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NEW APPROACHES TO LATE MEDIEVAL COURT RECORDS

Re-mapping the 'Great Inquisition' of 1245–46: The Case of Mas-Saintes-Puelles and Saint-Martin-Lalande

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MS 609 of the Bibliothèque municipale de Toulouse contains the registry of the largest known medieval inquisition, the so-called 'Great Inquisition' lead by two Dominicans at Toulouse between 1245 and 1246. Since its discovery in the nineteenth century, this registry has remained unedited and is rarely studied in detail. Yet it has become famous for being the record of a broad inquisition into the 'general state of the faith', one that affirms that Catharism – the theory of a dualist, organized heretical counter-Church which brought the Albigensian crusade and eventual inquisition to the lands of the Count of Toulouse – was widespread between Toulouse and Carcassonne. This article argues that the registry does not record any general survey of Cathar heresy among the population, but rather it records an inquisition principally aimed at collecting evidence against village consulates who had no greater or lesser relationship to any 'heresy' than the rest of the population. This argument is made by challenging the historiographic bias towards sampling the registry anecdotally, replacing it with an evaluation based on a combination of macroanalysis and close reading facilitated by the author's digital edition of MS 609 and network analysis techniques.

Among the largest surviving collections of medieval court records are the documents from the inquisition into heretical depravity (*inquisitio heretice pravitatis*) conducted between May 1245 and August 1246 at Toulouse by the Dominicans Bernard de Caux and Johan de Saint-Pierre. During this 'great inquisition'[1] – the most expansive known to historians – over 5,500 lords, ladies, doctors, tanners, scribes, charcoal burners, and cow-herders were summoned from across the Lauragais (the verdant agricultural region between Toulouse and Carcassonne) to the cloisters at Saint-Sernin to depose about themselves and others, living or dead, regarding the crimes of heresy (*requisitus de veritate dicendo de se et de aliis, vivis et mortuis, super crimine heresis et valdesie*).

The evidence for this immense inquisition has come down to us in a registry contained in manuscript 609 of the Bibliothèque de Toulouse (MS 609).[2] MS 609 entered professional historiography[3] as part of the great wave of documentation of medieval records by nineteenth-century French 'positivist' historians (Carbonell,

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[1] The label 'the Great Inquisition' is Mark Gregory Pegg's (2001) from his, and the only, monograph on MS 609, *The Corruption of Angels: The Great Inquisition of 1245–1246*.

[2] MS 609 is one of the oldest medieval paper documents extant (254 folios recto/verso with approximately 34 lines of highly-abbreviated, thirteenth-century notarial script per folio side). Yves Dossat, in his history of inquisition at Toulouse, which contains the standard technical study of MS 609 (1959: 56–86), argues convincingly that it is a copy of the original registry made around 1260 for the inquisitors at Narbonne, deemed identical to the original in content if not form; Pegg (2001: 26) concurs. According to thirteenth-century marginal references in the manuscript, it contains two of an original ten volumes – with the exception of references to a few depositions contained in those other volumes, we do not know what those other volumes contained. My report on MS 609 will be issued when my edition is complete.

[3] This discussion of the state of the art of research on MS 609, like this article, has limited immediate goals but wider implications for research on heresy and inquisition in the French Midi of the thirteenth century, i.e. Catharism. The debate on Catharism (Aberth, 2018: 101–40; Sennis, 2016; Shulevitz, 2018) was sparked around 2000 by the appearance of Pegg's (2001) monograph and two collections of debates by French specialists in heresy and inquisition brought together by Monique Zerner (1998, 2001). This article cannot help but get immersed in a debate which is deeply consequential for how we understand religion and society from the eleventh century onwards (Moore, 2015), and also for how we do source criticism as medievalists (Pegg, 2015) to come to some understanding of 'what happened' in the past. A single article cannot hope to completely address a subject rife with numerous contentious issues and at the same time evaluate a single methodological problem. As such, I try to keep the frame as narrow as possible, focused on a specific research question; I refer the reader to my more elaborate historiography and analysis of methodologies applied to inquisitorial registries in my study, available in French and English, *Vidit cum hereticis* (Rehr, 2018).

1978: 173–85) when Charles Molinier (1880: 173) described it as the registry of a 'large inquisition which spanned an entire region';[4] Molinier's opinion has been confirmed by generations of historians of heresy and inquisition as a 'general inquest of the state of religion in the whole diocese' (Wakefield, 1974: 173–74), a judgement based on the human and geographic scope of the registry (as well as the great number of denials it contains, as one might expect from general survey).[5] By way of demonstration, the 45 folios of depositions from the inhabitants of the first two village parishes in the manuscript alone (and the subjects of this essay: Mas-Saintes-Puelles and Saint-Martin-Lalande) contain 668 deponents testifying 685 times about 1,356 distinct persons and 236 places, in recollections going back as far as the 1180s.[6] The registry contains depositions from 106 villages.

When Molinier issued the first report on MS 609, the power of the prevailing theory of the still-new theory of Catharism[7] was already such that, despite the sheer scale of information contained in the registry, it was relegated to a supporting role in

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[4] MS 609 was known as 'MS 155' before being re-assigned 'MS 609' in the mid-nineteenth century by Charles Molinier's brother Auguste (1883: introduction and 358) when he found the library at Toulouse 'defectively organized'.

[5] Célestin Douais (1891: 148–62) thought at first that it was an 'enquête sur l'état religieux du pays', but later he doubted his conclusion, believing that people came voluntarily to Toulouse under a general *tempus gratie* (Douais, 1900: cliv-clv). Dossat (1959: 226 n. 70, 233–34) states, citing Douais, that 'il n'est pas étonnant qu'en 1245 les juges se soient tournés vers la recherche générale des partisans de l'hérésie'; Walter Wakefield (1974: 174) states that the two inquisitors conducted a 'general inquest of the state of religion in the whole diocese' and repeats it in his influential article (from which this article takes its title) 'Heretics and Inquisitors: The Case of Le Mas-Saintes-Puelles' (1983: 209–26); this has since been repeated by others, including Abels and Harrison (1979: 221), Lambert (1998: 215–217), Barber (2013: 195), Given (2001: 2, 35), and Anne Brenon's student, Patrice Cabirou (1995a: 4).

[6] The two villages are represented in MS 609 by a combined 687 deposition documents and 23 recitation documents (a separate confirmation of a deposition containing no extra information). The 687 depositions include one duplicate and one deposition split into two parts.

[7] Catharism is the theory that a dualist, organised, heretical counter-Church developed through the late twelfth century in parts of western Europe, notably modern south-west France and northern Italy, and eventually, after years of complaints and sanctions from the papacy against the Count of Toulouse, brought the Albigensian crusade to the Count's lands and resulted in the first public inquisitions into heresy. This theory has been profoundly challenged in the last 20 years: see the most recent summary of the debate in Shulevitz (2018). For the traditional Cathar narrative, see Lambert (1998), Barber (2013); the most complete rethinkings of this narrative are Pegg (2001, 2007), Biget (2007), Moore (2012). The tone and stakes of the debate can be measured in the recent collection *Cathars in Question* (Sennis, 2016).

conveying the history of heresy in the Midi. Why this should be merits investigation beyond the scope of this essay (Pegg, 2015: 225–79; Pegg, 2016: 21–52), however there are several factors which bear directly on this study. It was Charles Schmidt who constructed Catharism in his two volume *Histoire et doctrine de la secte des Cathares ou Albigeois* (1849), and he noted with self-awareness his innovative 'contribution' of inquisition depositions to the historiography of medieval heresy. Schmidt did not know of or consult MS 609 nor any other documents in the south of France, but rather worked from the document extracts given to him by the curator of the Doat Collection at the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris (Schmidt, 1848: vii–viii, note 1). The Doat Collection – copies of selected inquisition documents made in the seventeenth century for the political operative Jean-Baptiste Colbert – has since remained central to defining the relationship of inquisitorial registries to Catharism due to a series of historiographic coincidences, including the easy paleography of the large script (transcribed from medieval originals into classical Latin) and early circulation from its central location of Paris.[8] For Schmidt, the Doat documents reflected not only the heretical Cathar theology he believed was found in the Midi, but also the sociology undergirding the Cathar sect. The particular Doat depositions relied upon by Schmidt feature a striking focus on 'heretical sympathies' of nobility in the lands of the Count of Toulouse (including the Lauragais), one which he found adhered to the anti-noble medieval polemics and chronicles from which he argues his Cathar sect and theology.[9] The central role of nobility in fostering Cathar heresy

[8] No one has yet studied the possible biases operative in Doat's selective copying and their subsequent effects on the course of historiography of inquisition and heresy. One hopes that this is investigated by Peter Biller and his team currently transcribing the earliest depositions, those found in Doat 21–24 (see https://www.york.ac.uk/res/doat). On the processes of the Doat Commission in general terms, see Caterina Bruschi (2009: 24–26), Peter Biller et al (2010: 3–34), and Biller (2018: 25–33). For more general background on Doat and the formation of his collection, see Henri Omont (1916), Laurent Albaret (1996, 2014). To situate Doat's mandate more generally within Colbert's larger ambitions, see Jacob Soll's (2009) thrilling monograph *The Information Master: Jean-Baptiste Colbert's Secret State Intelligence System.*

[9] Schmidt (1848: 66–70) explained southern noble susceptibility to heresy by combining anthropology from Montesquieu and Michelet. Montesquieu in *L'esprit des lois* (1875: vol XIV) established the 'climate thesis', arguing that the people of southern climates were impetuous, emotional, and less easy to govern, because of excessive exposure to the sun. Schmidt may have received these ideas through Charles-Victor de Bonstetten's (1824) modified version of the climate thesis in *L'homme du*

was for Schmidt the defining social feature of Catharism, and has been carried forward in historians' use of early inquisitorial registries from the Midi.

Mark Gregory Pegg (2001b, 2015, 2016) has demonstrated the continuity of research methodology from Schmidt to the current generation of scholars who hold to Catharism and how it deforms our investigation of the content of inquisitional records.[10] He has labelled (Pegg, 2001b: 191) one particular methodological problem as the 'strip-mining' of inquisitorial registries: a method based on raiding the inquisitorial registries for folio references to match the *a priori* expectations of Catharism, from theology to sociology, regardless of the consequences such fragmentation has on obscuring the reality of the inquisition, its subjects, and any *heresis* inquisitors found in the lands of the Count of Toulouse. In his monograph, the only sustained study of the contents of MS 609, Pegg inverted the logic of strip-mining, using a historio-anthropological method to understand the subjects' beliefs (and more) from the stories contained in the depositions of MS 609.[11]

Midi et l'homme du Nord, ou, L'influence du climat. Jules Michelet made Montesquieu's thesis more material, arguing that the southerners, specifically the nobility, were inclined to 'les nouveautés', a mix of 'strange' Semitic, Jewish, and Moorish influences imported from the East via the Mediterranean mercantilism, habitual of the Midi. For Michelet (1893: Vol 4, 305–325, especially 314–15), the nobility of the Midi were more consumed with these innovations than with respecting the duties inherent in their noble status (unlike their counterparts in the north of France); forgetting those noble obligations led them, among other moral degradations, to conduct war against the Church. Moreover, such war was the only thing that bound together the fractious, impetuous southern nobles and their populations. The abbot and future bishop Célestin Douais (1879: 283) repeated the same 'sunburn thesis', in his youthful *thèse* on the Albigeois, a formula he never returned to again after Molinier (1879: 482–83) poured scorn on his naïve methodology; this did not prevent Douais from retaining the anti-clerical roots of Catharism.

