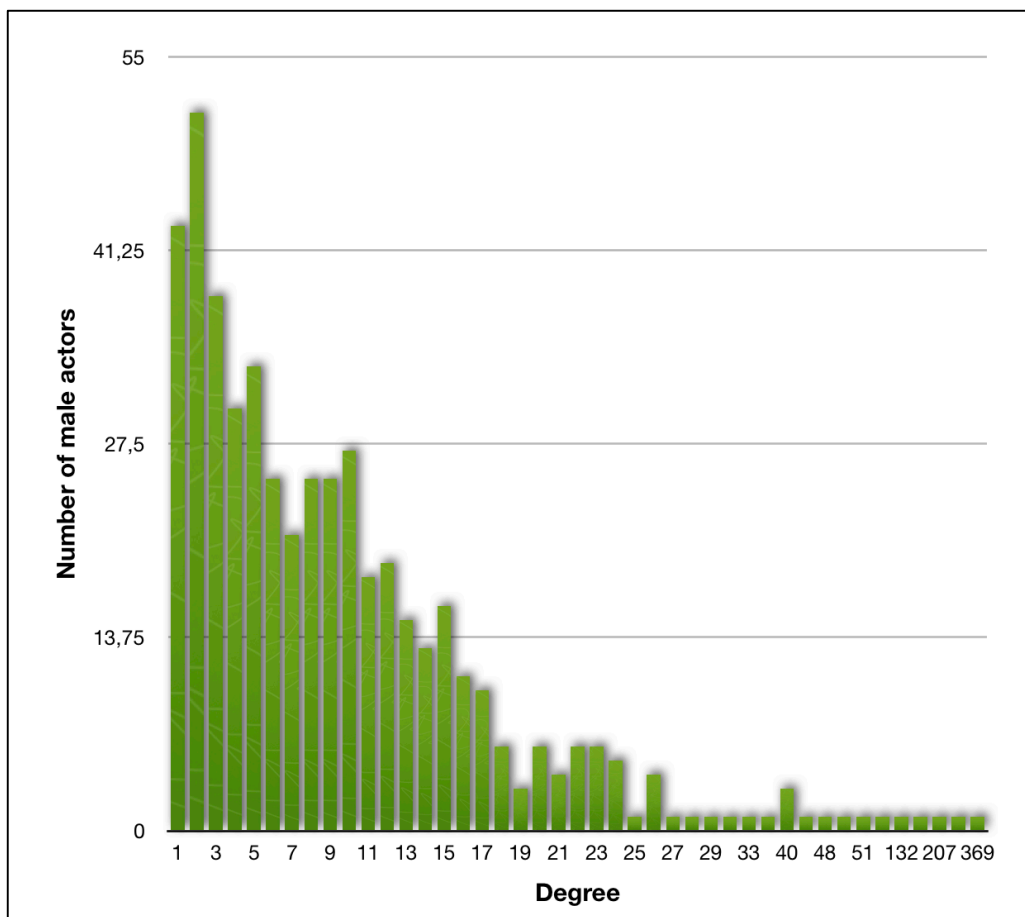


Figure 4.7 Degree distribution for male actors

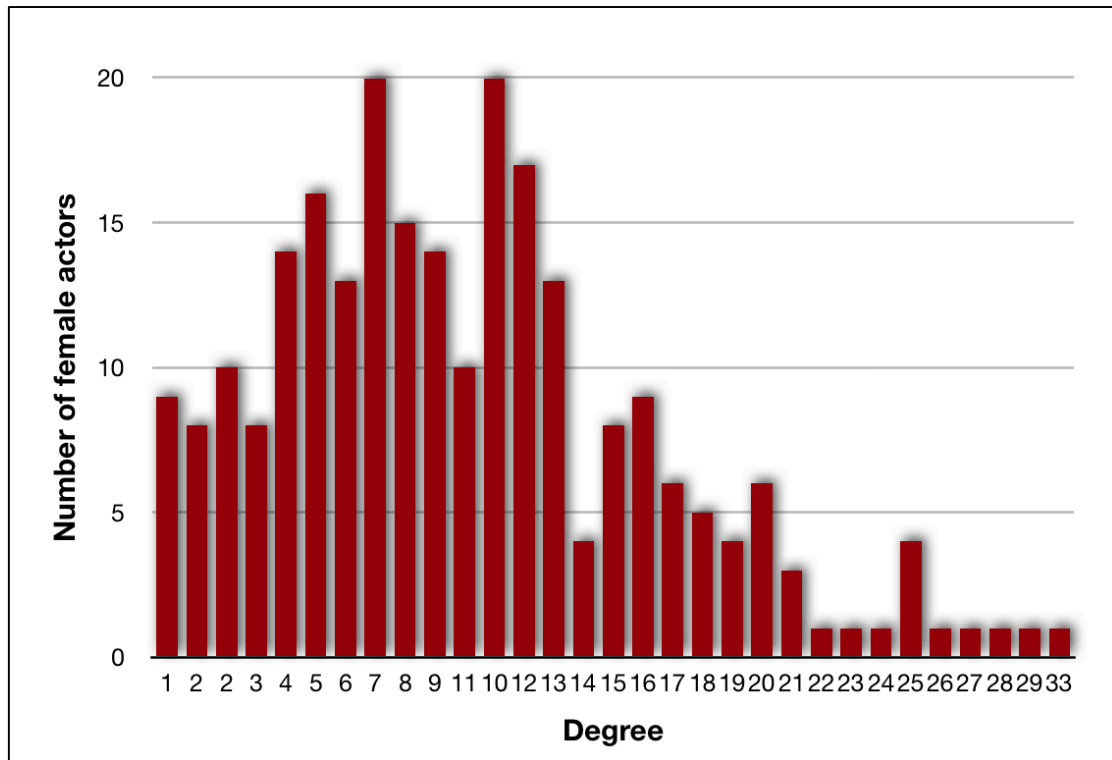


Figure 4.8 Degree distribution for female actors

This problems of inaccuracy in the analysis of degree centralities stem not only from the inquisitorial procedure and its biases but also, as noted throughout this work, from the nature of the sources. The abridged *culpae*, devised to include the most important charges, left out many details and names replacing them with frequent references to the record of the full deposition, the register. Since Bernard Gui’s register is not extant—or has not been found yet—essential pieces of evidence from a relational perspective are now lost to us. Individuals whose degree centrality was probably quite high appear as near isolates. That is the case of Guilhema Mauri, whose name is only mentioned in the *culpa* of Bona Domenge, according to which Guilhema travelled in disguise to the Sabarthès, probably to meet the Good Men. Bona, who sheltered Guilhema in her house until she was captured, described her as a “believer and friend of the heretics,” a designation reserved for well-connected and very active members of the community.⁹²² Since Guilhema’s sentence and deposition are

⁹²² Pales-Gobilliard, *Le livre des sentences*, 418: “Item tenuit et recepit in domo sua Guillelmam Maurinam quam sciebat esse credentem hereticorum et tradidit sibi supertunicale filii sui cum quo iret in Savartesium in habitu disimulato (...) tenuit et recepit dictam Guillelmam in domo sua per unam estatem, sciens ipsam esse credentem et amicam hereticorum, donec dicta Guillelma fuit ibi capta de mandato inquisitoris.”

not extant, and we have no information about her family either, her only documented connection is Bona, which clearly underestimates her actual degree.

However, as noted in the previous chapter, degree, the raw number of connections, is not the only way of determining the position of an actor within the network. In order to study the potential influence that any given individual can exert, it is not only important to determine how many actors are connected to him or her, but also how well connected these actors are. This results in the measure known as eigenvector centrality, described in Subsection 3.6.2. Although it cannot level down the importance of over-represented actors, eigenvector centrality can help enhance the role played by men and women that are qualitatively better connected than others, and therefore less apparent both to inquisitors and to scholars. For instance, Johan Mercader, one of the brothers of the Good Man Sanç Mercader, with his twenty-two connections, occupies the forty-ninth position in the degree centrality ranking. However, his eigenvector centrality places him among the twenty most influential actors of the network, or in other words, among the ten most influential lay actors. Indeed, thanks to his connection to his brother, Johan was well acquainted with the elite of the movement, which he often received in his house of Le Born where many believers went to hear them preaching and pay their respects, thus providing their host with the theoretical ability to impact the community.⁹²³

One of the most remarkable examples of such a shift is Dominica Aliguer, the wife of the aforementioned Guilhem Aliguer. Her twenty-one connections place her in the fifty-eighth position in the degree ranking but her eigenvector centrality makes her the twenty-second most influential actor, and the most influential woman in the whole network. The mother of five children, Dominica was the link with the Verdun family in Bouillac, received the *consolamen*—administered by Peire Sans—on her deathbed, and left her clothes as a bequest for the Good Men.⁹²⁴ As noted above, the Aliguer household frequently served as a

⁹²³ Johan was arrested at some point and abjured his beliefs, but when he was summoned again in Toulouse in 1309, he fled, and the general sermon held in March 1316 declared him and his brother Arnau unrepentant fugitives and sentenced them *in absentia*; according to the extant records they were never captured; see *ibid.*, 947: “Idcirco nos prefati inquisitores et officialis, commissarius in hac parte, predictis Johanni Mercaderii et Arnaldo Mercaderii (...) ipsos quamvis absentes per contumaciam tanquam hereticos in hiis scriptis pronunciamus et declaramus ac sentencialiter condemnatus.”

⁹²⁴ Dominica’s remains were exhumed and burned in April 1312; see *ibid.*, 792–94.

shelter for the Good Men in Mirepoix-sur-Tarn, and Dominica provided for them, attended the rituals they performed and was, along with her husband, one of their main supporters.

Table 4.3 below lists the ten most influential actors according to the values of their eigenvectors centralities. To make the comparison with degree centralities easier, see Table 4.1 next to it.

Most mentioned actors	Degree centrality	Most influential actors	Eigenvector centrality
Peire Auter	369	Peire Auter	0,400829852
Jacme Auter	265	Jacme Auter	0,317437589
Peire Sans	207	Ameli de Perles	0,256529301
Ameli de Perles	180	Peire Sans	0,218802765
Peire Raimon	132	Peire Raimon	0,165410265
Guilhem Auter	88	Guilhem Auter	0,145451829
Felip de Coustaussa	51	Felip de Coustaussa	0,099759012
Messer Bernard Audouy	50	Andreu de Prades	0,09387584
Sanç Mercader	48	Messer Bernard Audouy	0,086300828
Andreu de Prades	44	Sanç Mercader	0,086152785

Table 4.3 Most mentioned versus most influential actors

Except for the slight shift in positions of some of the ‘perfects’, both tables feature the same group of individuals. After all, their names were precisely what served to define the involvement of suspects in heretical activities in an almost binary manner. Knowing any of them was an incriminating factor and it worked as the starting point from which sentences were decided. Thus, it is only natural that the relational analysis of the sources results in them appearing not only as the most mentioned but also as the most influential.

As for the laity, Table 4.4—represented below next to Table 4.2 for clarity—lists the most influential lay actors, including three names that did not appear among the most connected members of the group: Raimon de Lanta, Johan Mercader, and Pons d’Hugoux.

Most mentioned lay actors	Degree centrality	Most influential lay actors	Eigenvector centrality
Guilhem Aliguer	40	Guilhem Arnau Fabre Espanhol	0,084551953
Guilhem Arnau Fabre Espanhol	40	Guilhem Aliguer	0,082561746
Peire Raimon d'Hugoux	40	Peire Raimon d'Hugoux	0,08203841
Guilhem Porcell Calvet	36	Peire Guilhem Sanchas	0,071712472
Guilhema Espanhol	35	Peire Berner	0,063481189
Blanca Gilabert	33	Raimon Sans	0,063356355
Peire Berner	33	Raimon de Lanta	0,063329056
Peire Guilhem Sanchas	32	Guilhem Porcell Calvet	0,062036734
Baranhona Peire	29	Johan Mercader	0,061661508
Raimon Sans	29	Pons d'Hugoux	0,061236024

Table 4.4 Most mentioned versus most influential lay actors

Raimon de Lanta was the father of three sons and three daughters, one of whom was Guilhema Espanhol. Raimon and his wife Bernarda lived in a *bordaria*—an Occitan term that could be translated as farmhouse—near Buzet-sur-Tarn together with several of their children and their children spouses, and as in the previous cases, the house was often visited both by the Good Men and by those who attended their gatherings and looked for their guidance. In fact, the house itself was destroyed in April 1312 and its building materials were to be burned or used for “pious works” so that nobody could ever rebuild, live, or put the land to work ever again, for the rite of the *consolamen* had been performed there on at least six people, Raimon among them.⁹²⁵ As for Pons d’Hugoux, the brother of Peire Raimon d’Hugoux, he was also known for receiving ‘perfects’ in his house, where they stayed for long periods of time receiving visits from other Good Men and believers alike. Pons was in fact who encouraged others to go see the Good Men and to hear their preaching and went as far as to help Peire Sans escape through a back door when inquisitorial officers came looking for him.⁹²⁶

⁹²⁵ Raimon de Lanta’s remains were exhumed and burned according to the sentence of 23 April 1312; see *ibid.*, 800–02. The sentence on the house was pronounced on that same day, see *ibid.* 808–10: “(...) predictas domos cum suis appendiciis pronunciamus in hiis scriptis per diffinitivam sentenciam et mandamus funditus diruendas et ipsarum domorum materiam nostro arbitrio comburendam seu alias piis usibus applicandam, ita quod de cetero nulla habitatio seu rehedificatio aut clausio ibi fiat, set loca inhabitabilia et inculta et inclausa semper existant.”

⁹²⁶ Pons kept supporting the network in the same way even after abjuring heresy for the first time, which led to his sentence as a relapser in April 1310; see *ibid.*, 530.

The most outstanding feature in Table 4.4 however, is the lack of women among the ten most influential lay actors, especially when compared to the list of the most connected lay actors. Guilhema Espanhol, Blanca Gilabert, and Baranhona Peire become less central when considering the connectivity of their respective connections, that is, their eigenvector centrality. In fact, as noted above, Dominica Aliguer, who appears just below Pons d’Hugoux in the eigenvector ranking, becomes the most influential woman, followed by Baranhona Peire, while both Guilhema and Blanca lose more than ten positions. Expanding the list to include the twenty most influential actors shows a similar trend, for only five women can be counted among them against the seven women featured among the twenty most connected actors. Thus it seems that, as far as influencing the network goes, and according to the value of eigenvector centralities, women have a less central role; summing up, lay women are better connected than men but have less power to impact the network.

Finally, Figures 4.9a and 4.9b showing radial layouts of the acquaintanceship network graph by eigenvector centrality, gender (Figure 4.9a, on the left), and religious status (Figure 4.9b, on the right) are not significantly different from Figures 4.5 and 4.6 above. Men, in particular male ‘perfects’, occupy the central positions while most actors appear as peripheral. However, the peripheral area is larger here, as befits eigenvector centrality, for this is a measure that nuances the results provided by raw degree, providing more granularity and in general improving the estimation of centralities.