[10] This is, of course, a matter of what a given historian judges to be insight and innovation. For example, Bernard Hamilton (1998: 208), in his essay on Schmidt's influence, determines that 'new Inquisition records continue to be printed, but these add to our existing knowledge rather than changing it'; his essay treats almost nothing of the sociology of Catharism, being preoccupied with tracing origins of Cathar theology. Biller (2010: 100–2) supports innovation insofar as it defends Catharism, citing Bruchi's (2003) 'surplus' and John Arnold's (2003) 'field of knowledge' and 'excess'. I explore whether either of these methods can be usefully applied to MS 609 in Rehr (2018: 22–26).

[11] As Pegg and R. I. Moore (2015) make clear, the consequences are far-reaching, for if we misunderstand the motivations and meanings of crusade and inquisition in the Midi in the first half of the thirteenth century, then we are wrong about a fundamental episode in the development of religion, politics, and society in western Europe. Pegg's dismantling of Catharism, and his work on MS 609, has been subject to counter-criticism which argues that he treats MS 609 too much in isolation from other sources.

The fact there has only ever been one monograph published on the contents of MS 609 in the 120 years since Molinier's catalogue of it – objectively an extraordinary document containing details of the lives of over 5,500 people who lived over 750 years ago – is surprising. There is of course the fact that it has never been edited to make it widely available for study, despite a variety of attempts.[12] This may be due to the manuscript's reputation as a massive, difficult volume brimming with formulaic depositions, judged by historians since as 'dry, terse and repetitive'.[13] It may also result from certain early uses of MS 609 which conveyed to historians its limited value as a source. The earliest inventory of MS 609 was a fifteen-page summary by the medievalist abbot and bishop Célestin Douais (1891), which he began by remarking that the manuscript 'ne s'est encore trouvé personne pour le dépouiller' (*dépouiller*: go over, study, dissect, strip, denude) before concerning himself with summarizing

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See articles in Sennis (2016) – especially those by Biller, Arnold, and Jörg Feuchter – and Shulevitz (2018) for summary of fundamentals. This reductive view of Pegg's work on MS 609 sidesteps his responses which explain why he thinks those other sources are irrelevant to understanding the lives and beliefs recorded in MS 609; moreover, no one to date has actually engaged with and tested Pegg's anthropological method and the insights it has produced.

[12] Until now, beyond footnote fragments, historians have had access to a little known transcription of the first few folios (Dusan, 1868) and two incomplete transcriptions: the first, organised mid-twentieth century by Austin Evans and Merriam Sherwood at Columbia University, held in the Butler library under call number BX4890 .B47 1255g, and partially scanned at https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/008400500 (two copies of this transcript are held in the John Mundy Collection at the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies library in Toronto, Canada, under shelf number F 110–3 through 110–6); the second is the personal transcription done by Jean Duvernoy which circulated among a few people and later made available on his site http://jean.duvernoy.free.fr/text/listetexte.htm. Duvernoy's original typescript is now stored with his other papers at the Archives departementales de l'Aude under shelf number 10 JJ 422–423. Both transcriptions are deeply flawed, with the unfortunate result that many errors have been transmitted into historiography by historians who have used them without verifying against the original manuscript (Rehr, 2018: 16–19). For a history of various attempts, see http://medieval-inquisition.huma-num.fr/MS609/history.

[13] Given (2001: 2). Comments on the registry's style date from when MS 609 first entered the historical record: Louis Tanon (1893: 154) briefly judging the depositions 'rédigées dans la meme forme', including those few entries he found useful for his institutional study of French inquisition; Douais (1891: 149), 'd'abord la difficulté de la lecture; ensuite la longueur d'un document, du reste quelque peu monotone, puisque, comme dans toutes les enquetes, les memes renseignements y reviennent souvent'. The same comments have multiplied since the appearance of Pegg's monograph, which refocused historians' attention on MS 609, wherein he attributed the 'repetitiveness' to inquisitorial intention, for example in Bruschi and Biller (2003: 17) and Sparks (2014: 13).

the contents according to categories oriented at theological matters.[14] Douais' article was followed by the work of his student (and editor of the Catholic journal *La Croix*) Jean Guiraud: his edition of the *Cartulaire de Notre-Dame de Prouille* (1907) and opus *Histoire de l'Inquisition au Moyen âge* (1935) were the first monographs to draw significantly from MS 609. The latter is famous as the first synthesis of Catharism since Schmidt (Dossat: 1967; Amargier and Fortanier, 1979: 217–18), and for providing the rubric for describing Catharism, followed by professional and public historians of Catharism since, including: compiling exhaustive lists of Cathar 'perfects', 'deacons', and 'bishops' mined chiefly from MS 609 which reify a Cathar Church into the depositions;[15] citing a flurry of citations from MS 609 which exemplify and reflect *a priori* Catharist conceptions, while ignoring the multitudinous contradictions from depositions themselves;[16] and a guiding hypothesis, still followed by many Cathar

[14] Douais (1891: 150–51) organized his article around six religious categories: 'la distinction des « hérétiques » et des Vaudois, les doctrines des « hérétiques », les observances des « hérétiques », l'organisation de la secte, les livres de la secte, les rapports des hérétiques avec la Lombardie'.

[15] Peter Biller (2005: 267; 2016: 278–279) has on numerous occasions tied together the value of MS 609 and the methodology of Guiraud, Duvernoy, Griffe, and Wakefield, but in positivist terms, 'Because of the concrete nature of the data in inquisitions, these scholars have all been writing history that amounts to the "lived religion" of the Cathars'; he exercises the same method in his own limited work on MS 609 (Biller, 2010).

[16] Guiraud dedicated one page to acknowledging that he uses inquisitorial depositions, versus 36 pages on the study of medieval literary sources (1935: Vol. 1, XI–XLVIII). Only a brief note buried in the second volume (1935: Vol 2, 144) acknowledges the existence of Bernard de Caux and Johan de Saint-Pierre as the inquisitors. I refer to this (Rehr, 2018: 16–18) as 'documentary positivism', an effect in a field which had, until the 1990s, been largely dominated by religious historians and the untrained, the inheritance of which must still be reckoned with. Reflections on what role inquisitors had in shaping testimony are naturally missing from much of the first, rather apologetic, decades of *Cahiers de Fanjeaux* (when under the leadership of clerics). Duvernoy (1976: 9) justifies this in his work referring directly to Guiraud's methods, later comparing (Duvernoy, 1979: 7–8) the forensic accuracy of Cathar depositions to the 'illusions' of later witchcraft accusations. Roquebert (1995) on Mas-Saintes-Puelles has exactly one footnote which reports the folio range he draws from; Brenon (2000), in a survey of 'problems' related to Catharism, considers inquisition simply a repressive institution, but is silent on the question of objectivity of testimony. Anglo-American scholars up through the 1990s evince no significant reflection either on what role inquisitors in the Midi had in shaping testimony, see historiographic overview in Biller (1994), where he notes especially Wakefield's influental essay on Mas-Saintes-Puelles, discussed further below. Notwithstanding claims (Arnold, 2016: 53; Biller, 2016: 278) that Herbert Grundmann (1961) and Robert Lerner (1971) paved the way with early source criticism of inquisitorial records, it had no effect on Catharism and the positivist plundering of related inquisitorial records.

scholars today, that the *fons and origo* of Cathars in the Midi was Southern noble anti-clericalism, and therefore the focus on seigneurial depositions is of prime importance.[17]

Douais' summary and Guiraud's lists were the sum of knowledge of the contents of the registry that passed into the hands of arguably the most influential proponents of Catharism in the Midi: the cleric-historians of Toulouse who created and lead the *Cahiers de Fanjeaux* for decades (Biget, 2016), and the *savants locaux* (public historians) lead by Jean Duvernoy. Despite the immense productivity of this generation, the work reified Catharism as an historical object, and MS 609 as a source for citation, but not study in and of itself.[18]

It was only over eighty years after Douais published his inventory that the first articles proceeding primarily from MS 609 emerged, ostensibly reflecting the historiographic trends of quantitative analysis (Abels and Harrison, 1979; Semkov, 1984) and microhistory (Cabirou, 1995b; Roquebert, 1995; Wakefield, 1983). Three of these focused exclusively on the depositions from the village of Mas-Saintes-Puelles, the most fully represented village in MS 609, and, as it happens, the first in the manuscript. The most influential of these articles, Walter Wakefield's 'Inquisitors and Heretics: The Case of le Mas-Saintes-Puelles' (1983), demonstrates the historiographic power of Catharism to sway the objective reporting of the contents of MS 609 through biased sampling of source material.[19] The most pronounced

[17] Guiraud's development of anti-clericalism in Southern nobility as *fons et origo* of the Cathars is found in chapter XI, which depends on recounting stories of territorial conflicts between secular and ecclesiastic lords and casting them (with no evidence of direct connection) into religious conflict incited by heretical preaching. It remains to be investigated how the rising anti-clerical environment in France (Carbonell, 1979; Amargier and Fortanie, 1979) at the turn of nineteenth century shaped the Catharism of Douais and Guiraud (and generations at the influential Catholic Institute of Toulouse who would go on to form the *Cahiers de Fanjeaux*).

[18] Elie Griffe affirmed and developed further Guiraud's anti-clericalism (1969: chapter 7, and explicitly at 172–173) in a succinct trilogy on the Cathars which became a key reference for English-language scholars of heresy, and the 'noble Catharism' became foundation for influential Cathar scholars including Malcolm Lambert (1998: 66), Malcolm Barber (2013) – both of whose works are reference texts on the Cathars, and James B. Given (2001: 124).

[19] Wakefield was a student of Austin Evans, and with John Mundy participated in transcribing MS 609. Biller (1994: 44–49) refers to this as the 'Columbia School', and indeed Wakefield and Mundy were bound together by a focus on social history and a pronounced pragmatism with respect to

example is Wakefield's declaration that 'social distinctions are not easy to detect' in the manuscript, but he in fact passes over them as they do not adhere to his theme. With his keen eye for social history, he picks out a rare mention of the village consuls of Mas-Saintes-Puelles from a contemporary royal oath (*juramentum*), noting their existence with a single sentence but without either referring to or researching the six consuls within the depositions (a significant oversight, as we shall see). But, following the above-noted tendency of Cathar historiography to prioritise nobility, Wakefield then returns to the theme with longer speculation about possible co-seigneurs of Mas-Saintes-Puelles that he found in a 'mimeographed booklet, locally produced' in 1969 at the village, a claim for which there is no evidence in MS 609 nor any other source extant. Wakefield thus proceeds to render the story of the villagers who appeared before Bernard de Caux and Johan de Saint-Pierre as the intricate doings of the seigneurial *del Manso* clan and heretics, and then other villagers. Other studies present sample bias in different ways: some have focused entirely on village *seignieurie* deeply attached to Cathar heresy as a family affair over generations at le Mas (Roquebert, 1995) and Saint-Martin (Cabirou 1995b); still others purport a prosopography (Semkov, 1984) of heresy at le Mas,[20] or a broader registry-wide demography of women and their participation in heresy (Abels and Harrison, 1979), but without going outside the depositions to corroborate it.