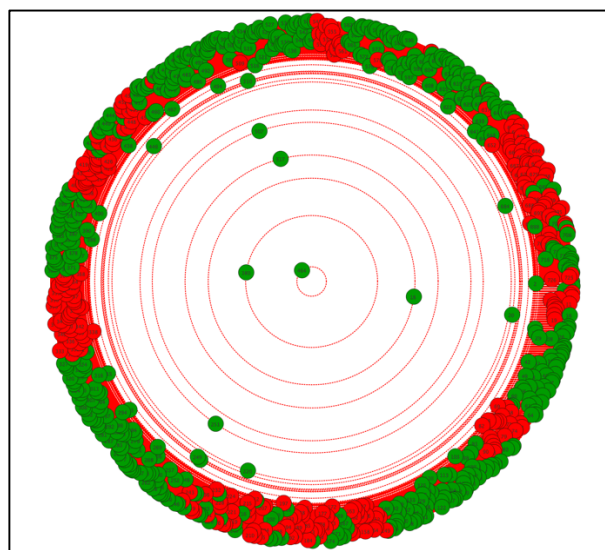


Figure 4.9a Acquaintanceship network by eigenvector centrality and gender

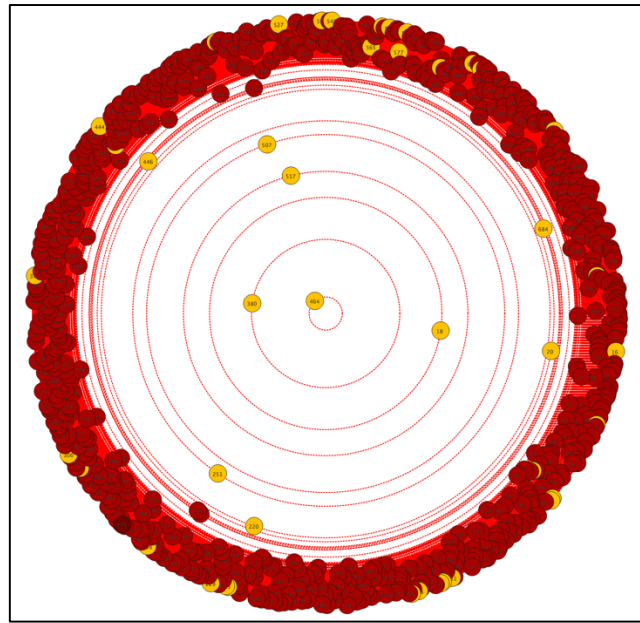


Figure 4.9b Acquaintanceship network by eigenvector centrality and religious status

Besides the overwhelming centrality of the male members of the clergy, the examples presented so far and the analysis of degree and eigenvector centralities for the actors of the 'Cathar' network studied here reveal characteristic patterns. The central positions were mostly occupied by three kinds of individuals: (1) Good Men, whose names were probably included in the questioning of suspects and turned into condemning factors for anyone who knew them; (2) lay actors who acted as couriers, guides, and proxies for the Good Men, accompanying them from place to place, carrying messages and goods for them, and even proselytising for converts; (3) and lay actors who hosted the Good Men and their gatherings and whose houses became a meeting point between the clergy and the laity of the movement. This classification would explain the relatively weak presence of women among the most influential individuals. As noted above, the first group, was mostly male but for a few exceptions: two of the three Good Women documented remain unnamed and seem to have remained in Sicily. As for the second group, couriers and guides were mostly men, but some of the women presented above were charged with an active part in spreading the belief on the Good Men. Finally, the third group is the one that shows a stronger female component, but even in this case, and despite the number of widows involved in this way, many living husbands were equally connected and were more likely to appear in the record as the owners of the houses were the community gathered.

To confirm the importance of these intermediaries, especially remarkable in this extremely polarised network structure, it is necessary to look into closeness centrality. This measure, which takes into account the relational distance between an actor and all others, highlights the role of those individuals who are central to the spread of information, beliefs, practices, and material support through the network. The higher the relational distance between two actors, the longer it takes for anything to travel from one to the other, and therefore, here, it is the actors with the lowest closeness centralities who are best situated. As shown in Table 4.5, this is the first centrality measure according to which lay actors make it into the ‘top ten’.

	Lowest closeness centralities
Peire Auter	1223
Jacme Auter	1370
Peire Sans	1468
Ameli de Perles	1502
Peire Raimon	1634
Guilhem Auter	1687
Felip de Coustaussa	1692
Peire Raimon d'Hugoux	1720
Guilhem Aliguer	1739
Sanç Mercader	1740

Table 4.5 Lowest closeness centralities

It stands to logic that many of the same Good Men dominate the list; given that knowing them was instrumental to being convicted of heresy, they were mentioned by name by a vast number of actors, which translates into close network connections and low closeness centralities. More revealing is the presence of Peire Raimon d'Hugoux and Guilhem Aliguer replacing the Good Men Bernard Audouy and Andreu de Prades, who, despite their prominent status within the community did not move around as much as their

companions. Introduced in the pages above, Peire Raimon d’Hugoux fits the profile of the mobile courier, while Guilhem Aliguer matches the description of the head of the family who puts his household at the service of the movement. This pattern also shows for the ten lay actors with the lowest closeness centrality (see Table 4.6).

	Lowest closeness centralities (lay actors only)
Peire Raimon d'Hugoux	1720
Guilhem Aliguer	1739
Peire Guilhem Sanchas	1741
Guilhem Arnau Fabre Espanhol	1750
Guilhem Porcell Calvet	1751
Raimon Sans	1753
Ademar Peire	1757
Blanca Gilabert	1766
Gentil Barra	1766
Johan Mercader	1768

Table 4.6 Lay actors with the lowest closeness centralities

Along with Peire Raimon d’Hugoux and Guilhem Aliguer, we find other individuals that played similar roles, such as the aforementioned Peire Guilhem Sanchas, Guilhem Arnau Fabre Espanhol, Guilhem Porcell Calvet, Raimon Sans, and Johan Mercader. Likewise, Ademar Peire, from Bannières, was a very active believer who was already involved with the Good Men since at least May 1306, the date of his first confession. He first came into contact with the group through Peire Guilhem Sanchas and from then onwards, his actions match quite well the profile of other couriers of the network, accompanying the members of the clergy from place to place and keeping track of where to find them in case they were needed to perform the sacraments.⁹²⁷ Ademar was constantly on

⁹²⁷ See Ademar’s *culpa* in Pales-Gobilliard, *Le livre des sentences*, 654–56.

the move and as such was described as a fugitive from early on, but at some point he was captured and was sentenced to the *mur* in April 1312; however, he reached an agreement with the inquisitors to help them capture the Good Man.⁹²⁸ The final sentence against Ademar seems to suggest that he complied for, despite being pronounced a relapser for his actions after his first abjuration, he was not handed over to the secular arm but sentenced to strict life imprisonment instead.⁹²⁹ As for the women in Table 4.6, Blanca Gilabert and Gentil Barra—mother and daughter, respectively—both of them were widows that fulfilled the role of hosts in their own houses. Blanca, who lived in Ferrus, has already been introduced above, while Gentil, who had moved to Toulouse after her marriage, frequently received and sheltered the most renowned Good Men.⁹³⁰ People visited them there, brought them offerings and alms, and also went to receive the *consolamen* and die in Gentil’s home. Gentil sent her son Bernard out to summon the Good Men when they were needed, bought and sent them gifts—boots, a cap that had belonged to her husband, and money—and was finally surrendered to the secular arm as a relapser in April 1310.⁹³¹

To conclude this analysis of the measures of centrality and to further gauge the importance of intermediaries, let us now turn to betweenness centrality in order to identify the actors who were in a position to control the flow of resources, that is, to act as a broker between different groups within the network. Table 4.7 lists the ten individuals with the highest potential in this regard, once again stressing the role played by the laity.

⁹²⁸ Ibid., 656: “Isti Adzemario Petri fuit promissa gracia per dominum inquisitorem ultima vice qua fuit captus de corpore suo si statim revelaret ubi Petrus Sancii hereticus esset.”

⁹²⁹ See *ibid.*, 928–30 and 932–36.

⁹³⁰ See Gentil’s *culpa* in *ibid.*, 514–18.

⁹³¹ *Ibid.*, 530–32.

	Highest betweenness centralities
Peire Auter	115825,13
Peire Sans	49870,07
Jacme Auter	47333,83
Ameli de Perles	16193,36
Guilhem Durall	14459,70
Peire Raimon	14090,94
Guilhem Auter	10188,12
Raimon del Boc	5670,00
Guilhem Sicre	3473,47
Blanca Gilabert	3087,99

Table 4.7 Highest betweenness centralities

Besides six of the Good Men who have repeatedly ranked the highest in the previous measures, here we find three lay actors—two men and a woman—and a member of the clergy so far unmentioned. Raimon del Boc is one of the Good Men documented in the area of Albi and Cordes in the records of later general sermons, both in the *Book of sentences* and in Doat 27 and Doat 28.⁹³² His connections are not many as far as the dataset considered in this chapter goes, but his privileged position in terms of betweenness comes from who these connections were. As previously noted, betweenness centrality is particularly sensitive to the nature of the sources. Therefore, when one actor is connected to individuals that can only be documented thanks to his or her deposition—and are therefore only related to him or her—his or her betweenness increases, for those individuals would become isolates were

⁹³² In the *Liber sententiarum*, Raimon del Boc is only mentioned in the records of the general sermon held in Toulouse on 30 September 1319, specifically in the *culpae* of Benet Moliner—see *ibid.*, 1110–18—and Guilhem Cavalier—see *ibid.*, 1176–82. In contrast, he is mentioned by several *culpae* in Doat 27 and 28, all of them included as part of the record of general sermons held in the market square of Carcassonne in February 1325 (see Doat 28, fols. 107r–170v), November 1328 (see Doat 27, fols. 1r–112r), and September 1329 (see Doat 27, fols. 188r–249v).

it not for said actor. This is precisely the case of Raimon del Boc, but also that of Guilhem Durall. Durall, from Rabastens, is the lay actor with the highest betweenness centrality both because his *culpa* is the only extant record of some of the least connected Good Men, but also, and more importantly, because he is the only link between what we could call the ‘Auter cluster’ and other groups of ‘perfects’ that acted in different regions and different periods.⁹³³ In other words, without Guilhem Durall, the network of 726 actors extracted from the *Book of sentences* would be divided into two independent networks. In contrast, the presence of Guilhem Sicre, from Salieth, is due to his role as a broker between different generations of believers. Via his uncle, also named Guilhem, Sicre is the only link between the believers of the early fourteenth century and a Good Man called Gaucelm whose activity can be traced back to the 1260s.⁹³⁴

Moreover, unlike in the cases of the other measures of centrality analysed so far, here we find a woman among the ten most central actors: Blanca Gilabert. According to the record, Blanca birthed at least six daughters and one son, all of whom married and gave her several grandchildren. As noted above, her house in Ferrus often served as temporary residence for some of the most renowned Good Men, and Blanca herself “induced many to love and believe in the heretics, their life and their sect.”⁹³⁵ People sent gifts to the priestly elite of the group through her and she acted as facilitator for the performance of the *consolamen* on the dying, procuring the assistance of the Good Men and attending the ceremony herself, helping when needed.⁹³⁶ This combination of roles as both intermediary between the clergy and the laity of the movement and as focal point of a large family cluster is what grants her such a high betweenness centrality. In fact, this is one of the reasons why women are prominently featured in the list of the ten lay actors displaying the highest betweenness, five of which were female (see Table 4.8).

⁹³³ See Guilhem Durall’s *culpa* in Pales-Gobilliard, *Le livre des sentences*, 1105–06.

⁹³⁴ Gaucelm is only mentioned in the *culpa* of Guilhem Sicre sr, which recorded Guilhem’s previous involvement and abjuration; see *ibid.*, 736: “(...) duos hereticos vidisse, scilicet Gaucelinum et socium suum et ipsos adorasse flexis genibus secundum modum hereticorum (...) et coram predicto inquisitore abjuravit heresim anno Domini M^o CCLXII^o in crastino sancti Vicencii.”

⁹³⁵ *Ibid.*, 272: “Item induxit plures personas sibi conjunctas ad amorem et credenciam hereticorum, vitam et sectam ipsorum, commendando et aprobando.”

⁹³⁶ *Ibid.*, 274: “(...) et misit pro heretico et fecit eum venire ad dictam infirmam et ipsa presente et vidente et candelam tenente, de nocte hereticus recepit infirmam ad sectam suam secundum pessimam consuetudinem hereticorum.”

	Highest betweenness centralities (lay actors only)
Guilhem Durall	14459,70
Guilhem Sicre	3473,47
Blanca Gilabert	3087,99
Pons Ameli	2900,89
Guilhem Porcell Calvet	2741,62
Guilhema de Proault	2717,45
Arnauda Huc	2654,10
Benet Moliner	2490,00
Peirona Aldric	2139,50
Guerauda Vidal	2139,50

Table 4.8 Lay actors with the highest betweenness centralities

Married daughters were the linchpin of family ties, and therefore helped increase the social capital of the household. In terms of religious culture, they were often the pathway through which alternative religious practices spread, which naturally increases their average betweenness. The case of Guilhema de Proault and the female network that helped her to accelerate her death was already discussed in the introduction to this chapter, but the fact is that, despite being still a married woman, Guilhema also conformed to the profile of the host who welcomed the Good Men into her home and acted as mediator for them. As for Arnauda Huc and Peirona Aldric they both had been involved with the community for over forty years and had been sentenced to prison, released and imposed crosses and pilgrimages and finally fulfilled their penances by 1280.⁹³⁷ When they were charged again in the early fourteenth century, they became the link to a previous generation, especially Arnauda, who

⁹³⁷ Arnauda Huc abjured all heresy and was first sentenced to the *mur* in 1274 (see *ibid.*, 746), while Peirona Aldric abjured and was sentenced to wear crosses and go on pilgrimage in 1269 (see *ibid.*, 922).

was the sister of two relatively less renowned Good Men, Bernard and Pons de Tilhols.⁹³⁸ As for Guerauda Vidal, a widow posthumously sentenced to life imprisonment, she was actively involved in clandestine activities and secret gatherings, and, more importantly regarding betweenness, her *culpa* is the only evidence of the involvement of her uncle, Guilhem de Péchermier.⁹³⁹ The high betweenness centralities of Pons Ameli and Benet Moliner can also be explained in similar terms. Pons Ameli, whose sentence as a relapser provides the earliest documented reference to Bernard Gui’s inquisitorial activity, is the only suspect connected to a group of ‘perfects’ that were active in the area back in the 1280s: Aymeric Barrot, and his companion Albert, Arnau Bernard, and Pons Fogasser.⁹⁴⁰ As for Benet Moliner, from Cordes, his *culpa* relates him to a group of Good Men active in Cordes and Albi, some of whose names cannot be documented elsewhere.⁹⁴¹

Some conclusions can be drawn from this analysis of centrality measures. The predominant presence of certain *bons omes* among the most central actors of the network extracted from Bernard Gui’s *Book of Sentences* can be explained through their early identification and inclusion as part of the inquisitorial questioning. Peire, Jacme, and Guilhem Auter were already described as *hereticos*, that is as Good Men, in the extant fragment of the register of Geoffroi d’Ablis, dated 1308, but they were not the only ones, for Ameli de Perles, Andreu de Prades, Felip de Coustaussa, Peire Raimon, and Peire Sans were also mentioned as part of the clergy of the movement that ‘exposed’ others to the dangers of heresy. Unquestionably, Peire Auter’s apostolate was of paramount importance for the group in the early years of the fourteenth century, and as a former notary public with political connections whose departure from Languedoc had not been discreet, he was rather conspicuous to inquisitors. However, on the grounds of centrality alone, arguing that Peire Auter was the main target of the inquisitions carried out in the period seems difficult. It is not so much that his actions were the ones that interested inquisitors the most, but rather that Peire, Jacme and all the others listed above were used as incriminating factors in order to

⁹³⁸ Neither Arnauda nor Peirona were sentenced as relapsers, maybe because of their old age, for they had to be at least in their sixties by 1312 and 1316, when they were respectively sentenced to strict life imprisonment.

⁹³⁹ See Guerauda’s *culpa* in *ibid.*, 776–78.

⁹⁴⁰ See *ibid.*, 180–84.

⁹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 1110–18.

identify all the members of the community, no matter how superficial or occasional their involvement may be.

Finally, the appearance of lay actors in central positions, sometimes even along with the members of the clergy, needs to be addressed. Given the polarisation between 'perfects' and believers, that is, the wide gap in the number of mentions—and therefore connections—between ones and the others, the fact that some lay actors show high values for various centrality measures is remarkable. Furthermore, the profiles of those individuals, which could be labeled as 'couriers' and 'hosts', highlight the importance of intermediaries. As I have already noted, the Good Men and Women were scarce when compared to the numbers of believers; they were few and constantly on the run, for the movement had a long trajectory of clandestinity in the early fourteenth century. In such a context, the central role of 'perfects' was passed on to those individuals who acted as their proxies and who became essential in order to maintain a community structure that would otherwise have withered and died under persecution.

4.1.3 Analysis of a Network of *bons omes e bonas femnas* in Early-Fourteenth Century Languedoc

The Good Men Peire Auter and Ameli de Perles were arrested in August 1309, a few months after the execution at the stake Jacme Auter and the death of Sanç Mercader, who, besieged by inquisitorial efforts, decided to take his own life.⁹⁴² Ameli refused to eat or drink anything after being captured, which led inquisitors to speed up his trial and hand him over to the secular arm on 23 October 1309.⁹⁴³ Guilhem Auter and Andreu de Prades were also burned alive over the following winter, and Felip de Coustaussa, who first fled to Catalonia along with the infamous Guilhem Belibasta, returned and was executed in spring 1310.

⁹⁴² Huc Ruf, in his deposition of February 1310, admitted to having witnessed Mercader's suicide, see Pales-Gobilliard, *Le livre des sentences*, 706: "Item scivit et vidit (...) qui Sancius tunc procurabat et accelerabat sibi mortem per minutionem et balneationem et frigidationem ipso vidente."

⁹⁴³ Ibid., 328: "Idcirco quia prenomminatus Amelius hereticus (...) predicta omnia contempnens perseverat adhuc in sua perfidia animo indurato, nec potests ultra diucius sine mortis periculo expectari, nos, preffati inquisitor et vicarii (...) ipsum per diffinitivam sentenciam in hiis scriptis hereticum esse declaramus et pronunciamus et eundem tanquam talem relinquimus curie seculari."

Meanwhile, and up until 10 April 1310, Peire Auter remained in the inquisitorial gaol where he spent his last days providing information, confessing to his activities, and exposing the names of his extensive personal network.

Peire Auter’s *culpa* is one of the very few in the *Book of sentences* that does not include the account of specific dealings with ‘the heretics’.⁹⁴⁴ There was no need for it, given that Peire was identified as a heretic himself at the very least since 1307, and that the purpose of the *culpa* was to list the main charges that justified the sentence. Peire’s guilt was not based on his contact with older Good Men, but on his own beliefs, which constitute the core of his *culpa* and which he maintained until the very end. Moreover, his relationship with believers and his knowledge of his activities were not used as aggravating factors but rather as a source of information on said believers, adding to the previously stated hypothesis that the goal of inquisitors went far beyond the capture of the elderly Goos Man. We must again regret the loss of the full register, for surely the record of Peire Auter’s interrogation would clarify this point, but nevertheless, the *culpa*e of other suspects confirm how thoroughly Peire’s testimony was used against others. To cite but a few examples, Bermonda de Salvetat, from Prunet, mistakenly thought that she had managed to conceal the facts incriminating her family, but Peire Auter disclosed their involvement;⁹⁴⁵ Arnau Bru, also from Prunet, failed to confess that he had given Peire money and the blue cloak that Auter was wearing when he was captured, which Auter revealed himself;⁹⁴⁶ and the confession of May 1309 of Valencia Fabre, from Lugan, and that of Raimunda Maurell, from Beaupuy, in February 1310 were considered incomplete, among other things, due to the information provided by Peire and Jacme Auter.⁹⁴⁷

⁹⁴⁴ See Pales-Gobilliard, *Le livre des sentences*, 538–44.

⁹⁴⁵ Ibid., 474: “Predicta Bermunda creditur celare adhuc de hospicio suo illa que dicit P. Auterii de eadem et de aliis de hospicio.”

⁹⁴⁶ Ibid., 476: “Contra predictum Arnaldum dicit P. Auterii quod ipse Arnaldus dedit sibi pecuniam pro elemosina et illud supertunicale de blavo quod ipse P. Auterii portabat quando fuit captus et dondempnatus.”

⁹⁴⁷ For Valencia’s *culpa*, see ibid., 434: “Predicta Valencia non reputatur plene confessa propter illa que contra eam inveniuntur per Petrum Auterii et Jacobum et quasdam alias personas”; for the *culpa* of Raimunda Maureen, see ibid., 448: “Predicta Ramunda non reputatur plene confessa propter illa que contra eam inveniuntur per Petrum Auterii et Jacobum hereticos et per quosdam alios credentes.”

The centrality of Peire Auter, discussed in the previous subsection, thus results from a combination of factors: his actual position within the network, his early identification as an heretic and inclusion in the inquisitorial question list, and the part he unwillingly played as an informant during his imprisonment. These same reasons are also behind the impressive extent of Peire Auter’s ego-network, that is, the network that represents his direct connections. Figure 4.10a shows Peire Auter at the centre of a network formed by 371 actors and 5034 ties where men are represented as green dots and women as red dots. In other words, Peire Auter’s acquaintances included over 50% of the actors and ties of the whole ‘Cathar’ acquaintanceship network that can be extracted from Bernard Gui’s *Book of sentences*.

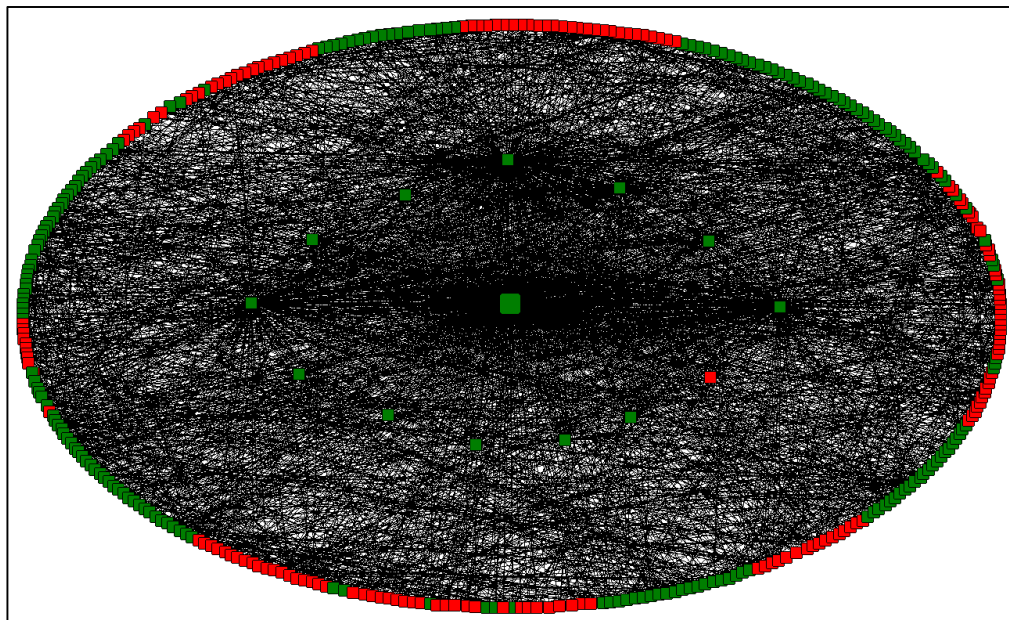


Figure 4.10a Ego-network of Peire Auter by gender

In spite of the arguments presented so far against considering Peire Auter as the centre and main target of Bernard Gui’s inquisitions against the Good Men and Women, this hyper dense ego-network may seem to point in the opposite direction. In order to gauge the extent to which this questions the validity of the aforementioned arguments, it is useful to turn to the operation known as ‘node filtering’ that was introduced in the previous chapter and consists in removing a node or class of nodes from the network graph. Figure 4.11a shows the result of removing Peire Auter, that is, the ego, from his own ego-network.

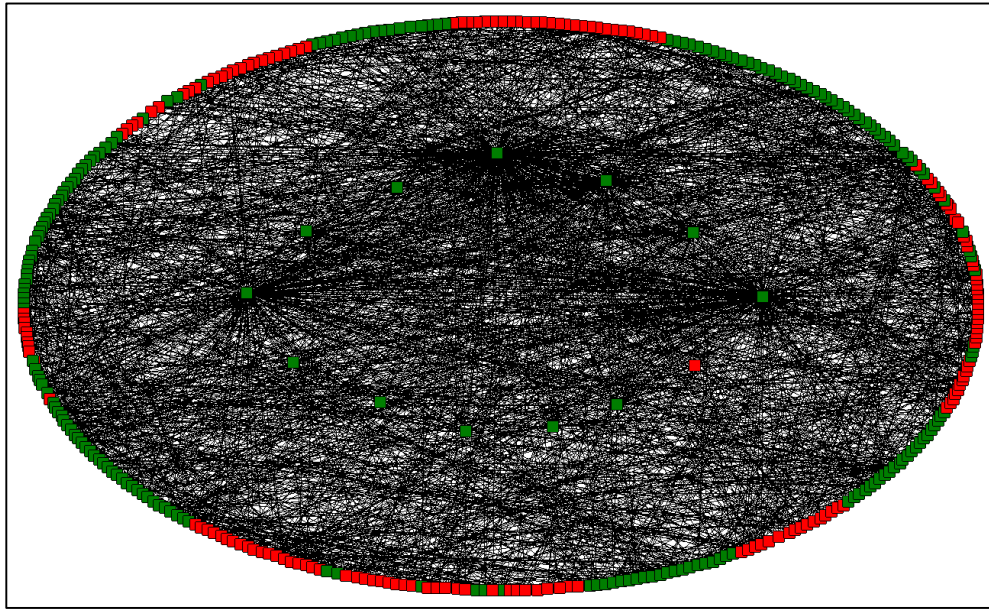


Figure 4.11a Ego-network of Peire Auter without ‘ego’

Visually, the ego-network appears much the same; numerically, 367 actors and 4296 ties remain, or, in other words, 85% of the ties hold and only 4 actors end up isolated without Peire Auter. To understanding why Peire is not so essential to his own ego-network as it seemed at first glance, it is essential to look at it from a different perspective. Figure 4.10b shows the same ego-network with Peire at its centre but representing Good Men and Women as yellow dots and lay believers and supporters as maroon dots.

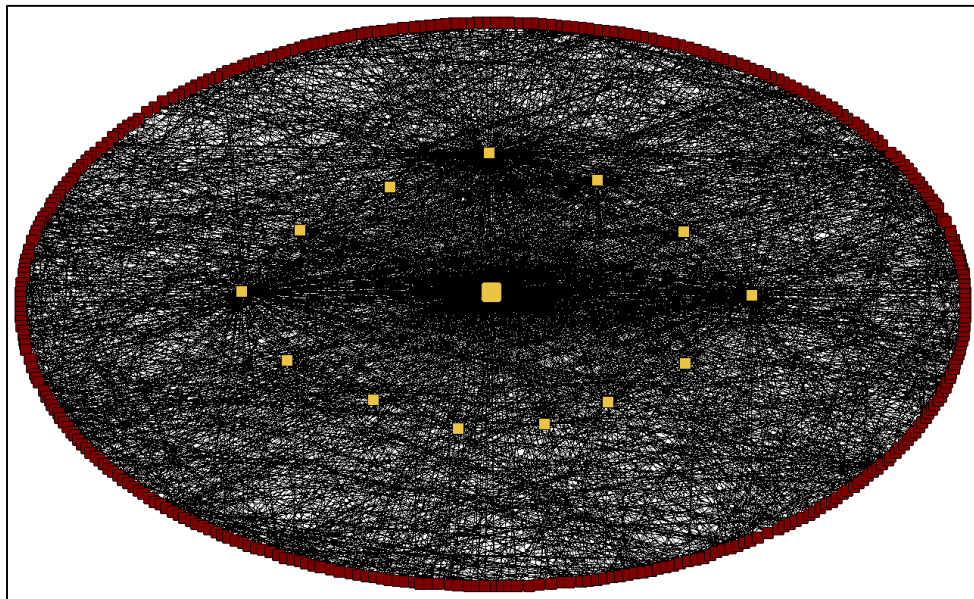


Figure 4.10b Ego-network of Peire Auter by religious status

Removing Peire Auter now (see Figure 4.11b below) shows how, in his absence, his ego-network could still survive by relying on the other members of the clergy connected to him, which on the one hand counters the idea of the 'Auter revival' and, on the other, begs the question whether the network as a whole would hold were we to filter the nodes that correspond to Good Men and Women.