My own curiosity about the contents of the registry was motivated by Pegg's arguments and lead eventually to preparing a digital edition of it. While this article does not directly explore Pegg's thesis nor the nature of any *heresis* inquisitors searched for in the Midi, it does owe its findings to Pegg's caution to treat the inquisition based on what was recorded by inquisitors themselves, and not on medieval polemics and tracts. But where Pegg took an anthropological route to understand the lives and beliefs of the subjects of the inquisition of 1245–56 and how the first generation

inquisitorial registries. Wakefield produced a source book on medieval heresy with Evans (1969), but otherwise rested squarely in social history with restrained discussion of theological matters in his work. See further comments on Mundy at note 73 – his relationship to Catharism was ambivalent and often tangential to his interests; the titles of many of his later collections, generally having little to do with the subject, included 'Cathar' at the behest of his publisher.

[20] On Semkov's prosopography of Mas-Saintes-Puelles see note 41.

of inquisitors shaped that into heresy, I have been absorbed by indications of *whom* Bernard de Caux and Johan de Saint-Pierre aimed their inquisition at. What I discovered during the act of creating a native digital edition[21] – reading, transcribing, encoding, tagging, and connecting depositions – was that these Dominicans were emphatically *not* conducting a general survey of the faith; rather, the friars Bernard and Johan collected evidence to incriminate a particular social group in the villages of the Lauragais: the village consuls. These consuls were not united by any special relationship to whatever *heresis* inquisitors believed was rife in the Midi, nor were they greater or lesser practitioners of any such *heresis*. Moreover, the friars did this while consciously ignoring and bypassing numerous opportunities for prosecuting others for the crime of heresy.

This argument is presented below in two parts, through a study of the two most represented villages in both MS 609 and the manuscript's own historiography, Mas-Saintes-Puelles and Saint-Martin-Lalande (from hereonin respectively referred to as 'le Mas' and 'Saint-Martin'). A large-scale, comparative study of two villages will, I hope, allow us to escape the aforementioned problem of low sampling. The first part of the study presents a macroanalysis of the depositions, a technique facilitated by my edition of MS 609.[22] This macroanalysis looks for patterns of accusations across all

[21] There is no consensus on what makes an edition 'natively digital' – scholarly opinion ranges from data-centricity to interactive presentation to paradigm shifts (Boot et al., 2017: 15–24, 37–46). It may best be glossed for purposes here by contrasting the edition of MS 609 to traditional print editions: the digital edition contains a system of unified markup of features such as people, places, dates (Rehr, 2018: Annex 2) which can be queried as a database as easily as the text itself may be read by a human. The digital edition is hosted by Huma-Num (a consortium funded by the CNRS and various universities dedicated to providing infrastructure for the digital humanities) at http://medieval-inquisition.huma-num.fr/. To a great degree, the analysis of MS 609, and so the study of heresy and inquisition, has been limited due to the need to manually process the massive amount of information contained in the manuscript.

[22] All references to MS 609 in this article are to my digital edition, structured as follows: MS609-0111-01 where '–111' is the deposition ordinal in the manuscript, and '–01' is the paragraph reference (optional). Documents on the site follow a standardised format where MS609-0111 would be at http://medieval-inquisition.huma-num.fr/doc/MS609-0111. The digital edition references the original folio numbers and presents them high-resolution images. All depositions and all other data referred to in this article can be downloaded from the website at http://medieval-inquisition.huma-num.fr/downloads.

depositions using network analysis, a method that I illustrate through comparative anecdotes for scholars unfamiliar with digital methods (but does not argue *from* anecdotes). This part of the study produces a list of the inquisitors' targets in each village, striking in their identical socio-political constitution as consular families.

Some commentators might be inclined to suggest that this socio-political group was attracted to, susceptible to, or otherwise friendly to, heresy, effectively displacing the historiographic blame for the Cathar heresy from nobility to consuls.[23] Others might suggest that the heresy accusations arose from internecine conflicts within the village.[24] The laconic depositions of MS 609 do not allow us much direct access to inner motivations of the deponents, but the second part of the study proposes several tests for these problems through a close reading (against inquisitorial formularies), tests which reveal the specific construction of incriminations in the depositions. These constructions turn out to be widespread patterns in the depositions, yet are never discussed in historiography. In these patterns we can clearly see the inquisitor's hand selecting evidence and testimony to target the consuls and their families, while ignoring others who objectively should have been equally incriminated. In this we find the answer to Wakefield's (1983: 221–22) open question about why Bernard de Caux and Johan de Saint-Pierre did not press on every lead they were given. It was not that they didn't have time, as some have argued (Biller, 2010: 107; Bruschi, 2009: 16), it was that they recorded precisely what they needed.

The digital edition of MS 609 – a foundation for a new research methodology

The registry contained in MS 609 is not filled with the verbose records, oft-studied in undergraduate courses, which have come down to us from the inquisition of villagers of Montaillou in the early fourteenth century (Duvernoy, 1965; Ladurie, 1975) or Menocchio the miller two centuries later (Ginzburg, 1980). MS 609 is famously formulaic, reducing most testimony to a handful of details that the first generation

[23] I thank Bob Moore for raising this possible objection.

[24] I thank Ian Forrester for raising this possible interpretation at IMC Leeds 2018.

of inquisitors in the lands of the Count of Toulouse thought important.[25] Take for example the deposition of Guilhem Ayalric junior of Saint-Martin:[26]

> Item. Year and day as above. The sworn witness Guilhem Ayalric junior said that he saw, in the home of Ysarn de Gibel, Bertrand Marti and his companion, heretics. He saw there with them Bernard Alzeu and Bernard Martin. The witness and everyone else adored the aforesaid heretics there, bending three times at the knee saying, 'Bless us good men, pray to God for us'. This was about 10 years ago. And afterwards the aforesaid Bernard Alzeu and Bernard Martin asked the witness to accompany the aforesaid heretics outside the village, but he would not do so.
>
> He did not believe the heretics to be good nor to have good faith – even though he once adored them at the insistence of the above-mentioned Bernard Alzeu and Bernard Martin, nor heard them speak errors of visible things – that God did not make them, nor the sacraments of the Church. He has not seen heretics anywhere else, nor believed [in them], nor gave or sent [them] anything, nor listened to their preaching.
>
> Item. He said that he was with Bernard Alzeu and with many others at the Abbey of Saint-Papoul when they wanted to free two heretics held by the abbot of Saint-Papoul. This was about 4 years ago.

Whatever Guilhem Ayalric might have said to inquisitors at Saint-Sernin, it was transmuted into a rigid structure describing specific, discrete events in the third person. This first generation of inquisitors codified who, where, what, and when, each within a restricted set of categories (Arnold, 2001: 19–47; Pegg, 2003). The digital edition, beyond including the usual philological apparatus and historical notes, encodes this information as 'meta-data', linking it to a database of similar instances. In this way the digital edition provides technical methods to traverse,

[25] Elements of the following sections on methodology first appeared in different form in chapter 2 "Une nouvelle cartographie d'un ancien territoire" of my mémoire (Rehr, 2018: 39–61).

[26] MS609-0589 (http://medieval-inquisition.huma-num.fr/doc/MS609-0589).

search, aggregate, and compare data according to the inquisitors' own methods and categories. The same occurs with the summary of 'beliefs' found at the end of depositions: a checklist of the deponents' attitudes towards the *heretici*,[27] what they heard *heretici* say, and their belief about those ideas – always restricted to specific sacraments (*de matrimonio*, *de baptismo*, *de resurrectione*, *de eucharistia*) and whether God made material things (*de visibilibus*).[28]

The net effect for the researcher is that rather than selective sampling driven by historiographic biases, one can query across an entire corpus for large-scale patterns at a macro-level using a heuristic that mirrors the inquisitors' own categories of guilt. From the 685 depositions from le Mas and Saint-Martin, featuring over 1,350 people and 1,281 'stories', we can begin to draw out who was named by whom, and for what. The object is to test for any 'directionality' of incriminations, and if there is directionality, who its 'targets' were.

A problem of (non-)reciprocal incrimination

It is now axiomatic that the villages of the Lauragais, as with all villages across the Midi in the thirteenth century, were communities of people who lived in close proximity regardless of social position (Cheyette, 2001: 133–43; Pegg, 2001a: 63–73). This axiom has been derived in part from the above-mentioned studies of MS 609, wherein thousands of villagers of whatever 'class' in each village demonstrated that they knew and interacted with each other frequently. Yet when depositions of people

[27] This article presents findings from the perspective of the inquisitors, and therefore I use *hereticus/heretica* when referring to the depositions to emphasize the hostile, accusatory nature of depositions. The question of what contemporaries themselves called the *heretici* is subject to copious acrimonious discussion, although I am convinced (with Pegg) that MS 609 provides sufficient evidence that those caught by the term *hereticus/heretica* were known as *bons omes/bonas femnas* in Occitan, *boni homines/bonae feminae* in the Latin manuscript (i.e. the good men and good women). Whether the good men and women were *always* identical to *hereticus/heretica* needs further exploration, but research has been blocked by Catharism's uncritical insistence on using the interpretive rubric of a church. There is no evidence from the registries, or anywhere in the Midi during this period, that the term 'Cathar' was ever used: Shulevitz (2019: 6–7) usefully outlines the arguments found in detail in Pegg (2001b) and Théry (2002). Despite this absence, Claire Taylor (2016) argues for continued use of 'Cathar', although some of her arguments are based on Duvernoy's faulty transcription of MS 609 and as such merit revisiting (Rehr, 2018: 16–19).

[28] The connection between transcription and encoding is elaborated and demonstrated with examples at http://medieval-inquisition.huma-num.fr/MS609/encoding.

who should have mentioned each other are scrutinized side by side, the expected display of reciprocal relationships are not evident. To demonstrate the problem, I want to return to the deposition of Guilhem Ayalric junior and compare it to the depositions of Ermengarde Boer of le Mas.

Guilhem Ayalric gave a typically short deposition consisting of two events. The first cites Bernard Alzeu and Bernard Martin, taking place at the *domus* of Ysarn de Gibel. We do not have depositions of any of these three incriminated by Guilhem, so we cannot test if they would have mentioned him in return in their hypothetical depositions. However, Guilhem did add a second event to his confession after the recitation of beliefs (recitations of beliefs are virtually always found at the end of a deposition, suggesting that this addition was provoked by an inquisitor's direct question). This same event was mentioned by eight other deponents at Toulouse, and concerns an 'armed expedition of village men' from Saint-Martin (and Issel and Labécède) to 'liberate' two *heretici* held by the abbot at Saint-Papoul in 1241. Guilhem only mentions 'Bernardo Alzeu with many others', however when we compile all the depositions from Saint-Martin, we obtain a list of 23 people from the village named as having gone on the expedition (**Table 1**).

Of those 23 men, nine of their depositions have come down to us. Guilhem was only implicated by himself, as was Bernard Folc. Several others are only implicated just once or twice, even where they themselves implicated many others. Evidently other deponents were able to remember who among their fellow villagers journeyed with them to Saint-Papoul: Bernard Folc, Peire Faure, Guilhem Arnald, and Jordan Hugole, each implicated over 10 other people by name; that Guilhem and others are recorded as mentioning only one or two people thus stands out in comparison. Even more provocative is the fact that inquisitors repeatedly settled for 'with many others' (*cum pluribus aliis*), and that none of the depositions from Saint-Martin mention that this was a joint expedition with men from Issel and Labécède. In short, Guilhem appears in his own deposition, implicates others, and disappears.