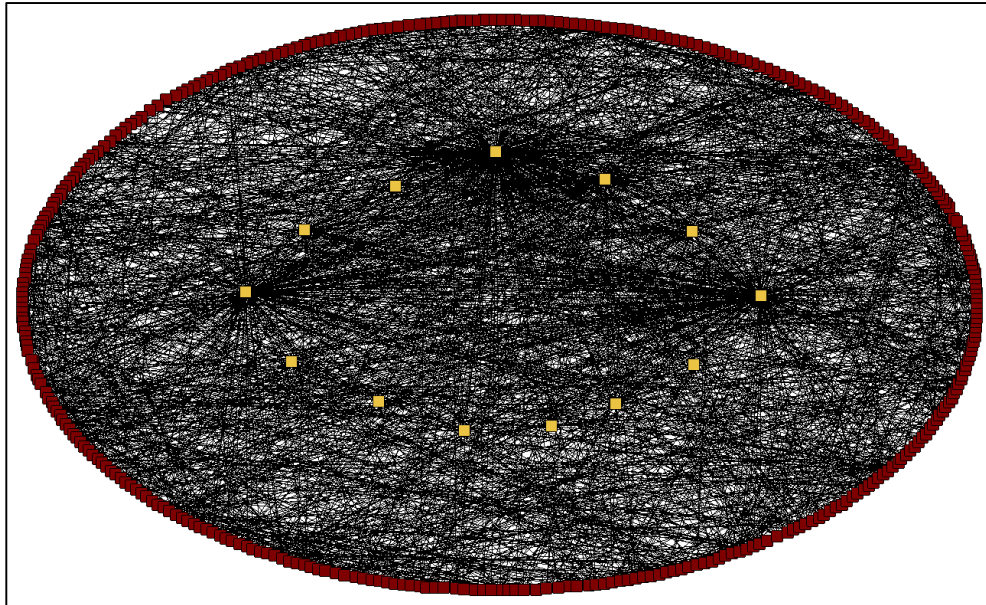


Figure 4.12 Ego-network of Peire Auter by religious status without 'ego'

Before addressing these issues and in order to further grasp the structure of these communities, it is also noteworthy to consider smaller ego-networks, or more specifically, ego-networks belonging to lay actors. In particular, let us explore the classification of central actors put forward in the previous subsection. To exemplify the case of those individuals who could be described as couriers, Figures 4.12a and 4.12b show the ego-network of Peire Guilhem Sanchas with the ego on the left bottom corner and the alters represented according to their sex and religious status, respectively.

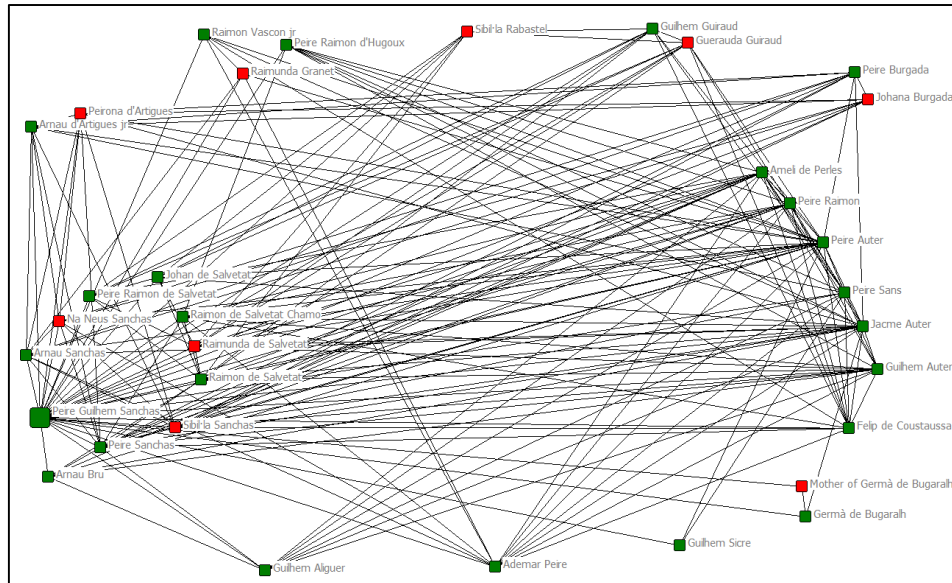


Figure 4.13 Ego-network of Peire Guilhem Sanchas by gender

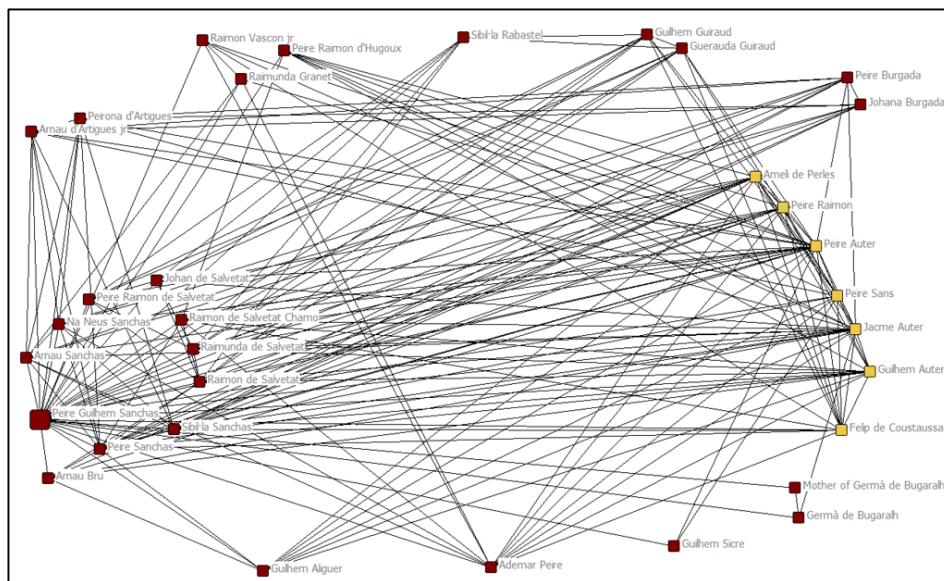


Figure 4.14 Ego-network of Peire Guilhem Sanchas by religious status

According to the information recorded in Bernard Gui’s *Book of sentences*, Peire Guilhem Sanchas, from Prunet, was connected to 32 actors, 9 of whom were women; moreover, 7 of his 23 male acquaintances were ‘perfects’. Much in the same way as in the experiment with Peire Auter’s ego-network, removing Peire Guilhem Sanchas from his own network of acquaintances results in no isolated actors and 82% of the ties holding (see Figure 4.13).

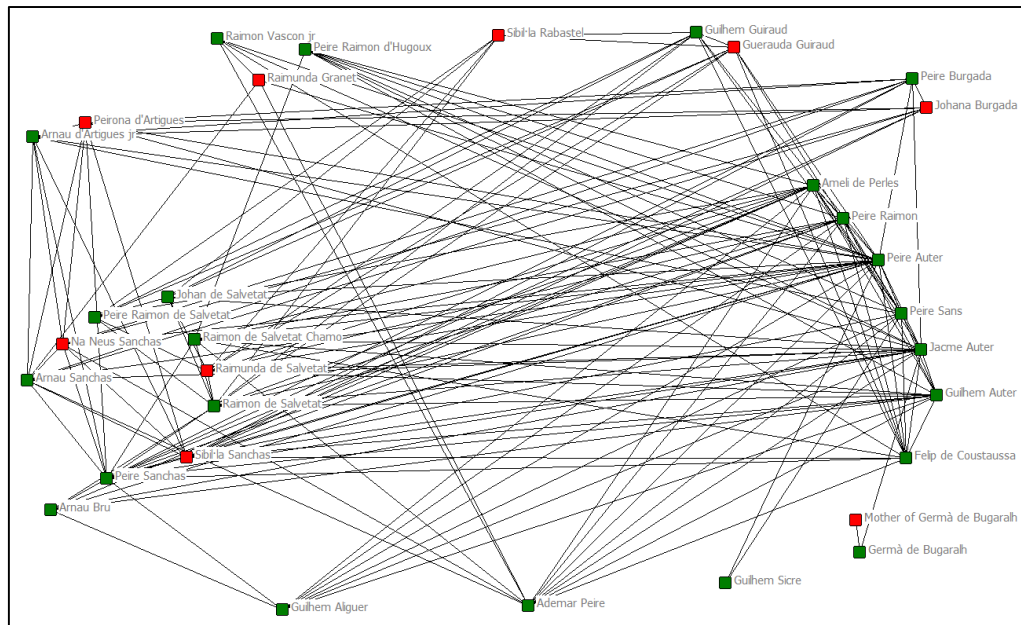


Figure 4.15 Ego-network of Peire Guilhem Sanchas by gender without 'ego'

Given his role as intermediary and travelling companion of the Good Men, the lack of responsiveness of Peire Guilhem Sanchas's ego-network to the removal of the ego needs to be understood in terms of time. One of the biggest difficulties of network analysis is precisely the representation of dynamic networks, that is, in sum, the representation of time. Network graphs must, by definition, depict either a specific moment in time or, as it is the case here, the accumulated effect of different snapshots over a given period. The granularity of the data that can be extracted from inquisitorial records, and in particular from books of sentences, makes it impossible to establish the exact evolution of a network over time, and while this does not usually present a serious hindrance for the purposes of this study, it is most apparent in cases such as that of Sanchas, whose function was to put in contact different actors. Were it possible to track his connections (and the connections between them) from year to year, we would be able to see how his role became increasingly less central as he carried out his activity over the years. Once the actors were connected, Sanchas importance did no longer stem from his mediation but from other more daily actions.

Representing the ego-network of one of the actors characterised as 'hosts', in this case Blanca Gilabert, shows a rather similar structure. In Figure 4.14a and 4.14b, the ego—Blanca—appears on the right top corner and her 33 alters are again coloured according to

sex and religious status, respectively. Thus Blanca’s ego-network included 14 women and 5 ‘perfects’.

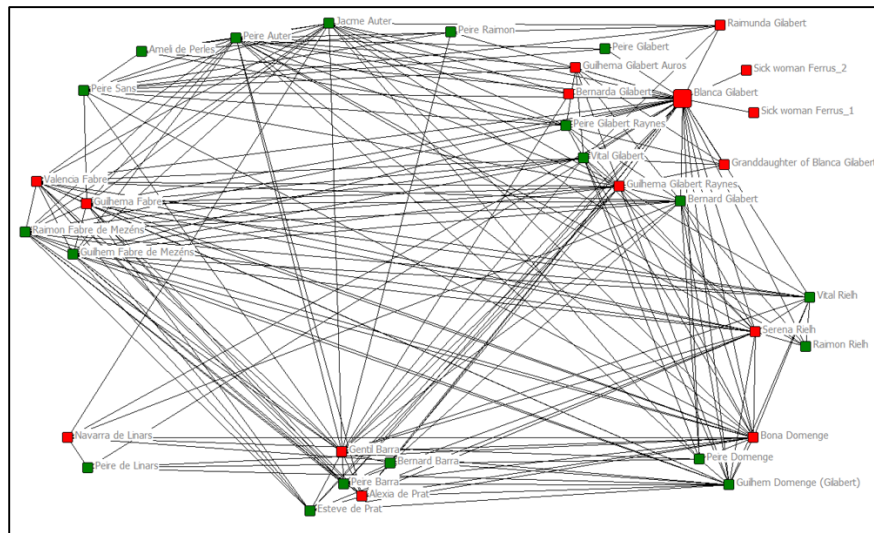


Figure 4.16a Ego-network of Blanca Gilabert by gender

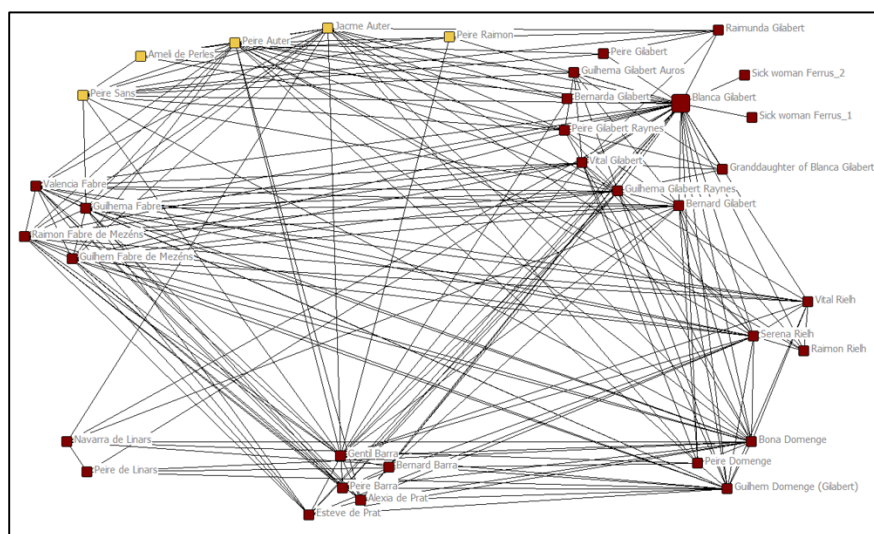


Figure 4.17 Ego-network of Blanca Gilabert by religious status

Although it is true that the percentage of female actors is higher in this case and the Good Men are fewer, on a purely structural level, there are not many differences between the ego-networks of Peire Guilhem Sanchas and Blanca Gilabert, not even if Blanca is removed from hers, as shown in Figure 4.15, for 83% of the ties hold and only 2 actors end up isolated.

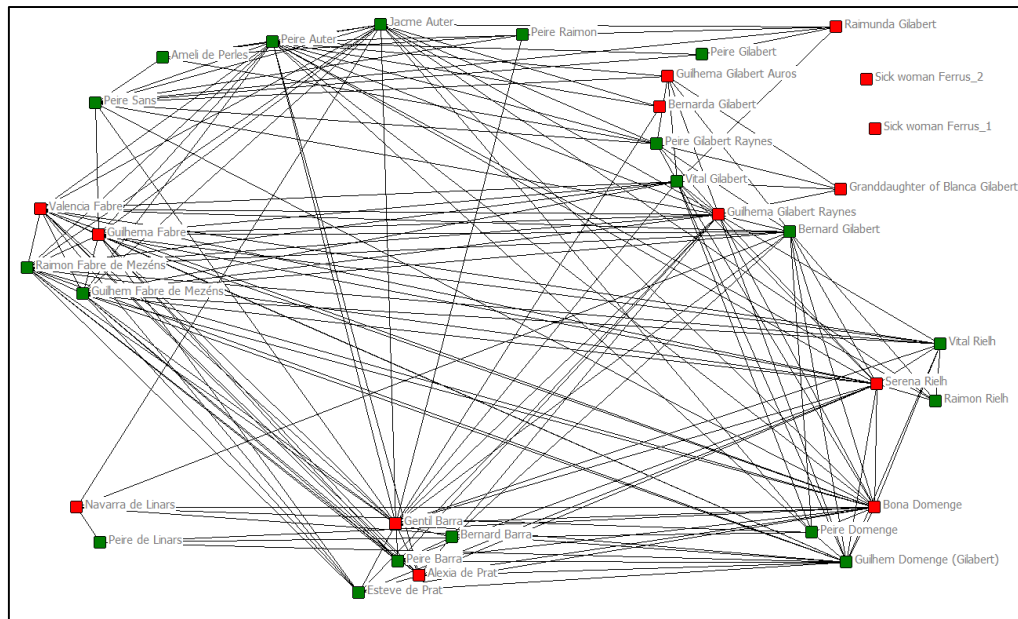


Figure 4.18 Ego-network of Blanca Gilabert by gender without 'ego'

Both Peire and Blanca belonged to a relatively large cluster established within their respective hometowns and connected to other villages, therefore, it is necessary to delve deeper in order to grasp the full reach of the differences between both models. While Peire's acquaintances spread across ten different villages, including his hometown, Prunet, Blanca's ego-network only includes connections with five different locations. Moreover, although both of them were connected to members of the priestly elite, Peire accompanied them from place to place, whereas Blanca met them in her native Ferrus. As expected, mobility was a key factor in the definition of this mediating profiles, with 'couriers' being far more mobile than 'hosts'. However, there is yet another aspect that needs to be taken into account, namely, family ties. On the one hand, out of Blanca's 33 alters, 30 belonged to the same extended family, whose members lived in different villages. Out of the three remaining actors connected to her, two are unnamed inhabitants of Ferrus and cannot be ascribed to a family group, while the last one is also a Gilabert, albeit from a different family. In contrast, the ego-network of Peire Guilhem Sanchas consists of eight different families including his own. Thus, just as the basis for the social capital of 'couriers' relied on mobility, 'hosts' built theirs on extended familial clusters scattered over a region.