If the problems of Guilhem's incrimination of others and his disappearance can perhaps be explained away – and historians do so by arguing that deponents

Table 1: People named on the expedition to Saint-Papoul c. 1241, the number of times they are mentioned in depositions about the expedition, and whether their own deposition at Toulouse is extant.

Name	No. of Mentions	Deposition Extant?
Arnald Fornier	4	no
Arnald la Vauza	2	no
Arnald Valh	4	no
Bernard Alzeu	9	no – deceased
Bernard Folc	1	yes
Bernard Martin senior	1	no
Esteve Faure	5	yes
Guilhem Arnald	2	yes
Guilhem Ayalric junior	1	yes
Jordan Hugole	4	yes
Peire Aio	1	no
Peire de Canast	1	no
Peire de Comas senior	2	no
Peire Faure de Collo	1	no
Peire Faure	4	yes
Peire Folc	1	no
Peire Galhard	6	yes
Pons Traver	2	no
P. Azals	1	no
Raimund de Verazilh	3	yes
Raimund Folquet	3	yes
Raimund Fornier	5	no
Ysarn de Gibel	5	no
'pluries alios'	5	–

commonly conspire and lie (Abels and Harrison, 1979: 221–22; Given, 2001: 125–27), or that inquisitors didn't have enough time to pursue all leads (Biller, 2010: 107; Bruschi, 2009: 16) – the depositions of Ermengarde Boer of le Mas are resistant to

such explanations. Ermengarde was deposed two times, the first on 19 May 1245.[29] Inquisitors noted in the margin of the first deposition that she was 'suspected and could say more' (*suspecta est ista et possent multa dicere*); she had not yet returned to le Mas after the deposition, as she gave a second deposition three days later.[30] Her first deposition recounts a long life involved in *heresis* at le Mas: over thirty years previously she was 'hereticated' by Ysarn de Castres (*fuit hereticata*) and then later reconciled to the Church by Saint Dominic. It obviously did not have the required effect, as she recounts a number of interactions with *heretici* and many denizens of le Mas in the thirty years thereafter. **Table 2** illustrates the dramatic difference in incriminations between the first and second depositions. In her first deposition, Ermengarde mentions a variety of people from le Mas, although only one is known to historiography: Saramunda, wife of the eldest of the co-seigneurial *del Mas* brothers, Bernard senior. However, Ermengarde's second deposition identifies thirteen members of the seigneurial family and their in-laws (the *de Quiriès*) as well as members of the 'great families' of le Mas, all of whom she evidently socialized with.

Almost all those cited by Ermengarde gave their own depositions in turn at Toulouse, and often they are among the longest depositions in MS 609. Yet not one named Ermengarde herself. These same people named 117 other people from le Mas, chief among them the same seigneurial and 'great families' of the village.[31] Despite her evident long history with *heretici* and *hereticae* of le Mas, despite having been made a 'good little girl' (Pegg, 2001: 92–103) with several other important women of le Mas, and despite being married to a man who was equally sociable with the 'great families' of the parish, Peire Boer,[32] she was only briefly mentioned by three other

[29] MS609-0223 (http://medieval-inquisition.huma-num.fr/doc/MS609-0223), MS609-0244 (http://medieval-inquisition.huma-num.fr/doc/MS609-0244).

[30] Unlike others who gave multiple depositions, there is no note that she was imprisoned after her first deposition. *Cf.* the margin notes at the depositions of Sauramunda del Mas, MS609-0231 (http://medieval-inquisition.huma-num.fr/doc/MS609-0231) and Peire Faure of Saint-Martin, MS609-0454 (http://medieval-inquisition.huma-num.fr/doc/MS609-0454), both of whom were imprisoned between depositions.

[31] This term is discussed below and in note 49.

[32] MS609-0230 (http://medieval-inquisition.huma-num.fr/doc/MS609-0230).

Table 2: People incriminated by Ermengarde Boer, grouped by each deposition.

Deposition May 19	Deposition May 22
Arnald Maiestre	Aribert del Mas
Companh Gaufred	Bernard del Mas senior
Guilhem de Canast-Bru	Bernard de Quiriès
Guilhem Vidal	Flor del Mas
Raimunda Gondaubou	Galhard del Mas
Raimund Gasc	Garnier Senior
Riqua German	Guilhelma Meta née del Mas
Saramunda del Mas	Guilhem del Mas junior
Segura Vidal	Guilhem del Mas senior
	Guilhem Moreta
	Jordan del Mas
	Maria de Quiriès
	Finas Moreta
	Peire Gauta junior
	Peire Gauta senior
	Roger Sartre
	Saramunda del Mas
	'pluries alios'

people, none of whom she herself had named: Peire Roger,[33] Peirona Riqua,[34] and Raimunda Bernarda Gasc.[35]

The depositions of Guilhem Ayalric and Ermengarde Boer give us two slightly different cases with which to formulate a testable problem: there is an unexpected low rate of 'reciprocal incrimination' among certain deponents. At the same time, we can begin to see from the small numbers presented above that others may be implicated more often. This 'directionality' of accusations should not surprise us, as historiography has claimed that heretical activity was centered on, and supported by,

[33] MS609-0090 (http://medieval-inquisition.huma-num.fr/doc/MS609-0090).
[34] MS609-0230 (http://medieval-inquisition.huma-num.fr/doc/MS609-0230).
[35] MS609-0242 (http://medieval-inquisition.huma-num.fr/doc/MS609-0242).

the nobility. This directionality can be tested against large databases using simple methods for investigating large networks of people.

Macroanalysis – networks of accusations

Social scientists often investigate the structure of relations between people and their communities using network diagrams (*graphs*).[36] Graphs are flexible analytical tools as they only require two sets of objects: *nodes* and *edges*. A node can be a person, an object, an institution, or an event. An edge (tie) describes the relationship between the nodes: acts of communication, exchanges, or transmission, or bonds of acquaintances, friends, and family. Edges are classed into two types which then give their names to the two network graphs: *undirected* and *directed* (**Figure 1**).

An undirected graph tells us which people are connected to others and in what concentration (*degree*). These graphs are concerned only with knowing which nodes are tied together, without determining if those ties are equal. For undirected graphs,

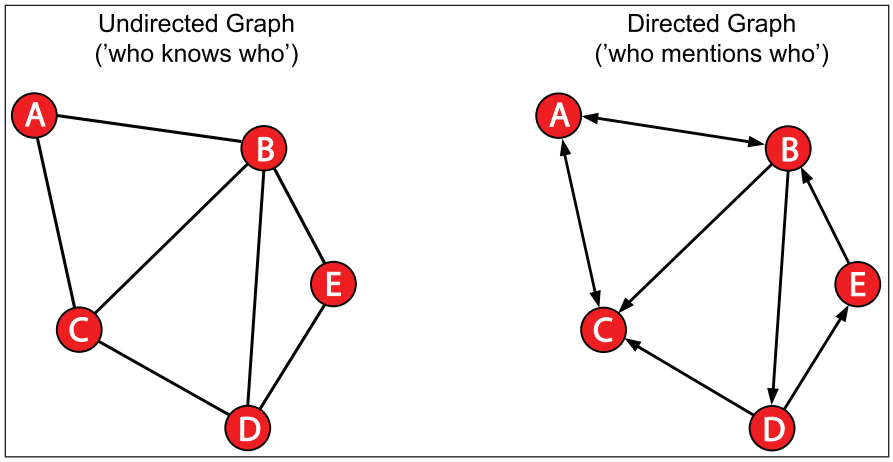

Figure 1: Two different ways to connect nodes (people) in a network graph.

[36] For a general introduction to principles of network analysis see John Scott (2000). As the field has exploded with the massive amounts of data and interest generated by social networks and other applications, social scientists have had to think more clearly about methods. For an orientation, see field-leading Garry Robins (2015). There are very few monographs which have integrated network analysis into historical research: the problems of biased and missing data are similar to challenges faced by social scientists, but are shaded with further epistemological issues (Gould, 2003). The formation in 2017 of the *Journal of Historical Network Research* (https://jhnr.uni.lu/index.php/jhnr) will hopefully seed this work.

the only goal is to say whether the nodes A and B are connected; it doesn't matter if A contacts B or vice versa, or if there is an imbalance in the relationship. This approach is usually how sociologists create basic diagrams of 'who knows who', with the assumption that the given social relations are reciprocal (*symmetrical relationships*).[37]

A directed graph on the other hand expresses the nature of relationships between nodes which may or may not be equal (*asymmetrical relationships).* We can portray the quality of the relationship through direction of ties and possibly their frequency or intensity of ties. For example, A may call B more frequently than B calls A. In terms of networks of accusations in MS 609, Ermengarde Boer incriminates more people than incriminate her. A graph of Ermengarde with all edges and nodes connected to her would look like the simple **Figure 2**. As we begin to add more people who in turn incriminate others and are themselves incriminated, the graph grows more complicated. By applying visualization strategies carefully, we can begin to see larger-scale patterns emerge. This expansion requires setting rules for how to calculate the edges and the nodes from the digital edition.

In the digital edition, all people are tagged by their role and individual activity in an event as recorded by the inquisitors in the registry. The roles are categories (owner, *infirmus*, participant), explained here in turn:

- participant is someone who interacts with *heretici*, including adoring them (*adoravit*), leading them (*duxit*), listening to their preaching (*predicationem eorum audivit*), believing them (*credidit*), etc.;
- *infirmus* is someone unwell or dying and attended by *heretici*;
- owner is someone who is named as the owner of a location in an event (for example *in domo Guillelmi Vitalis*);

[37] One could apply this to MS 609 to build a basic, necessarily incomplete, diagram of 'who knows who' in each village (Guilhem Ayalric's deposition demonstrates that he did not name family, friends, or even acquaintances, and as such gives us nothing with which to reconstruct a social world). The work of many historians who who try to evoke social relations from inquisitorial registers is often undermined by an assumption that the inquisitor has provided sufficient content for an objective survey of social relations in a community, like a sociologist or anthropologist.

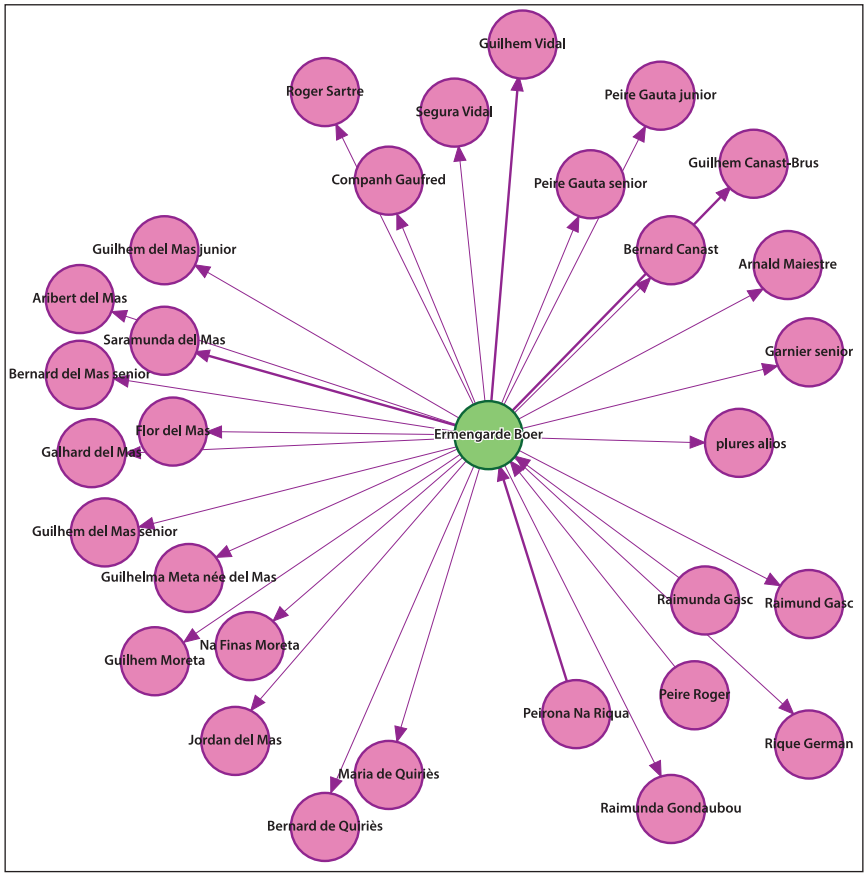

Figure 2: Directed graph of Ermengarde Boer of Mas-Saintes-Puelles – those she incriminated and those who incriminated her. Thicker edges (lines) indicate the weight of multiple incriminations.

Everyone at an event is a 'participant' of sorts, but inquisitors themselves distinguished these roles in MS 609. Moreover, they are not mutually exclusive tags in the edition. For example, an event that took place *in domo Guillelmi Vitalis* will state explicitly whether he was there or not as well.[38] If he was named at that event, the edition tags him twice: once as owner, once a participant. If the home where the event took place was owned by the *infirmus*, they would be tagged as both owner and *infirmus*. The researcher can

[38] See places, their owners, and both their appearances in events at http://medieval-inquisition.huma-num.fr/place/name-index.

then decide how to sort and filter on the basis of these tags.[39] A fourth role, *heretici*, is a distinct category, but is excluded from these graphs as no deposition was recorded from someone who is otherwise labelled as *hereticus* in MS 609, and frequently they were even left unnamed in other depositions (*...et socium suum, hereticos*).

Every time a deponent incriminates someone, which is recorded by inquisitors in these roles, a directed edge is created between the deponent's node (*source*) and the node of the named person (*target*). An *unweighted* schema creates one edge per source-target, whereas *weighted* schema increases the value of the edge for each instance found in the registry. Guilhem Ayalric's testimony can thus be represented by two different formulas, shown in **Table 3**. The unweighted edge allows us to count how many discrete individuals implicated a specific person; the weighted edge allows us to count what the inquisitors recorded as 'infractions'. In this case, Guilhem claimed that Alzeu adored *heretici*, forced Guilhem to adore them, and Bernard attended the march on Saint-Papoul. Because this is a directed graph, we describe the directionality as follows: Guilhem Ayalric has a weighted *out-degree* of 6 (he makes six incriminations), Bernard Alzeu has a weighted *in-degree* of three (he is incriminated three times), Bernard Martin *in-degree* = two (he is incriminated twice) and Ysarn de Gibel *in-degree* = one (he is incriminated once).

Table 3: Calculating weighted and unweighted edges from the deposition of Guilhem Ayalric.

Source	Target	Unweighted Edge	Weighted Edge
Guilhem Ayalric	Bernard Alzeu	1	3
Guilhem Ayalric	Bernard Martin	1	2
Guilhem Ayalric	Ysarn de Gibel	1	1

[39] With the exception of *hereticus*, the inquisitors did not use the categories of transgression which they described in their manuals such as *credens*, *fautor*, *receptator*, *defensor*, inter alia (Arnold, 2001: 33–47, especially 42–43). Rather, the depositions describe actions. There are over 70 distinctly different types of action related to heresy within just the folios related to le Mas and Saint-Martin, from adoration, to eating with *heretici*, to letting *heretici* work in one's fields, to seeing a *hereticus* in someone's doorway. These are all tagged in the database, demonstrated at http://medieval-inquisition.huma-num.fr/MS609/encoding.

In summary, the heuristic for identifying a pattern of incriminations in MS 609 is straightforward: collect each instance where a deponent incriminates someone else under the inquisitors' own rubric as recorded in MS 609. We count incriminations by their degrees within each of the two villages, le Mas and Saint-Martin, to quantify a 'directionality' of accusations. This data is passed to a network analysis application to visualize patterns across thousands of records. The same application also provides a variety of common calculations and reports for quantifying the 'directionality' in our graphs of depositions.[40] The dynamics of incriminations within the registries of both le Mas and Saint-Martin are demonstrated by the graphics in **Figure 3** and **Figure 4.**[41]

Macroanalysis – strong centralisation of incriminations

The graphs of le Mas and Saint-Martin unequivocally demonstrate three clear patterns. The first is that the absolute number of people implicated in *heresis* by inquisitors in the two villages is far greater than historians have previously calculated.[42] Within this larger-than-anticipated demographic, a small, single subgroup of people are strongly incriminated. Moreover, these incriminations come from across the entirety of each respective village, and not just within the subgroup itself. Finally, although

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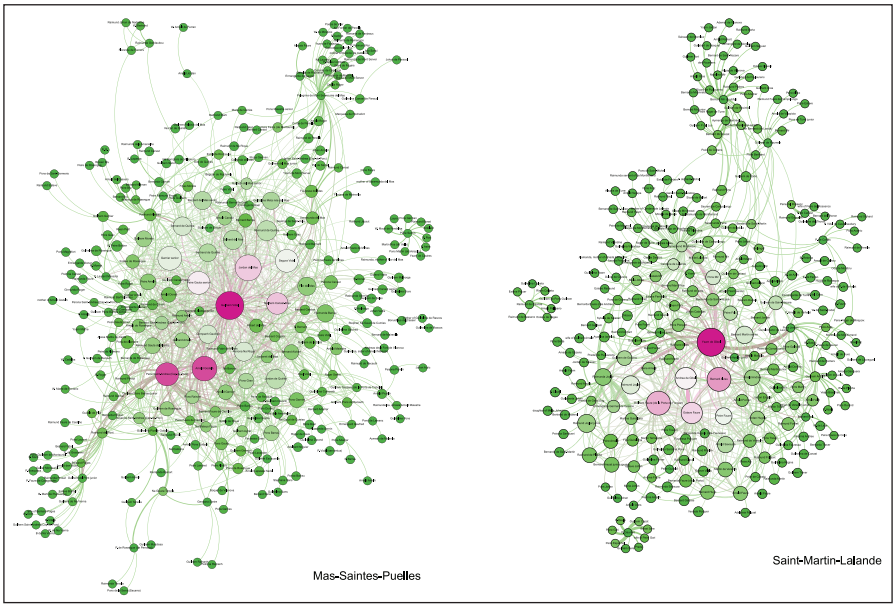
[40] All of the analysis, reports, and diagrams in this article are generated by Gephi, an open source network analysis and visualisation software. See https://gephi.org/. I have used version 0.9.1. All the algorithms deployed by Gephi are public domain, used by all network analysis packages under a common name system ensuring cross-compatibility of the data and files used here and available for download at http://medieval-inquisition.huma-num.fr/downloads.

[41] A network graph is a statistical calculation which can then be visualized for easier identification of patterns and trends. The visualizations are controlled by the user through interface decisions for layout, color and size of nodes and edges using one of a handful of common layout algorithms. The diagrams in this study use the ForceAtlas 2 implementation in Gephi. These graphics were generated from the extensive data of the digital edition, precompiled and available in different formats at http://medieval-inquisition.huma-num.fr/downloads.

[42] Semkov (1984: 44) counts 152 people as *credentes*, consequently relied upon as demographics of Cathar belief by Barber (2013: 75), Biget (2007: 130–32), Lambert (1998: 133); there are in fact 297 people named as such, 80% of which are positively identifiably from le Mas proper (*cf.* Table 4). Semkov did not publish appendices with the data, just summaries and some selections of names, so it is difficult to determine the root methodological error. Cabirou (1995a: 156–61) is more accurate and provides detailed lists for Saint-Martin. My counts can be verified a number of ways: view the annexes of my detailed study (Rehr, 2018), or download the marked-up edition and/or the formatted data at http://medieval-inquisition.huma-num.fr/downloads.



Figures 3–4: Graphs of networks of accusations from le Mas-Saintes-Puelles (left) and Saint-Martin-Lalande (right). Node colour represents *weighted in-degree* (green to red = less to more). Node size represents *Eigenvector centrality* (larger = more important). High resolution images and all data can be downloaded from http://medieval-inquisition.huma-num.fr/downloads.

some seigneurial family members do feature in the subgroup, their position is demonstrably less pronounced than historiography would lead us to expect: the subgroups are overwhelmingly populated with non-seigneurial villagers. These three patterns are analysed below in turn.

A truism of network analysis is that one should expect to find hubs, groups, and cliques in any diagram of a significantly-sized social group like the villages of le Mas or Saint-Martin.[43] This is not an effect limited to large groups – schools and classes, work places, and neighbourhoods also demonstrate these effects consistently. The first remarkable feature of both village graphs is that they do not contain any detectable subgroups. Even under the pressure of a *force vector* algorithm which generated the

[43] This common sociological observation is the starting point for every textbook on social network analysis. See the introduction by Mark Newman (2010). The technical name for this network type is *assortative*, where nodes who share high degrees are highly connected in the centre, with lesser degree nodes on the periphery.

diagrams – an algorithm often used to visually emphasize the dispersing tendencies of groups in a given graph – both village networks remain singularly centralized. This is the first, and most dramatic, indication to us that the inquisition depositions do not represent the natural social ties of the village.[44]

In **Table 4** we find the count of total people deposed for each village and the segmentation of the depositions by those which are denials and those which are 'sources' of incrimination of others.

The denials represent the lengthy lists of deponents in MS 609 who swore to have never seen nor interacted with heretics (*dixit quod nunquam vidit hereticos nisi captos nec credidit nec adoravit nec aliquid dedit nec misit nec eorum predicationem audivit*). Their confessions do not contain any incriminations either of themselves or other people, and as such they cannot be graphed.[45] Sources constitute 24% of all deponents (although the absolute number of depositions is slightly higher because

Table 4: Aggregate deposition figure. A 'source' is a deponent who has incriminated at least one other person, i.e. a 'target'.

	Total People Deposed	Denials	Sources	Total People Targeted	Targets Inside Village	Targets Outside Village
Mas-Saintes-Puelles	412	311	101	297	238	59
Saint-Martin-Lalande	256	196	60	268	189	79

[44] A secondary method to detect groups-within-groups is to use a *modularity* algorithm. I applied this sorting algorithm to both villages and the results produced, even at lowest sensitivity setting, were empirically nonsensical. My impression, to be tested further in the future, is that the algorithm itself could not detect communities from accusations. These results can be inspected in the Gephi files available at http://medieval-inquisition.huma-num.fr/downloads. I have an article in development on the challenges and obstacles of recreating real world social networks from inquisitorial registries. David Zbiral's funded project at Masaryk University, *Dissident Religious Cultures in Medieval Europe from the Perspective of Social Network Analysis and Geographic Information Systems (DISSINET)*, may wrestle with the same problem.