Although these are but two case studies, they highlight the importance of location and family as determining factors for the establishment of connections. Their impact,

however, can only be properly assessed by considering them within the context of the whole acquaintanceship network. Any single network allows a variety of graphs, in other words, it can be visualised in many different ways depending on the distribution of actors and clusters. Choices in this regard are especially important when dealing with a large number of actors, as is the case here. Once the network is established, one of the most revealing features is the formation of relational communities within its boundaries, that is, groups of actors closely connected to each other that also maintain some connections outside their own cluster. This is obviously a flexible notion, and deciding where a community ends and the next one begins is ultimately up to the researcher studying the network. Sometimes this decision is rather straight forward, but in general, in historical network analysis, it is necessary to know the context where the network was embedded and the nature of the sources providing the actor dataset.

Figure 4.16 is one of the possible representations of said network, with male actors in green and female actors in red. Moreover, the different groups of actors have been displayed according to their place of residence, and the members of the clergy have been considered as itinerant and, for the sake of clarity, are represented clustered together forming the most dense part of the graph.

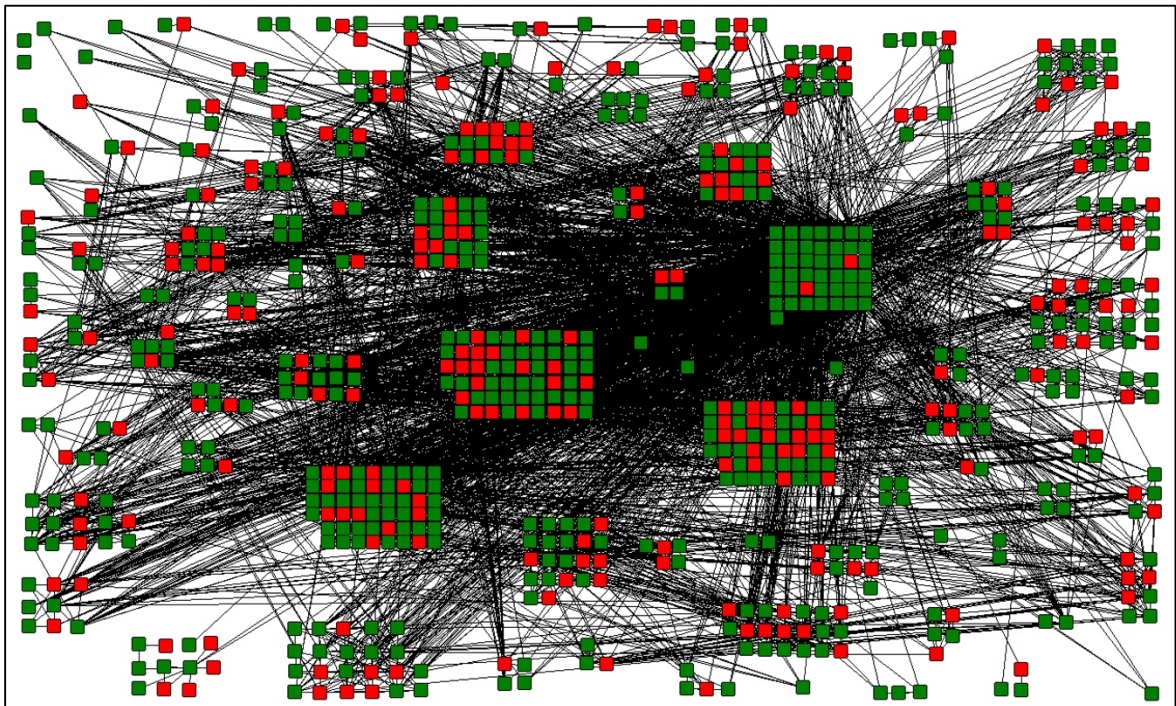


Figure 4.19 Acquaintanceship network by location and gender

As can be seen in the graph above, considering the different towns and villages as independent communities contributes little to the understanding of the network structure, particularly given the large number of locations—over a hundred—and the fact that there are only one or two actors documented in many of said locations. To clarify this visualisation, and more importantly, to bring us closer to the actual organisational pattern of these communities, I have used a two-pronged approach to the question that takes into account both the geographical and the relational perspective, namely, the hierarchical clustering of places of residence. Thus, instead of only identifying communities by means of a single town or village, I have taken into account both geographical proximity between locations and the relations that can be documented between the actors that live in these locations. According to this method, actors who share a significant number of connections and happen to live less than a few hours away from each other are considered as members of the same community within the network. For instance, Peire Tardiu is the only actor documented in the now small village of Le Cabanial and all his connections link him either to inhabitants of the neighbouring Auriac-sur-Vendinelle or to itinerant Good Men he met in that village. Likewise, the actors living in Auriac-sur-Vendinelle were connected to each other, to Good Men who stayed in their village—in particular at the house of the widow Andrea d'Auriac—or to Peire Tardiu. These two villages, which appear as separate, albeit small clusters in the previous graph, have been considered as a single community after conducting the hierarchical clustering of locations. This has of course made it imperative to map both the distances between each of the 106 locations and all others and the relations between their actors, which has resulted in the 42 locations listed in the Geographical Clustering Table included in the Appendices. The application of this new configuration to the acquaintanceship network graph has produced Figure 4.17 below.

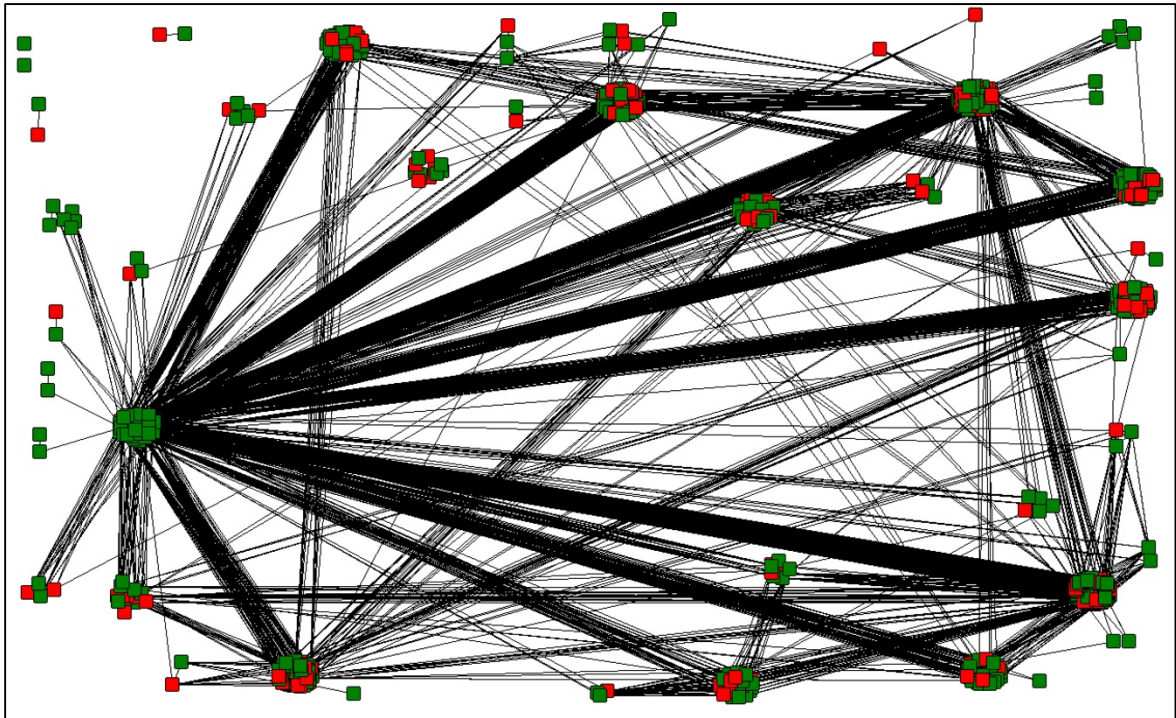


Figure 4.17 Acquaintanceship network by gender after geographical clustering

The cluster on the left of the image that accumulates most of the relations is formed by actors whose residence cannot be established. This group also includes individuals without a fixed residence, mostly the itinerant Good Men, hence the number of connections. The rest of the clusters correspond to the actors that belonged to the communities defined through the aforementioned geographical clustering. Moreover, this visualisation helps to better identify isolated individuals and groups, and to gauge the importance of the different kinds of ties sustaining the network. If we now look at the ratio of external versus internal ties in these clustered communities, it appears that the network as a whole leans towards heterophily as defined in the previous chapter, that is, actors seem more likely to establish connections with actors that live outside their hometown and neighbouring areas.⁹⁴⁸ This is a rather surprising result, especially bearing in mind the religious nature of the network at hand. Indeed, new religious practices and religious tenets—mainstream or otherwise—are more easily spread through strong ties, which, as previously discussed, are those that bind

⁹⁴⁸ This is most easily estimated through the so-called E-I Index, which consists in dividing the difference between external and internal ties by the total number of ties. A positive result between 0 and 1 means heterophily, and a negative one, homophily. In this case the result for the E-I Index is 0.0194.

the members of a given community to each other. The prevalence of weak ties within the 'Cathar' network of the early-fourteenth century can be explained by the predominant presence of the members of the clergy in the record. As established throughout this chapter, the *culpa*e in Bernard Gui's *Liber sententiarum* emphasise the connections between suspects and the Good Men and Women as a means to identify believers and supporters and impose them penances. Therefore, the nature of the inquisitorial procedure and that of the source itself results in the overrepresentation of 'perfects'. Furthermore, their itinerant status—often forced by clandestinity—biases the balance towards out-ties for the actors of any community. This is where node filtering proves agains most useful, in this case, the intellectual exercise of removing the clergy from the network to gauge both their impact on the overall network and the features of the underlying structure. Figure 4.18 shows the network of clustered communities without the presence of the different groups of Good Men and Women documented in the *Book of sentences*.

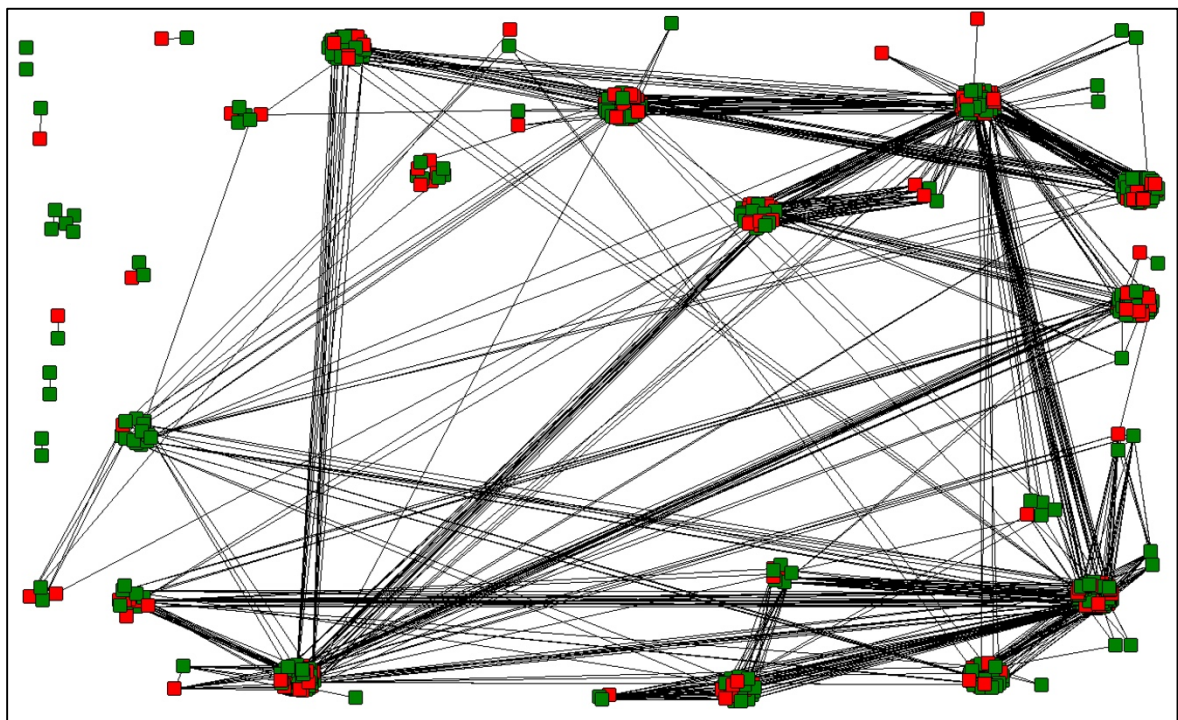


Figure 4.18 Acquaintance network after geographical clustering without 'perfects'

As can be seen from the comparison of both graphs, the removal of the clergy results in remarkable changes. The density of ties holding the 'Cathar' network together decreases significantly, increasing the number of individuals and groups that end up isolated. Figure 4.19 quantifies the variation in connectedness between both situations. On the one hand,

isolated individuals increase from 2 to 9, while isolated groups go from 2 to 18 (neither are visible in the graph due to the scale). On the other, network ties experience a 40% decrease. However, this significant decrease in ties is not matched by a similar decrease in the number of actors that remain connected despite the loss of ties, for 86% of them still appear bound together even without the action of the Good Men and Women.