[45] The denials themselves are problematic and require further study. There are a disquieting number of instances of husbands, wives, and children of deeply incriminated *credentes* at le Mas and Saint-Martin who deny any knowledge whatsoever of *heretici*. This phenomenon is not easily dismissed with claims of ignorance; such ignorance would require a fantastic feat of unquestioned avoidance of any and all social life within the family and in the village.

several sources, like Ermengarde Boer, gave multiple depositions). 101 deponents from le Mas implicated 297 people in heresy (targets), and 60 deponents from Saint-Martin implicated 268 people.

Within these lists of targets are a subset of people who come from other villages. Identifying who is and who is not resident in the village is not always self-evident, nor is it clear how one categorizes those people who appear to have residences in several villages. If the target has a *domus* where an event took place in the village, then they are understood to be a member of that village. In other cases, the context makes it quite clear that the accused hails from outside the village and at the same time sheds light on a small but visible anomaly in the graphs which must be addressed. Pelegrina del Mas of le Mas and Ermessende Mir Arezat of Saint-Martin both stand quite distant from the center of their graphs, although not disconnected. Pelegrina was the daughter of the seigneurial clan of le Mas, and she married outside the village to a certain (late) Ysarn, a co-seigneur of Mont Server. Ermessende, on the other hand, came from the seigneurial family at Montferrand to marry Bernard Mir Arezat, one of the *milites* of Saint-Martin. Both women were clearly connected to both villages, and inquisitors took advantage of these relations to incriminate as many people outside as inside our two villages. The 'outsiders' mentioned by Ermessende and Pelegrina do not concern us in their particularity, as they are only mentioned once and forgotten in these two village inquiries.[46]

What these two depositions do is define for us the 'network diameter'. This diameter is a technical expression of the extent of a network.[47] These relatively few instances where the network of accusations extends outside the circle our two villages, complemented by the fact that both women gave long depositions

[46] A number of these outsiders can be traced in other depositions and await the full encoding of the registry in order to be properly studied.

[47] The network diameter of both villages is six. This figure represents the longest 'path' across the network for one theoretical person to reach another, where six equals the number of jumps between people. This diameter tells us nothing about accusations as accusations in depositions are between two people, not across a network. What it does tells us is that accusations did not center on just two people; if they did, the network diameter would be a maximum of three.

incriminating many others,[48] creates a visual impression of large network diameter which is not actually representative of the dynamics of the graphs. This same effect repeats itself a few more times in the graphs for reasons unrelated to seigneurial marriage – rather because they relay particular stories that inquisitors picked up and explored which implicated people from outside our villages. It illustrates that the graph reaches outwards *only in exceptional cases*. Despite the fact that 'outsiders' make up 25% of the graph nodes, they only account for 5–10% of incriminations. The incriminations overwhelmingly turn inwards at le Mas and Saint-Martin.

As described above, an incrimination represents one person implicating another as participant, owner, or *infirmus*. The weighted incrimination represents the content of the accusation – an accusation of both adoring and eating bread blessed by the *heretici* is weighted more than only adoring them (**Table 5**). Moreover, we need to remember that each time a deponent incriminated someone else, they also *incriminated themselves*. If someone testified that Bernard senior, lord of le Mas, ate blessed bread with *heretici*, it is because *they themselves also* ate blessed bread with Bernard and *heretici*.[49] This 'hidden half' is glossed or ignored in a historiography obsessed with 'Cathar nobility', but it constitutes a rapid multiplication of interactions with *heretici*. The fact that so many people were therefore 'involved in heresy', yet either confessed so little or are not deposed at all, makes the concentration of incriminations more striking.

The center of the graphs can be measured in two ways. The first is the simple question of numbers: the more one is implicated with *heretici*, the higher one

Table 5: Summary of incriminations.

	Incriminations	**Weighted Incriminations**
Mas-Saintes-Puelles	1,255	1,932
Saint-Martin-Lalande	688	1,047

[48] Depositions of Pelegrina del Mas, MS609-0015 (http://medieval-inquisition.huma-num.fr/doc/MS609-0015) and Ermessende Mir Arezat, MS609-0511 (http://medieval-inquisition.huma-num.fr/doc/MS609-0511).

[49] Again it seems the exception proves the rule, there are a handful of times in the manuscript where a deponent explicitly states they saw others adore but they did not adore themselves.

ranks in lists of in-degrees (i.e. being incriminated). However, simple counting of degrees doesn't account for the placement in the graph of those most implicated in *heresis*. Those most accused could be dispersed throughout the graph, forming the individual clusters of accusations, like Ermessende Mir Arezat or Pelegrina del Mas, but on a greater scale. In order to understand why the graphs for le Mas and Saint-Martin direct towards a single center requires us to explain the *directionality of incriminations*, and how they work together *en masse*.

All accusations are composed of *dyads*, a pair of people in a graph. A dyad captures the relationship of these pairs: whether Guilhem Ayalric incriminates Bernard Alzeu or vice-versa (*asymmetric dyads*), or they incriminate each other (*symmetric dyads*). **Table 6** reports the dyads found in le Mas and Saint-Martin. In the registries we find 1,303 dyads for le Mas and 715 dyads for Saint-Martin, of which 40% (522) and 61% (439) respectively are asymmetric. What is the reason for this asymmetry? Like Bernard Alzeu, one side of the dyad may have died before giving a deposition, or they fled, or they just did not show up to depose. Or perhaps they did, but their deposition did not survive. Or perhaps, like Ermengarde Boer, those she named didn't name her in their depositions.

Across both le Mas and Saint-Martin depositions, only a quarter of dyads where both testified are reciprocal! The failure of deponents to reciprocate an incrimination nearly 75% of the time explains why the graphs of both villages are highly centralized: those in the periphery incriminated those in the center more often than the inverse. In turn, those in the center incriminated each other more often than they did the periphery. This directionality is visually evident in the graphs, but it is not just a function of brutishly adding up incriminations. The algorithm responsible for the graph is based on *Eigenvector centrality*, and it calculates not only degrees, but the importance of those degrees by recursively identifying important

Table 6: Rates of reciprocal incriminations in depositions.

	Total Dyads	Asymmetric Dyads	Total Dyads – Both Deposed	Symmetric Dyads	Reciprocity Rate
Mas-Saintes-Puelles	1,303	522	781	202	25.86%
Saint-Martin-Lalande	715	439	276	74	26.81%

nodes. These nodes may not have the most incriminations, but they are incriminated with others who are important. They have high *Eigenvector scores*, and they explain why certain of the dead, and others for whom we lack depositions, appear in the center of our diagrams. Neither Arnald Godalh and the brothers Peire and Bernard Cap-de-Porc from le Mas, nor Ysarn and Andrea de Gibel, nor Bernard Alzeu from Saint-Martin would appear on a simple count of degrees – none of them have out-degrees (incriminating others), only in-degrees (incriminated by others). But they were deeply linked with other people who were both accused by and who implicated others in the centre, and as a result they all have very high scores. On the other hand, Ermessende Mir Arezat has a very low Eigenvector score as her connections are to people who on average don't count for much in the village depositions of Saint-Martin. Eigenvector score therefore represents the directionality of accusations, not just the volume, and indicates who was most central.

The center of incriminations: the consuls of le Mas and Saint-Martin

The brief analysis above describes in structural terms the forces at work in the depositions of le Mas and Saint-Martin which produce graphs with high centralization of incriminations. The measures of that centralization result in the same people and families at the top 10, 20, and 30 positions. Based on this analysis, the seigneurie of each village – the eponymous seigneurial clan of le Mas, and the Azerats and Campolongs of Saint-Martin – although undeniably the target of accusations, only rank half or a third in magnitude compared to other families (Rehr, 2018: Annex 5).

Some of the most targeted families have been called 'great families' or 'influential families' in historiography.[50] This term is used alternately to describe seigneurial families, or those families who seem to consort with seigneurial ranks, or, even more ambiguously, those families whose members simply appear a lot in early inquisitorial records. 'Great families' is a historiographic invention which has no sociological or

[50] The term is a loose translation of Douais' 'familles principales' and 'familles considerables', characterizing the ambiguous sociology underpinning Catharism. For example, Douais (1900, Vol 2: 4): 'La famille des Resengas […] était une des principales familles du Lauraguais': we cannot substantiate for this in any way.

explanatory dimension, and is usually a generic descriptor floating somewhere in the middle of the 'feudal pyramid'. We can dispense with the ambiguous 'great families' and substitute it for an identifiable trait shared by all the targeted people and families: they populated the consulates of le Mas and Saint-Martin. That these targeted families were consular families is not obvious from MS 609 (nor the few Doat depositions which contain references to our two villages). In fact, the existence of consulates in the Lauragais would not be known from MS 609 save for two sole references to the consuls Bernard Alzeu and Pons Martin of Saint-Martin – both of whose families appear at the center of the graphs. We must reach outside inquisitorial documents to identify others as consuls. But as Wakefield demonstrated, interest in researching beyond the long-standing historiographic bias towards village seigneurie has amounted to zero, even as he cited the very document (a *juramentum*) that can now tell us who Bernard de Caux and Johan de Saint-Pierre were targeting. Moreover, research on consuls in the lands of the Count of Toulouse has been mis-directed or inhibited by the dependence (Bourin, 1987a: 301–30; Bourin, 1987b: 145–80) on the work of Jean Ramière de Fortanier (1939: 44) in his *Chartes de franchises du Lauragais* where he counts only nine consuls in the Lauragais before 1249, but only because he only looked for consul charters and constitutions. He did not look outside narrow constitutional documents to identify the consulates active by the time of inquisition; I have identified 29 so far through other documents.

Numerous consulates are identified in a series of *juramenta* found in the Archives nationales at Paris dating to 1242–43: these are the oaths of village *milites*, *consules*, and *probi homines* to continue honouring the Treaty of Paris-Mieux (1229), sworn to Louis IX after Raimond VII's attempted rebellion.[51] There is a near perfect

[51] One of these *juramentum* (Archives nationales J305.29) was editioned by John Hine Mundy (1997: 368–84) and contains a list of 11 *consules* and 1,028 (!) other signatories to the oath at Toulouse. I have edited the *juramentum* from le Mas dated March 1243 (Archives nationales, Paris, J305.28) at http://medieval-inquisition.huma-num.fr/doc/TDC-J305-28. It contains the five brother *milites*, six *consules*, and ninety-six *probi homines*. I am preparing an article on the consulates and *probi homines* of the Lauragais and Albigeois before the inquisition using the *juramenta* and *serments* from the *Trésor des chartes* and the *Fonds Maltes* of the Archives departementales de la Haute-Garonne. These include consulates of le Mas, Saint-Martin, Castlenaudary, Fanjeaux, and Lavaur, Castres. Among the great curiosities are the appearance of numerous *heretici* from MS 609 among the hundreds of *probi homines* in the oaths.

correlation between the names identified as targets of the inquisition and those consuls and important *probi homines* named at the beginning of the *juramenta*. This correlation in an oath, within 24 months of inquisition, cannot be an accident. Comparative analysis suggests that the correlation is the product of social relations in the villages similar to those found in the consulates of Toulouse, Montauban, and Albi.[52] Year after year, consulates cycled through the same social groups and various families occupied seats in the consulate in rotation; the families intermarried and remarried.[53] **Table 7** represents lists of consuls and key *probi homines* derived from comparing the *juramenta* and *Chartes de franchises* with MS 609.