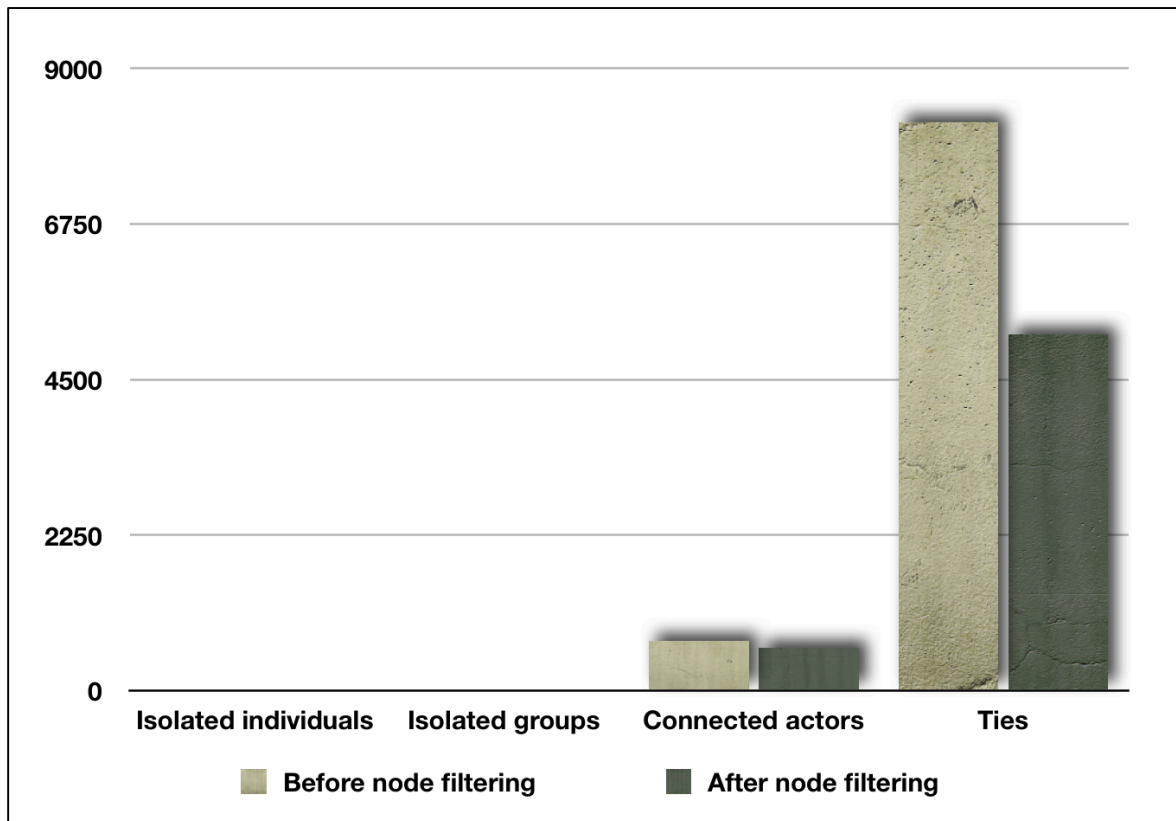


Figure 4.19 Effects of node filtering

The result of this operation points to the fact that, despite the prominence of the members of the ‘Cathar clergy’ in the sources and their consequent centrality, their apostolic mission affected an underlying network of connected actors bound by social ties that served as the base fabric for the spread of an alternative religious culture. Furthermore, if we reconsider the proportion of ties that actors established outside the boundaries of their communities versus inner ties once ‘perfects’ are filtered, the structure of the network then leans towards cluster homophily instead of heterophily.⁹⁴⁹ Thus, without the intervention of

⁹⁴⁹ The value of the E-I Index here is -0.4639.

the Good Men, it is strong ties that support the network, that is, community ties prevail over inter-community connections. The network resulting from the removal of the most central individuals was far less connected as a whole—only 60% of the ties survived—but the remaining structure was still robust due to the nature of said ties, which made them rather difficult to sever.

These strong ties were community and family based connections and as such were able to endure considerable stress before breaking. From the point of view of inquisitors, the only option in this regard was to be thorough, interrogating and sentencing all the members of the community. Figure 4.20 shows the same network as before but displaying different colours for different families. More specifically, this visualisation is the result of ascribing the 726 actors to 102 family groups, understanding family group in its broadest sense. Thus, family groups have been formed by gathering the different families that are connected to each other by marriage, even if that ends up bringing together five separate familial units, as is the case of the largest family group considered in this classification, with fifty-eight members.

The reason behind this choice is again both relational and contextual. First, this is not to say that all family members are accounted for, obviously these groups only include those family members that appear in the record in connection to the Good Men and Women. Secondly, this classification does not mean to imply that all the members of this extensive groups knew each other, even though this was more than likely for most of them, given that the average number of family members is around seven and massive groups are the exception. The aim is simply to establish reasonable community boundaries, hypothesising that a relative of a relative, however distant the family connection may be, was not considered a stranger, especially in this territorial context where the distances between their hometowns were small and where different generations lived together in the same household, the *campmasio* frequently described in the different *culpae*. To further simplify the visualisation, only large family groups with over 10 members are coloured, smaller household are shown as grey dots and black is reserved for individuals whose relatives were not documented in the *Book of sentences*. Most of the Good Men and Women appear, once again, on the left bottom corner, accumulating the largest number of connections.

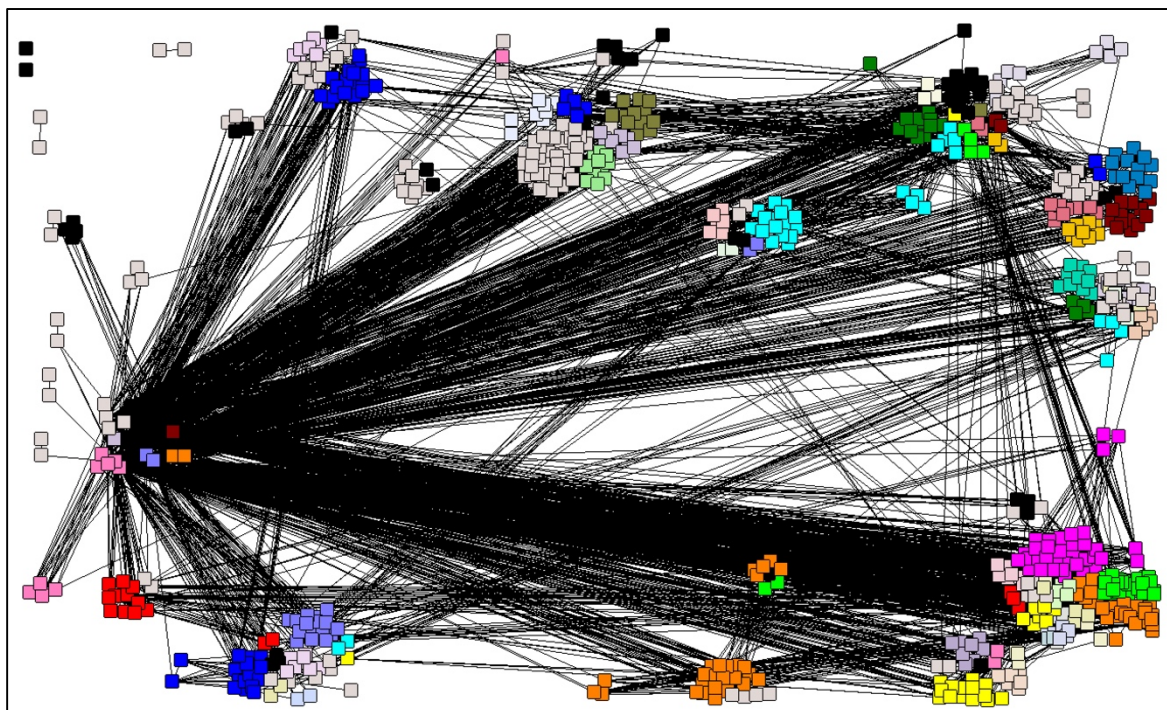


Figure 4.20 Acquaintanceship network with geographical clustering by family group

The most remarkable result of considering these family groups as communities is the fact that, even with the presence of the members of the clergy, the network leans towards homophily.⁹⁵⁰ This means that even taking into account that the connections between actors and ‘perfects’ prevail over the network as a whole, the ties established within family groups are still more important. Performing the node filtering operation (Figure 4.21) makes this situation even clearer, for the resulting network clearly presents family homophily.⁹⁵¹

⁹⁵⁰ The value of the E-I Index here is -0.0860.

⁹⁵¹ The E-I Index in this case is -0.6354.

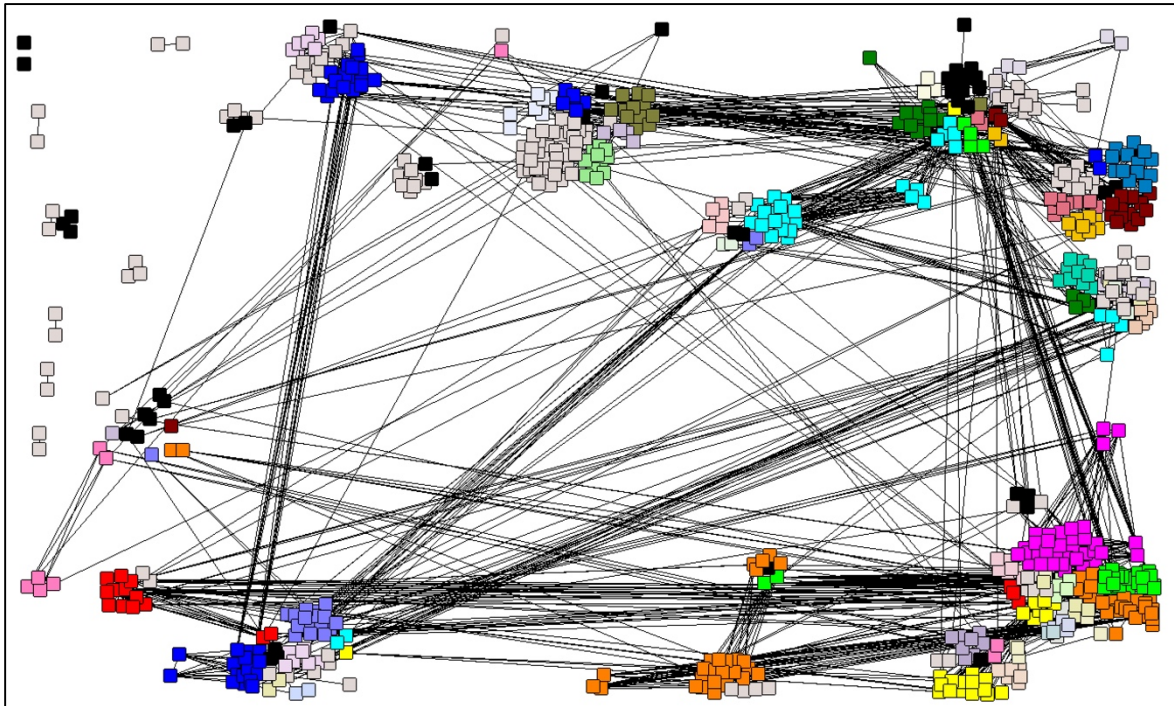


Figure 4.21 Acquaintanceship network with geographical clustering by family group without 'perfects'

The graph above shows actors grouped according to the geographical clustering presented above and coloured according to their family group. Thus, the most revealing result, is not so much the importance of family ties, but their prevalence over local connections. In other words, as can be seen in Figure 4.21, family groups often ended up scattered over the territory, but network analysis shows that at least as far as religious culture goes, the connections of actors with members of their family groups living in distant locations superseded the connections with their neighbours, even if those neighbours were also involved in the same movement. Thus, we see different colour groups—that is, families—distributed into several different clusters—that is, locations—and still maintaining enough ties as to result in a marked family homophily that is even more significant than the geographical homophily discussed in the previous paragraphs.

As regards gender, the network surrounding the Good Men and Women seems to disprove the alleged tendency of same-sex relations as the basis for religious communities. Figure 4.22 charts the percentage of same-sex and other-sex ties for men and women, which, in the case of women, does not conform to the overall statistical representativeness of male

and female actors. Whereas man-to-man links amount to about 65% of the connections established by men—quite close to the available 66% of male actors in the ‘Cathar’ network—according to the record, women only established around 28% of their religious ties with other women, well below the 33% of female actors available.

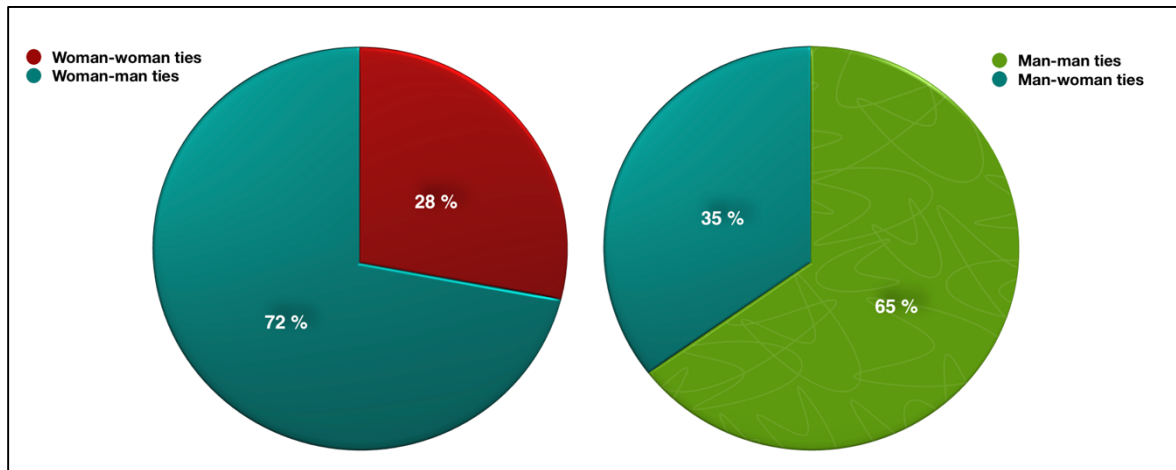


Figure 4.22 Gender homophily

Not only were women active in mixed environments but, on average, they also appear more connected to the members of the clergy. According to the *culpae* in the *Liber sententiarum*, 41% of the connections between ‘perfects’ and the laity of the movement linked them to women (see Figure 4.23); a figure that is again above the statistic representativeness of women in the actor dataset (33%). It could be argued that this does not point to an actual ratio of connections but to the fact that women provided more information than men and therefore revealed more information about the Good Men than their male coreligionists. However, despite the usual caution that must be practiced when dealing with inquisitorial depositions, in my view it is safe to say that, at the very least in the case of this particular religious movement, this argument lacks substance, given that all the *culpae* but that of Peire Auter himself mention “the heretics,” most of the times by name, and therefore there is no evidence to speculate about a theoretical gender bias in the number of acquaintances acknowledged by suspects.