Incriminating the consuls of le Mas and Saint-Martin

How do the incriminations against the consular families manifest themselves in the depositions? And how can we know that these incriminating statements were orchestrated by inquisitors and are not some random coalescence of the spontaneous confession of memories, or the objective reflection of a given family's 'adhesion to heresy', or the result of internecine village conflicts? Looking at any individual deposition in isolation, we could be convinced that these issued from some spontaneous recollection of an event, perhaps motivated by personal or political animus, even if it was reduced and contained in the inquisitor's formulary. Many of these patterns have such a prosaic, innocuous quality that we can imagine producing

[52] This analysis relies on Mundy's lifetime of studying the consulates of Toulouse. One result is that he found (Mundy, 1997: 368) that the order of oath takers in the list reflected certain social relations, as we find in the *juramenta*. Mundy was able to index the names of consuls against all the names he had from the volumes of documents in his collection. To my knowledge not much study has been given to the order of names in charters, generally due to lack of volumes of encoded data for comparison and the relative absence of network analysis in medieval research until recently. See now Barbara Rosenwein's (1989: 20–23) analysis of social groups in charters at Cluny (by computerizing them using Joachim Wallach's *Gruppensuchprogramm* at Munich). The phenomenon of families rotating through seats of the consulates can be glossed by scanning Mundy's consular lists, cross referencing with his massive name index. Any one of his family biographies in, for example, *Society and Government* (Mundy, 1989: Appendix One) reveals the family and friendship networks of consulates in greater detail. See the same effect produced by Feuchter's (2007: 531–38) lists of consuls at Montauban, and again for Albi later in the thirteenth century, see Théry (2003).

[53] Notwithstanding the evidence of MS 609 and the *juramentum* under discussion, we find these relations confirmed by charters in the Archives departamentales de la Haute-Garonne, most notably Malte H Puysubran 18.40 of 1234, which brings together a number of the names from the consuls and the key *probi homines* in the aforementioned AN J305.28.

Table 7: Consular families from MS 609 at le Mas and Saint-Martin. * indicates a single extended family that intermarried or descended from shared mother or father.

Mas-Saintes-Puelles	Saint-Martin-Lalande
Aleman*	Alzeu
Amelh*	André
Barrau	de Gibel (*milites*?)
Canast-Bru	de Gozens
Saint-André (Cap-de-Porc)	de Saint-Nazaire
de Quiriès (*milites*)	Faure-Verazilh
Donat*	Hugole
Garnier*	Martin
Gauta	la Vauza
Godalh*	
Picrelh*	
Rosengue	
Vidal	

them naturally ourselves were we pressed to recall memories of events that go back five, 10, 30, even 50 years. This goes some way to explain why they have not been identified before, particularly if one is already convinced that the inquisition at Toulouse was a general survey of the Lauragais. It is only by meticulously comparing hundreds of depositions in the details of their construction that patterns emerge which reveal the directing hand of the Bernard de Caux and Johan de Saint-Pierre as they obtained the testimony they wanted.

A full confession?

On 3 March 1246, inquisitors recorded one brief statement from P. Laurenc (*vel Massota*) of le Mas which in one blow incriminated Peire Gauta senior, Garnier senior, Guilhem Vidal, and the brothers Esteve, Arnald, and Guilhem Rosengue, for fraternizing with Peire Petit, *hereticus*, at the home of Peire's sister, Rixen.[54, 55] The recorded memory is vague, just a list of names dating back 20

[54] MS609-0383-01 (http://medieval-inquisition.huma-num.fr/doc/MS609-0383).

[55] Elements of the following sections first appeared in different form in chapter 3 "Accuser les consuls du Mas et de Saint-Martin" of my mémoire (Rehr, 2018: 62–80).

years, although Laurenc was sure that he did not see anyone adore two decades before, nor himself adored. Nor, he claimed, did he see heretics thereafter. The memory, like so many in MS 609, stretches back through decades to incriminate just a handful of people – the people defined in the target list. And in a refrain now familiar from the macroanalysis above, all of those he incriminated were themselves deposed at Saint-Sernin – and yet none remembered to include Laurenc in their depositions. P. Laurenc's story brings us to the problem which can be rapidly comprehended in **Table 8**, the apparent low incidence of reported events of heresy.

Of the 117 people who journeyed for two to three days from le Mas and Saint-Martin to give incriminating depositions at Saint-Sernin, 30% *only recited one event* from their lives, while 50% *recited one or two*. Of those depositions, more than 80% were directed (i.e. 158 out of 186), like that of P. Laurenc (or Guilhem Ayalric), at the consular families. These numbers represent the intersection of two problems. The first is the low probability that any given deponent would have had only one or two incidences of *heresis* to report from their lives. The lack of reciprocal incriminations, as we saw with Ermengarde Boer, Guilhem Ayalric, and many others in the graphs, already tells us that events were under-reported. But from Laurenc's testimony we can detect even more under-reporting: only one of the six people he cited, Garnier

Table 8: Summary of incriminating depositions from le Mas and Saint-Martin.

Events per Deposition	Incriminating Depositions		Depositions Incriminating Consular Families			
	Mas-Saintes-Puelles	Saint-Martin-Lalande	Mas-Saintes-Puelles		Saint-Martin-Lalande	
1	29	24	20	69%	20	83%
2	19	16	15	79%	14	88%
3	17	8	11	65%	6	75%
4	8	5	8	100%	5	100%
5	10	2	10	100%	2	100%
6–17	34	14	34	100%	13	93%
Totals	**117**	**69**	**98**	**84%**	**60**	**87%**

senior, reported ever being at Rixen's *domus*, and that was 10 years later.[56] This means that 80% of attendees at just one event, in just one deposition, are unreported. If we extrapolate from this, we are faced with an extraordinary number of unreported acts of interactions with *heretici*. The second problem is the low likelihood that so many deponents would have reported a small number of similar (or the same) events which implicated the same people. We will see in the next section how the impression of small groups was created by inquisitors.

The problem of under-reporting throws into relief the significance of how many depositions actually targeted consular families. We can scrutinize these numbers in greater detail, by event. **Table 9** reports how many events feature accusations against consular families, how many feature seigneurial families, and how many feature either of them. Over 60% of events feature consular families, the majority of those exclusively. P. Laurenc implicated Guilhem de Rosengue and his brothers, one of the families made famous by Douais (1900, vol 2: 4) (recapitulated by Wakefield) as 'une des principales familles du Lauraguais' who 'n'avaient cessé de montrer le plus grand attachement pour l'hérésie'. As mentioned, Guilhem himself was questioned, but never mentioned Laurenc or the Petits.[57] Guilhem's deposition reports four events, and despite others testifying that he appeared with dozens of people, including the seigneurial del Mas family, his deposition is solely focused on events which would indict other consular families: the Vidals, Gautas, Amelhs, and the Garniers. As the depositions become longer and recount more events – from one event to five and

Table 9: Summary of incriminating events from le Mas and Saint-Martin.

	Incriminating Events	**Events Featuring Consular Family**		**Events Featuring Seigneurial Family**		**Events with Both/Either**	
Mas-Saintes-Puelles	510	328	64%	150	29%	365	72%
Saint-Martin-Lalande	230	135	59%	61	27%	157	68%

[56] MS609-0182-07 (http://medieval-inquisition.huma-num.fr/doc/MS609-0182). Garnier incriminates the Gautas, Vidals, de Rosengues, Amelhs, Gaufreds, de Quiriès, Godalhs, Alemans, and the del Mas.

[57] MS609-0002 (http://medieval-inquisition.huma-num.fr/doc/MS609-0002).

then 10 – we find the longer depositions come from the consular class, like those named by Laurenc: Peire Gauta, Guilhem Vidal, and Garnier senior.

In a different way, but to the same effect, Bernard Hugo[58] and Johan Cabrigas[59] of Saint-Martin should have had many memories to recount as they were implicated by others frequently. But they managed to escape with deposing just one or two events about the consuls. In these various ways, the incriminations accumulate towards the target lists for le Mas and Saint-Martin, as consular families were forced to confess against each other and their own families, while those outside rarely felt the reciprocated heat of accusations.

'…et plures alios'

There were many *credentes* who appeared with *heretici* whose names are unknown, and can never be known, as Bernard de Caux and Johan de Saint-Pierre were not interested in recording their details. We saw one example of this above with the expedition to Saint-Papoul of certain people of Saint-Martin (and Issel and Labécède) to free two *heretici* held by the abbot of the monastery there, by payment or by force.[60] The list of those named on the expedition, and the number of times they are named, proved the same pattern just discussed: a repeated focus on a handful of people, the consuls of Saint-Martin. But these depositions about the march on Saint-Papoul demonstrate in another way the obviousness of Bernard de Caux and Johan de Saint-Pierre's focus on the consuls. Esteve Faure, chief among those named on the campaign along with his brothers and uncles, gave the names of six others

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[58] MS609-0481 (http://medieval-inquisition.huma-num.fr/doc/MS609-0481).

[59] MS609-0501 (http://medieval-inquisition.huma-num.fr/doc/MS609-0501).

[60] This expedition is related at MS609-0453-7, MS609-0454-2, MS609-0470-4, MS609-0485-2, MS609-0564-2, MS609-0575-4, MS609-0586-2, MS609-0589-3, MS609-0601-2. There is one other deposition (MS609-0582) which speaks of '*de facto Sancti Papuli*', where Peire de Carras testified that he was made a *faidit* because of it. It is unclear if this is in fact the same event. He gives no details regarding the event, no date, no other names at the event, nor the cause of it as all others did; moreover, no *milites* are named on the expedition in the other depositions. It is thus possible that there were other conflicts with the abbey, which lies only a few kilometers from Saint-Martin. These depositions can be compared together at http://medieval-inquisition.huma-num.fr/compare?segments=MS609-0582-1+MS609-0453-7+MS609-0454-2+MS609-0470-4+MS609-0485-2+MS609-0564-2+MS609-0575-4+MS609-0586-2+MS609-0589-3+MS609-0601-2.

who marched on the abbey, and he added that there were up to 18 others from Saint-Martin.[61] Friar Bernard, the inquisitor that day, ignored any names beyond consuls, settling for 'and many others, up to 18' (*et pluribus aliis usque ad X et VIII*). Others similarly questioned gave between one and 15 other names, followed by 'with many others '(*cum multis aliis de Sancto Martino*, *cum pluribus aliis*, *et plures alios*, etc). Why would the inquisitors accept 'and many others' rather than the names of every possible *credens* and *fautor* who were prepared not only to pay to release two *heretici*, but prepared to release them from the abbey by force (*in universo cum armis*)? More generally, why did Friars Bernard and Johan not insist on obtaining or recording longer lists of the *credentes* and *fautores* which their own manual (Pegg, 2003: 111–25; Arnold, 2001: 19–47) – and council mandates from which they derived their manual – made the special object of the *inquisitio heretice pravitatis*?