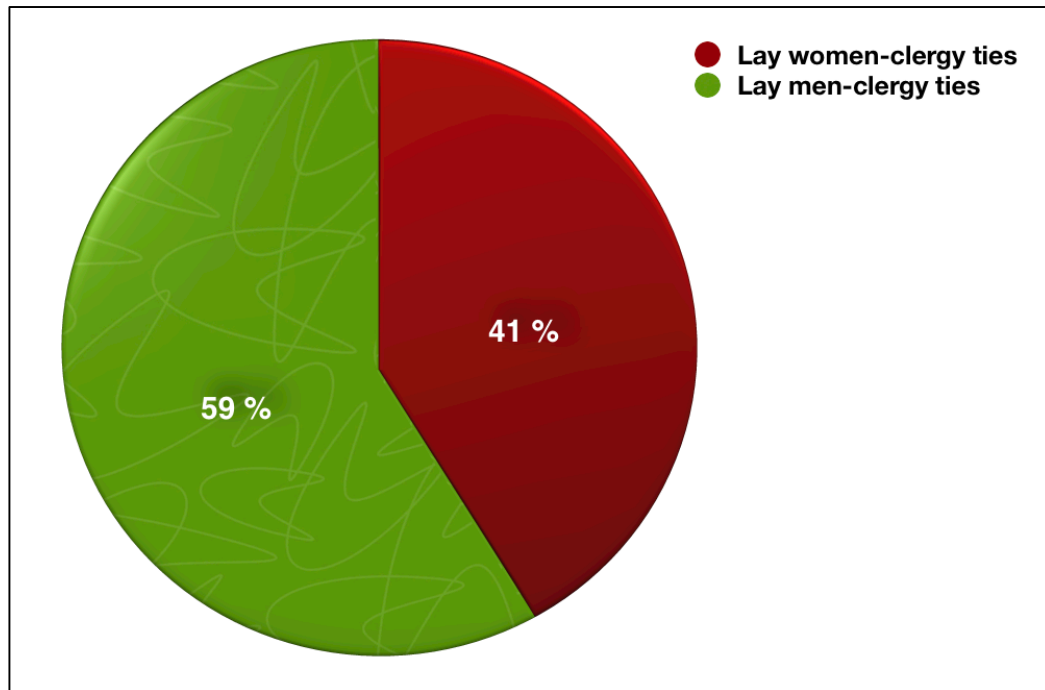


Figure 4.23 Laity-clergy ties by gender

To conclude this analysis of network structure, it is necessary to look into a couple of essential parameters that were already defined in Subsection 3.6.5, namely, clustering coefficient and average paths. The former is a measure of connectedness, for it depends on the number of pairs of actors connected to a given individual that are also connected to each other. As for the average path, it is the average number of connections between any two given actors of the network. As it happens, the clustering coefficient of the ‘Cathar network’ extracted from Bernard Gui’s *Book of sentences* is 0.687, however, as in the case of the Beguins of Languedoc, this number does not mean much in itself. In order to gauge whether this network is showing the typical high clustering coefficient of human networks, it must be compared to the clustering coefficient that a similar network would have on the basis of purely random connections. To that purpose, a random network has been generated with the same characteristics of the ‘Cathar’ network—that is, 726 relational actors and 8228 directed ties between them—using the Erdős-Rényi model discussed in the previous chapter. The resulting clustering coefficient for the random network is 0.014, a full order of magnitude below the aforementioned 0.687, thus confirming that the structure of the communities supporting the Good Men and Women conforms with what can be expected from a social network. In fact, continuing the node filtering experiment, were we to repeat the analysis for

the lay network alone and its corresponding random equivalent, the clustering coefficient is even higher—0.705—and even more so when compared to that of the random network—0.011. Finally, turning to the average path, the network studied here presents a value of 2.88, which is consistent with the average path of the random network, 2.967, again matching what could be expected of any real-world network.

Conclusions

To the best of our knowledge the Good Man Peire Sans was never captured. Ordained by Peire Auter in Beauvais-sur-Tescou in 1306, Sans, a native of Lagarde, travelled the roads of the Lauragais on his apostolic mission, and found shelter among the over 200 men and women across the region who admitted to knowing him, hearing his preachings, assisting him in various ways, and calling on him to perform the *consolamen* on dying relatives and neighbours. After the capture and execution of most of the priestly elite that operated in the area, all of them connected to Peire Auter, between 1309 and 1310, Peire Sans was still active, and the general sermon of 23 April 1316 is the last one to include *culpae* that mention his name. In a way, as the last heir to the Auter legacy, it could be considered that the 'Auter revival', if there ever was one, died with the likely exile of Peire Sans. However, the results presented in this chapter suggest that this notion may well be simplistic and inaccurate on both accounts, that is, neither was it a revival nor should its success be solely laid at Peire Auter's feet.

Over the span of half a century of inquisitorial persecution, both inquisitors and religious dissenters had learned much about each other and changed their ways to the best of their ability and their power. Inquisitors fine-tuned their procedure to better identify and eliminate threats to the unity of the Church, in particular the threat posed by the *bons omes* and *bonas femnas* that had attracted so many and had managed to question ecclesiastical authority. In the early fourteenth century, when the word 'heretic' was still to some extent used to describe the members of the 'Cathar' clergy, inquisitorial courts were not only interested in locating and removing these 'heretics' but instead considered this only as a first step. The most resilient menace was the underlying network that supported them and believed them to be a valid alternative for the clergy and the sacraments of the Roman Church. Proof of this resilience was the survival of communities of believers in the same area since the mid-thirteenth century. Despite the frequent and thorough inquisitions whose records have partially survived in MS 609 of the Bibliothèque municipale de Toulouse, and Manuscripts Doat 21 to 26, the suspects sentenced in Bernard Gui's *Liber sententiarum* lived in much the same area. Moreover, when the Auter brothers set on their journey to Lombardy they were indeed following a well-trodden path that some of the deponents questioned by Gui had followed around the same time. There they found an older generation of Good Men

who instructed and ordained them and then travelled back to their native Languedoc to pick up the mantle and continue the mission that others had carried out before them and others would carry out after their deaths. Can this be considered a revival? The *culpae* analysed suggest that the religious culture commonly referred to as ‘Catharism’ was alive enough by then.

It should be noted that an alternative religious culture involves not only beliefs but also—and sometimes more importantly—devotional practices. Forced into clandestinity for over five decades, the communities documented in the *Liber sententiarum* were not charged so much for their doctrinal tenets as for their practices and relationship with the Good Men and Women. Theirs was a religion based on a rather economical sacramental system consisting in simple rituals that were only sparingly performed. This austerity of the ceremonial instances allowed the movement to survive without the regular presence of a local-based clergy. Believers ate the bread blessed by ‘perfects’ and heard their preachings when possible, and occasionally participated in gatherings but none of this was a constant in their lives. The Good Men were only indispensable to assist believers upon their death, and this did not include the Good Women, for there is not a single documented example of a female ‘perfect’ performing the *consolamen* in early fourteenth-century sources. Even on these occasions, for most believers one ‘perfect’ was as good as the next one, as the elders were only needed to ordain new members of the clergy. Of course communities forged ties with specific Good Men and Women, provided them with shelter and material support, left them bequests and helped them in many ways, but in the end, Peire Auter performed much the same religious functions for the rest of the community as his companions.

As shown in the previous pages, Auter and the other Good Men were used by inquisitors as ‘heretical markers’, in a sort of binary approach, knowing them was the key to be considered a suspect and subsequently interrogated and sentenced. This is one of the main reasons for their centrality, but the fact that the *culpae* focus not only on which ‘perfects’ the suspects had contact with but rather in which activities they engaged adds to the idea that once the ‘heretics’ had been identified, the goal was dismantling the network behind them. It was not about cutting off all support for the itinerant Good Men, but about finding out how far their alternative religious culture—their ‘heresy’—had spread. This

network could withstand even targeted attacks against its religious elite because of the nature of the relations that bound it together, social connections based on local and family ties. The strength of these links made them rather difficult to sever and it is possibly one of the reasons why this particular religious culture survived over a century of sustained persecution.

By the early fourteenth century, while the female members of the clergy were few and had their religious functions severely limited, women were fully active among the laity of the movement. Their roles within the network made them less visible to inquisitors and yet some of them still appear in central positions. Widows stand out among them, especially in the role of 'host' discussed above. However, let us recall that men were the heads of their families, so that when they sheltered a fugitive they did so "in domo sua," and when other suspects referred to said house it was their name as owners that was provided. In contrast, married women received the Good Men and Women "in domo sua et viri sui," and the house was described as theirs only if their husband had died. Therefore, it is necessary to question whether these women became involved with the movement once widowed or had always been active but the nature of the record eclipsed their participation. Family has often been mentioned as a facilitating factor for women to adhere to heretical movements, but the results presented in this chapter suggest that it may well be the other way around. Women were the linchpin of family connections, and as such, they often led the way for many of their relatives to follow.

CHAPTER FIVE

**Heretical Networks: Conclusions**

*By such literalism, fundamentalism,
religions betrayed the best intentions of their founders.
Reducing thought to formula, replacing choice by obedience,
these preachers turned the living word into dead law.*

(Ursula K. LeGuin, *The Telling*)

On 5 April 1310, Bernarda German, a widow from Montégut-Lauragais, was sentenced to life imprisonment during a General Sermon held in Toulouse and presided over by the Dominicans Bernard Gui and Geoffroi d'Ablis—inquisitors of Toulouse and Carcassonne, respectively—and the bishop of Toulouse, Galhard de Preyssac. Bernarda was found guilty of supporting heretics, providing them with shelter in the family home, and believing in their faith. Unlike in other cases in which the sentence was commuted after a while, Bernarda's name does not appear again in the extant inquisitorial records, which could in turn suggest that she died in prison before a commutation was possible. Be that as it may, she could have avoided her fate if only she had followed the advice of her relatives. Indeed, the usual commitment inquisitors asked from suspects who abjured heresy, that is, to refrain from any contact with it, was not an easy feat for Bernarda, who had three Good Men in her own family. She was the niece of the elder Messer Bernard Audouy and his brother Mateu Germà, and the cousin of Vital Audouy, Bernard's son, and even her mother, Guilhema Audouy, had moved to Lombardy to live among the community of believers settled there. Thus, when Bernard sent Mateu a message to join him in Italy, Mateu encouraged his niece to leave Languedoc with him, but Bernarda "refused to abandon her husband and children."⁹⁵²

⁹⁵² Pales-Gobilliard, *Le livre des sentences*, 76: "Item post dictus Bernardus Audoyini misit nuncium Matheo Germani, fratri suo, quod sequeretur in Lombardiam, sicut et fecit, et rogavit eam quod recederet cum ipso, set ipsa noluit dimittere virum et pueros suos."

We can only speculate about the reasons why Bernarda did not contemplate uprooting her whole family and moving to Lombardy, especially given that her husband had also been involved with the movement, but the fact is that inquisitorial intervention forced her to make a difficult choice. Bernarda's connections to her religious community were intertwined with the strongest of social ties, namely, family ties, and as such were quite difficult to sever. The action of inquisitors therefore was socially disrupting, not only because deponents were removed from familiar environments and isolated to appear before inquisitorial tribunals—what Caterina Bruschi describes as the inquisitorial “judicial dissection”—but also because in order to accomplish their perceived mission, inquisitors were required to look into the social fabric of heresy.⁹⁵³ The different groups marked as ‘heretical’ in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Languedoc were composed of individuals and structures that were fully embedded into the social landscape of the period long before inquisitorial action was launched against them, and they were neither seen as outsiders nor as dangerous.

Thus, the inquisitorial procedure can be understood as a process of social construction of heretical identities. Imposing yellow crosses on convicted heretics was a punishment, but also an attempt on the part of the inquisitors to break social ties and operationalise the constructed otherness they needed to establish in order to accomplish their aims. The Franciscan tertiary Bernarda d'Antusan, in her confession of March 1322, admitted that it was better to be forced to undertake pilgrimages than to be sentenced to bear crosses, the mark of the repentant heretic. She and her husband Raimon were so afraid of this particular form of penance that “were their guarantors not to suffer the consequences, they [Bernarda and Raimon] would gladly leave for Jerusalem.”⁹⁵⁴ Through a combination of high- and lower-impact public displays, inquisitors defined the social boundaries of orthodoxy, trying to establish a safe space that was to remain insulated from ‘heretical contamination’. The executions at the stake, the demolition of houses, and the exhumation

⁹⁵³ See Bruschi, *Wandering Heretics*, 186.

⁹⁵⁴ Pales-Gobilliard, *Le livre des sentences*, 1356: “Item ipsa dixit eis quod nisi ipsa et vir ejus timerent de juramento quod fecerant, et ne dampnum paterentur propter eos fidejussores ipsi libenter irent in Jerusalem, quia timebant sibi ac cruces inponerentur eis pro illis que confessi fuerant.”

of remains were no doubt powerful reminders of the risks of venturing into the dangerous waters of alternative religious cultures, but the more lenient and equally public penances were just as effective.

The endeavour of stopping the spread of heretical errors and bringing the heretics back into the fold was conceived by inquisitors as a problem based on social interactions whose solution depended on exposing those relationships and classifying them. There was a certain lack of uniformity among inquisitions, for inquisitors were allowed much flexibility in the way they conducted the procedure, but there is also evidence of an effort to unify criteria and improve question lists in order to adapt them to the different characteristics of each heretical group.⁹⁵⁵

As shown above, the characteristics of the *inquisitio* favour the application of the methods of social network analysis but also highlight a reality that all sociological inquiries share: the resulting networks are likely to reflect the interaction between ‘interviewer’ and ‘interviewee’. Therefore, it is not so much that the dissident networks extracted from inquisitorial records are ‘contaminated’ by inquisitors and their narrative, but that they are built upon inquisitors, deponents, and their specific way of interacting. All in all, this is rather different from the social invention of heretical structures that some authors have proposed over the last decades.⁹⁵⁶ The techniques used by inquisitors to glean information from suspects introduced a bias in the number of connections that could be expected for each individual—and therefore in the most immediate interpretations about their relative centrality—that does not only affect network analysis but, more generally, qualitative approaches based on the relative visibility in the record of certain individuals. Inquisitorial conceptions of heresy, together with the allegedly deviant behaviour and unwillingness to cooperate of the target populations, led to a kind of inquiry that shares the characteristics of what we now call ‘snowball sampling’. In fact, many of the problems inquisitors had to face were similar to those experienced by modern researchers using the same sampling method. Therefore, looking into inquisitorial techniques from a perspective that takes into account

⁹⁵⁵ Sackville, *Heresy and Heretics*, 135–53.

⁹⁵⁶ See, in particular, Moore, *The War on Heresy*; Pegg, *Corruption of Angels*; and Sennis, ed., *Cathars in Question*. For an in-depth discussion of this trend, see Section 1.2.

current knowledge on the workings of snowball sampling is instrumental to understanding the networks that can be extracted from inquisitorial sources. It is only in this way that we will be able to grasp how socially representative such networks are of medieval dissident religious cultures and to point out eventual misrepresentations.

Snowball sampling depends on the subjective choices of the respondents, to the point that the information is entirely supplied by them; thus, in a way, the inquirer surrenders the sampling itself to the subjects of the study.⁹⁵⁷ This was also the case for inquisitors, although the specific features of inquisitorial inquiries and sources somewhat minimised the effects of subjective responses.⁹⁵⁸ Inquisitors unintentionally relinquished a considerable amount of control over the sampling to the deponents, but they had full authority over the way in which relations between deponents were evaluated. According to the analysis presented here, inquisitors generally gauged the strength of the connections between actors depending on the existence of a specific set of relations such as sharing meals, almsgiving, and conversing, among others. They used a similar method regarding beliefs, asking for how long a belief had been maintained, who was its source, and with whom it had been shared, on which basis they determined the respondent's adherence to said belief. Therefore, prior to the implementation of network analyses it is necessary to develop a data model that is capable of accommodating all this relational information along with its directionality. The data model used throughout this dissertation is thus based on the relations that inquisitors deemed relevant in regard to the spread of heresy, but since these were based on the common modes of socialisation of that specific social context, they can be used to naturally characterise these groups.

The expertise acquired by the *officium inquisitoris* as a whole over the second half of the thirteenth century and the first quarter of the fourteenth to some extent coexisted with a much older ecclesiastical approach to the problem of heresy. The perceived influence of heresiarchs and the view that eliminating such individuals could in turn solve the issue of deviant religiosity were strong paradigms that survived well beyond the Middle Ages. Adding to this, snowball sampling presents another complication that is particularly relevant

⁹⁵⁷ Noy, "Sampling knowledge."

⁹⁵⁸ See the introduction to Section 3.6 for a discussion on the pitfalls of snowball sampling techniques.

for the representativeness of the social networks extracted from inquisitorial records: the samples obtained by using this technique are biased towards the inclusion of the most connected individuals. In other words, their importance is overplayed to the detriment of more isolated members of the network.⁹⁵⁹ Since inquisitors were mostly interested in the relational aspect of heretical practices and beliefs, the more socially visible the involvement, the easier it was to detect. In addition, some individuals were used as heresy markers, and their names were explicitly included as part of the inquiry, thus artificially increasing the number of times they were mentioned by others, which leads to an overemphasis of their role in the network. The most immediate result of inquisitorial sampling techniques is then the snowball effect experienced by some of the members of the network. This results in an enhanced visibility of some individuals that affects even the most qualitative approach to the sources.

This pattern leads to an interesting conclusion when studied from a comparative perspective. The numbers of the clergy among Good Men and Women had considerably dwindled in the early fourteenth century.⁹⁶⁰ However, just as in the inquests in Doat 25 and 26 conducted in the last quarter of the thirteenth century, ‘perfects’ appear front and centre in the *culpae* recorded in Bernard Gui’s *Book of sentences* and the Fournier Register. As discussed in the previous chapter, these individuals become not so much the object of prosecution—although that too—but rather the means by which others could be prosecuted. Suspects were thus found guilty simply for making their acquaintance and it was then that the snowball process kept the inquest going with the identification of more suspects. As for the Beguins of Languedoc, their priestly elite, namely a mix of Spiritual Franciscans, Franciscan tertiaries, Beguins and Beguines, was far less apparent in the inquisitorial record, but inquisitors nevertheless focused their attention on a few individuals whose names were included in the question list and whose acquaintance also became toxic.

⁹⁵⁹ Atkinson and Flint, *Accessing hidden and hard-to-reach populations*.

⁹⁶⁰ See the statistical comparison between MS 609 of the Bibliothèque nationale of Toulouse, Bernard Gui’s *Liber sententiarum*, and other thirteenth-century sources in Abels and Harrison, “Participation of Women,” 225–40.

The Beguin movement of Languedoc was what we could call a ‘new heresy’, and one with a foundational moment. Although it could be argued that all heresies start developing as such from the very moment they are declared as heretical by the Pope, in the case of Beguins, this declaration was marked by a single public and ghastly event, the execution of the four Franciscan friars in Marseille on 7 May 1318. From that moment onwards, inquisitors and bishops struggled to determine the traits that characterised these religious communities in order to be able to identify and prosecute their members. As shown in Section 3.4 above, they drew on the experience accumulated over nearly a century of inquisitorial persecution of heretics, and analysed the new movement on the basis of older parameters. This ‘inquisitorial baggage’ helps explain several of the points included in Bernard Gui’s *Practica inquisitionis heretice pravitatis* in regard to the practices of these groups of Beguins and their sympathisers despite their absence from contemporary depositions and *culpae*, such as the existence of an alleged ritual salutation or a special way of praying. Moreover, it explains the inquisitorial fixation on a few individuals who were attributed a role similar to that of ‘perfects’ within the Beguin network, explicitly mentioned during the interrogation of suspects, and seen as the leaders of the movement, not only by inquisitors but also by scholars.

However, whereas the Good Men—and not so much the Good Women—were essential from the standpoint of spiritual mediation, the priestly elite of the Beguin network was not. ‘Perfects’ were needed to perform the ritual par excellence, the *consolamen*, and without them community life was severely diminished. In terms of network analysis, ‘perfects’ could thus be seen as a precious commodity that moved through the network, and the individuals that could be said to control said commodities, couriers and hosts as defined in the previous chapter, were equally vital for inquisitors. To some extent, fourteenth-century inquisitors followed the patterns learned through their predecessors on how to better prosecute heretical movements, and just as they targeted the *hereticos perfectos* among ‘Cathars’ and Waldensians, they did quite the same with the most visible actors of the Beguin network. But the fact is that the members of Beguin communities, while dependent on Franciscans for spiritual guidance, did not have a specific set of liturgical rules or rituals and instead joined their neighbours in church and could be administered the sacraments by any regular priest if there were no Franciscans available. Their salvation did not rely on the

presence of a 'Beguin clergy', who stood not so much as indispensable mediators and providers of liturgical services but as role models that could be admired, respected, and even imitated from afar while community life went on without them.

This is one of the reasons behind the different outcomes of the operations of node filtering conducted on both the Beguin and the early-fourteenth century 'Cathar' networks. The former maintains 80% of its connections even after its 'leaders' are removed but, without the Good Men and Women, the latter loses 40% of the relations between actors. Moreover, this difference also bespeaks the relative importance granted to these privileged individuals in the testimonies of suspects. The names of the Good Men were so instrumental to the questionings that they were mentioned in all the *culpae* connected to this particular heresy recorded in the *Liber sententiarum*. However, in their treatment of the 'heresy of the burned Beguins' inquisitors knew from the very beginning that other heresy markers were needed, in particular markers related not only to some specific practices but also to beliefs and principles.

Another remarkable feature that can be derived from the node filtering performed on both networks is that in both of them most of the actors remained connected even after this operation, which leads to the conclusion that the connectedness of these networks did not depend on the presence of their respective priestly elites. In other words, in both cases, lay actors form a social network with or without the clergy of the movement. This is to say that said elites were not necessary for dissident networks to exist: these were connected enough even without the clergy because of their high degree of multiplexity. On the one hand, the implications of this situation for the understanding of the mechanisms of conversion, for the spread of alternative religious cultures, are profound. It is not that religious movements must be understood as social in nature with religious aspects appearing as secondary at best, but rather that new religious contexts need of a pre-existing social basis to spread. On the other hand, the approach of the so-called 'invention of heresy' needs to be revised. The question should not be whether all the people testifying in the extant inquisitorial records were staunch defenders of the different heretical movements who had a deep theological knowledge of the doctrine they supported; and neither was the ecclesiastical hierarchy established within the ranks of these alternative priestly elites what determined the success

of religious dissent. These religions, orders, sects, cults or faiths—whatever the term used to describe them in the sources—are best defined as alternative religious cultures, with both doctrinal aspects and a variety of devotional practices. These cultures did not spread as a unified monolithic credo but as flexible, flowing religious knowledge that used the social fabric as its transmission channel.

Their multiplexity made the structure of these networks very robust, but at the same time, very costly to maintain. Beliefs and other intellectual and doctrinal contents did not spread easily, because the multiplexed relations competed for attention. This is not the case with material components, such as money, books or relics, whose transfer was more direct. This is an issue that needs to be analysed in depth in order to understand the process of dismantlement of the different religious movements, still open for debate today. In this regard, and only to point in the direction of problems that will be addressed in future research projects, it is worth comparing the different networks that can be constructed on the basis of the same dataset to see if eliminating those individuals that are more central in relation to doctrine has the same effect as eliminating those who are central to the distribution of money and other supplies. Depending on the network topology of each movement the outcome could be quite different. By way of example, removing the former has very little effect on the Beguins of Languedoc, while removing the latter would cripple the whole structure and make it far more vulnerable to inquisitorial actions. This stems both from the specific type of ties on which the Beguin network was built and from its relative independence from the presence of a priestly elite mentioned above.

As for the type of ties, and as discussed in the previous chapters, whereas the Beguin network was equally based on strong and weak ties, the communities surrounding the Good Men and Women mostly relied on strong ties. This can be partially explained through the timelines of the different movements. As far as fourteenth-century sources go, 'Cathars' were a clandestine group from the start. The experience accumulated by inquisitors after prosecuting these religious dissenters for nearly a century ran parallel to the experience said dissenters had acquired in trying to escape inquisitorial attention and to survive. The minimised ritual apparatus, the extreme unbalance between the numbers of the clergy and the laity of the movement, and the diminished role of female 'perfects' are no doubt related

to this clandestine evolution. Furthermore, under such conditions, strong ties, that is, ties established within the different communities—be these local or familial—are better suited to remain undetected while the message, the religious culture is kept alive. In turn, the Beguins of Languedoc and Spiritual Franciscans too, started the century as legitimate although controversial groups and were only forced into clandestinity after 1318, when the persecution started. Naturally, the existence of weak ties, ties outside the community, was to be expected for a network that was originally formed in the open and whose members had at least a decade of lawful involvement behind them when they suddenly became heretics. It could thus be argued that, at least in this respect, the Beguin network probably resembled the ‘Cathar’ network before the Albigensian Crusade much more than it did its fourteenth-century counterpart.

Even if that were the case, however, some vital differences would still remain. The social basis of Beguins was eminently urban; theirs was the same environment that had witnessed the evolution of the mendicant movements and, in particular, the expansion of the Franciscan Order and its most rigorist branch. In contrast, the Good Men and Women had originally flourished around the *castra* of Languedoc and the villages and hamlets in the mountain valleys at the foothills of the Pyrenees. These differences in the distribution pattern of these two movements are also related to the weight of strong and weak ties, the former being more characteristic of rural settings and the latter being easier to establish in commercial clusters such as Narbonne and Montpellier and along the busiest trade routes.

Moreover, in the case of the alleged “modern Manicheans” it is not possible to pinpoint a single foundational episode to which a community as a whole could relate, such as the burning in Marseille, not even in the thirteenth century. In contrast, and as befits its nature as a millennialist movement, the temporal framework of the Beguins of Languedoc was bound both to be more concrete and to have a shorter lifespan than other dissident religious expressions. Unlike the Good Men and Women and their believers, whose approach to salvation had an individual basis, Beguins were expecting a global event whose advent was to be signalled precisely by the unleashing of the persecution against them. Whereas the performance of the *consolamen* delivered each ‘Cathar’ believer from the material world, the Apocalypse was the inevitable final act that would grant the salvation of

the whole Beguin community, either in this world among the few surviving righteous or as martyrs in Paradise. Thus, the punitive action of inquisitorial tribunals legitimated their claims and, in some cases, even prompted their desire to become willing martyrs as the ultimate community-binding act.

Just as inquisitors, religious dissenters also undertook a process of social construction. Deponents opposed their own use of the terms ‘just’, ‘righteous’, ‘holy’, and ‘good men’ to the adjectives that accompanied the description of ‘heretics’ in inquisitorial sources, such as ‘nefarious’, ‘pestilential’, and ‘wicked’. Likewise, ‘burned heretics’ became ‘martyrs’, and ‘heretical errors’, ‘apelike imitations’, and ‘acts against the Holy Roman Church’ were perceived by dissenters as a ‘good faith’ and a ‘good life’. On the one hand, this proposal of an alternative narrative evinces the remarkable level of agency displayed by these groups, who were not mere bystanders to inquisitorial attempts at building an artificial unified image for each of these movements. On the other, the interaction of these two conflicting typifications brought about a new discourse that evolved from their process of co-evolution.

To conclude, the role women played in these movements has been extensively discussed throughout this dissertation, but it still merits a few final comments. Inquisitorial sources mostly highlight those individuals who were already the most visible. In terms of network analysis, that means that the qualitative approach to registers and books of sentences is likely to present those individuals who show the highest degree centralities—the most mentioned ones—as leaders of dissident communities. However, this eclipses many other actors with a high betweenness that go under the radar, or at least are not considered central by the inquisitorial machinery, but who were fundamental for the continued performance of clandestine religious networks. Furthermore, as shown by the degree distributions of female actors for both networks, these underrepresented individuals were, more often than not, women. The result is a systematic underestimation of the participation of women in dissident movements, after all, statistical analyses can only take us so far. Even the pioneering study by Abels and Harrison with its application of sophisticated statistical

tests to inquisitorial sources cannot account for the structural importance of women, which can only be addressed through the use of relational methods.⁹⁶¹

The percentage of women in the analysed sources is around 35% for both the Beguins of Languedoc and the communities of believers supporting the Good Men and Women. John Arnold summarised Abel and Harrison's findings—together with other scholarly studies—claiming that “women were never predominant in heresy, and in regard to issues of activity and visibility, were usually strongly in the minority—as one might similarly find with orthodox religion.”⁹⁶² The analysis presented in this dissertation certainly confirms the first part: women appear as the minority in the two datasets considered. However, the relational approach to inquisitorial sources questions the second premise, or at the very least nuances it. Women seem less visible than men, but to a good extent that is because of the nature of the inquisitorial procedure itself; the more mobile a suspect was, the more likely for he or she to be noticed, and although women are quite often documented moving from place to place, the correlation between mobility and gender clearly favoured men. More importantly, women were just as active as men, the problem being that Arnold's claim, and for that matter Abels and Harrison's, is only based on the activity of the female members of the clergy. I have already noted how female ‘perfects’ could not perform as many functions as their male colleagues, but the same cannot be said about Beguines. As all women, they could not administer the sacraments, but neither could Beguins, who were in general not ordained as priests. Besides this detail, their positions of authority were very much alike, to the point that, let us recall, Na Prous Boneta was actually the only actor of the Beguin network described by inquisitors as a heresiarch.

But moreover, as regards the laity of these movements, not only were women just as involved as men, in some respects they were predominant if we take into account their relative representativeness. This means that this predominance should not only be gauged in terms of overall percentages, but pondering the relative number of women present in each specific movement. For instance, out of the 75 believers who received the *consolamen* on their deathbed according to the *culpa*e in Bernard Gui's *Liber sententiarum*, 58 were women,

⁹⁶¹ Abels and Harrison, “Participation of Women.”

⁹⁶² Arnold, “Heresy and Gender,” 501.

that is, an astounding 77%, remarkable in itself, but even more so when considering that only 35% of the lay actors were women. This has been interpreted as a consequence of the diminished possibilities of women among the ‘Cathar’ clergy, but its importance in relation to female participation as a whole has been overlooked.⁹⁶³ Moreover, the influence of family ties on women who adhered to heretical tenets has been dully noted, but less so the influence of women on said family ties, and therefore on the spread of heresy through these connections. As for lay women among the Beguins of Languedoc, the pages above have shown how not only did they partake in spiritual gatherings, doctrinal collective readings, and devotional practices as much as men, but they were on average more active than them in assisting the clandestine network. To conclude, it is unquestionable that medieval women were at a disadvantage in the matter of relative mobility, which in turn resulted in less opportunities for the establishment of weak ties, and in a diminished visibility in the eyes of inquisitors, but this should not be translated in terms of leadership, authority or involvement, and neither should it preclude us from seeing that when it came to strong ties, women were at the very heart of these communities of dissent.

⁹⁶³ See the arguments in Abels and Harrison, “Participation of Women,” 247.

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