This may seem an uncommon type of event by which to judge the habits of the inquisition at Toulouse. But '*plures alios*' was accepted by inquisitors 122 times in lieu of the names of more *credentes*, about one out of 5 deposed events. Sometimes, like in the depositions of the brothers Galhard and Raimund Amelh of Le Mas,[62] they reported attending events with between 30 and 60 *credentes* dating to 12 years beforehand, but they were stopped by inquisitors before even listing10 of them (or, the inquisitors told the notaries to only record specific names). The names that overlap are familiar from our lists: Godalh, Amelh, Gauta, Barrau, de Quiriès. Even the senior of the del Mas brothers, Bernard, remembered an event with 40 people, but the inquisitors stopped recording after only naming two of his brothers, and then Peire Gauta senior and Guilhem Vidal.[63] At other times the numbers of attendees are smaller, but refer to the same target list. Raimund Causitz remembered adoring and listening to *heretici* and accepting the peace with Peire Gauta, Raimund Amelh,

[61] MS609-0453-7 (http://medieval-inquisition.huma-num.fr/doc/MS609-0453).

[62] '*alios plures usque ad XXX vel XL*', Raimund Amelh, MS609-0134-4 (http://medieval-inquisition.huma-num.fr/doc/MS609-0134): '*alios plures usque ad LXX et amplius*', Galhard Amelh, MS609-0137-1 (http://medieval-inquisition.huma-num.fr/doc/MS609-0137).

[63] MS609-0199-4 (http://medieval-inquisition.huma-num.fr/doc/MS609-0199).

Arnald Godalh, Guilhem Vidal, Esteve de Rosengue, and Bernard and Bertrand de Quiriès on several different occasions across a decade, each time with 'many others'.[64]

The pattern is no different in the depositions of Saint-Martin. Ermessende, wife of the *miles* and village seigneur Bernard Mir Arezat, remembered vividly a joke made at her husband's expense fourteen or fifteen years beforehand. A number of the seigneurial family were gathered at Guilhem de Saint-Nazare's home with consuls Bernard Alzeu, Ysarn de Gibel, several of the Faure-Verazilhs and 'many others'.[65] The joke was recorded by the notary across several precious lines, yet no space was spared for an untold number of other *credentes*.

Unsurprisingly, mentions of consular families correlates with 'many others' – 75% of mentions of '*plures alios*' involved the consular families. The only way for these families to become so central to the inquisition at Toulouse is not their supposed greater affiliation with heresy, but that inquisitors *made them central*.

It might seem as though some of these anonymous 'other people' are just failure of memory while trying to recall events of the distant past (*et plures alios de quibus non recolat*). Or in some cases they were people they did not know (*plures alios quos non novit*). These responses interpret the problem incorrectly. Every one of the deponents who used the term '*plures alios*', in whatever form, can be proven to have under-reported their appearances with *heretici*. The memories were thus chosen because of the content they conveyed, even if incomplete, because they suited the inquisitors' hunt for incriminating evidence against consular families. Others memories, perhaps more recent, more complete, would have incriminated those who were of far less concern to inquisitors.

The first inquisitor formularies of the 1240s were not simply devices for structuring confession. They also controlled the content. A *credens*, *fautor*, and indeed other categories had specific definitions which categorized heretical actions and in turn controlled what the inquisitors looked for (Arnold, 2001: 19–47; Pegg, 2003: 111–25). The depositions of MS 609 are so consistently and rigorously

[64] MS609-0136-1 (http://medieval-inquisition.huma-num.fr/doc/MS609-0136).

[65] This joke is at the centre of the chapter 'One Full Dish of Chestnuts' in Pegg (2001b: 114–25).

structured around the same formula that the variations stand out. Some variations are formal: direct and undecorated with the usual dates, places, and co-actors, as when Na Flors, wife of Galhard del Mas, simply stated that she 'sent bread and wine to Bernard de Maireville, *hereticus*, on behalf of Arnald Godalh', we don't know when or where.[66] Less common are the strings of similarly direct but 'off topic' accusations that Guilhem P. Barba junior made against Peire junior, the son of consul and *scriptor* Peire Gauta senior. Barba said that Peire junior stole ponies from the abbey at le Mas and sacerdotal garments from the church, and moreover he had an affair with a close blood relative.[67] What is rare about these accusations is that they have nothing to do with any usual *heresis*. They are more notable because of who these uncommon accusations are directed at. Whether accusations of theft or tattle-tales, they implicate the same people.

Peire Raimund Prosat, an *acolitus* of the Church,[68] recalled gambling with some men of the village in Peire Gauta senior's workshop 25 years before. According to Peire, at some point during the game, Bernard de Quiriès stood up, climbed on a chest, and proceeded to urinate on Peire Prosat's tonsure while cursing the Catholic Church. One of the other gamblers, B. Lapassa, had testified just before Prosat, but he was recalled to Saint-Sernin to be deposed again for just this one event. He wearily confirmed a vague memory of it, but couldn't remember all the details except that it was indeed at Peire Gauta's workshop. Bernard de Quiriès himself was then recalled to Saint-Sernin seven weeks after his first deposition solely to account for this story. He recalled that he was provoked by the other gamblers and consequently urinated on the table in complaint, but he said that if any urine struck Prosat it was entirely by accident.[69]

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[66] Na Flor, MS609-0233 (http://medieval-inquisition.huma-num.fr/doc/MS609-0233).

[67] MS609-0266 (http://medieval-inquisition.huma-num.fr/doc/MS609-0266). According to Raimund Aleman, the horse thieving also involved Bertrand de Quiriès, and Guilhem del Mas and his *scutifer*, Guilhem Moreta, MS609-0084-10 (http://medieval-inquisition.huma-num.fr/doc/MS609-0084).

[68] Prosat was tonsured, likely a lay member of the church. No other details are known about him from MS 609 to shed further light on what *acolitus* actually meant.

[69] It was not random that Prosat's sole story featured consuls and *probi homines*. Peire Prosat, MS609-0024-2; B. Lapassa, MS609-0035-1; Bernard de Quiriès, MS609-0206-1. See comparison of stories

These stories are in themselves interesting for how they take us out of the suffocating sameness of the formulaic depositions. But it is important to remember that historians have insisted that the formulaic repetition resulted from the early inquisition's focus on a small number of heretical acts, thoughts, and relations, as well as brothers Bernard and Johan having to process so many people during a short period. Yet this results in a contradiction: Bernard and Johan left aside untold numbers of unnamed 'others' who were involved directly and verifiably with the *heretici*, yet focused specific effort in gathering whatever information they could which might build a case of any anti-Church inclination on the part of consuls.

At times, certain deponents stated that they adored the *heretici* at the request or entreaty of someone else (*adoravit ad preces*, *ad instanciam*, or rarely, *compulit*), or they were asked by someone to guide or accompany *heretici* from one *domus* to another, or from one village to another (*duxit*, *associavit*). Although numerous people guided, accompanied, and adored *heretici* (65 different people from le Mas and Saint-Martin at one time or another acted as guide), only a handful of people are recorded by inquisitors as *having asked others to do so*: Arnald Godalh, Bernard Alzeu, Ysarn de Gibel and his wife Andrea, Bernard Martin, and other consuls (those consuls themselves are also cited as guiding and accompanying *heretici* from place to place, three to four times more than average). The questions stayed within the usual diagnostic criteria for identifying *credentes* and *fautores*, but the application of the formulary was intensified when investigating certain people. There was a sliding scale of *responsibility for the persistence of heresy*, but that judgement did not come from the deponents. It was imposed on deponents and the accused by the inquisitors through specific questions about the consuls and *probi homines*. Those questions drew out these extra pieces of incriminating information that could demonstrate a given person was more inclined or attached to heresy than others. Inquisitors could then use this evidence to prove that someone *deserved* greater investigation. To these three patterns we can add others (Rehr, 2018: 55–71):

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at http://medieval-inquisition.huma-num.fr/compare?segments=MS609-0024-2+MS609-0035-1+MS609-0206-1 *Cf.* Pegg (2001b: 124–125).

- **'*Hereticos non novit*':** In the deposition of Bernard Hugo mentioned above,[70] we find the inquisitors completely uninterested in the names of the *heretici*, settling for *duos hereticos quas non novit*. This same pattern is seen across the depositions: heretics are unknown (*non novit*) or not recalled (*non recolit*), but what is recalled is who attended the event, and they are always the consuls at the top of the target list.
- **Inquisitors' marginal notes:** The inquisitors' marginal remarks, unstudied in aggregate until now with many left out of extant transcriptions, note occasional punishments or location of current residence. But the greater part can be linked together to see inquisitors investigating certain 'lies' as they sought to obtain indicting confessions from and against consuls, with the greater number of those labelled *suspectus est*, or *hic dicitur catholicus*, being consuls subject to investigation not applying to the thousands of others named in the manuscript.
- **Inquisitors' supplementary questions:** The term *requisitus/requisita* ('asked about…'), frequently found in later inquisitorial registers, indicates a specific question asked by the inquisitor. It only appears three times in the 685 depositions from le Mas and Saint-Martin. But the inquisitor's questions can be seen in other ways which can seem like a spontaneous recollection or addition by the deponent at the end of a recollection, or at the very end of the deposition, even after the abjuration. These are often framed as *dixit etiam* or *postea dixit*, or even simply added with *et*. The seeming randomness and spontaneity disappears once one correlates the people and acts mentioned, like the seemingly insubstantial addition that breaks the formula in very first entry of MS609, '*Et quando ipse testis exivit domum invenit Willelmus de Rozergue intrantem ad dictos hereticos*'.[71]
- **The same stories deposed by different witnesses:** Wakefield remarked that it was difficult to match stories from person to person. But his con-

[70] MS609-0481 (http://medieval-inquisition.huma-num.fr/doc/MS609-0481).
[71] MS609-0001-01 (http://medieval-inquisition.huma-num.fr/doc/MS609-0001).

cern was with recreating specific exact moments in time, rather than comprehend the motives behind evidence-gathering by the friars from obscure, half-remembered stories 5, ten, fifteen years old. The overlaps are only explained when one looks at the attendees who are mentioned in them, and not the *heretici* nor the deponents themselves. Inquisitors were only interested in the people found in the overlap of those stories, often containing *plures alios* and *hereticos non novit*.[72]

Results

From combined macroanalysis and close reading, a revised picture emerges from MS 609 which makes sense of both the structure and tone of the registry. The central position of consuls in the inquisitions of Le Mas and Saint Martin were neither an accident of spontaneous confessions of *credentes* nor a reflection of consuls having been more inclined to *heresis*. Their centrality was solely the result of the investigative goals of Friars Bernard de Caux and Johan de Saint-Pierre at Saint-Sernin. This alone explains why the two inquisitors could possibly have conceived of an inquisition *of the entire Lauragais in one short year*. This also answers Wakefield's puzzle: Why did the inquisitors so frequently overlook leads pointing very clearly to many other *credentes* and *fautores* at Saint-Sernin (Wakefield, 1983: 221–22)? The inquisitors had very particular goals, but it was not a 'general survey of the faith'. Depositions were not short because inquisitors didn't have the time to explore every lead and challenge every lie. The depositions at Saint-Sernin were short because they recorded exactly what was needed by inquisitors to incriminate a very particular group of people in brief period, a group of people they had decided upon before the first deponents even journeyed to Toulouse. This is a falsifiable claim: the depositions make clear that when inquisitors *wanted* to spend time with a *credens* they could and would do so.

The patterns dominating MS 609 become even more striking when we realize that depositions were frequently given without the presence of inquisitors Bernard

[72] Taking just two examples, depositions corroborating appearances with Bertrand Marti, *hereticus*, near the chapel of Saint-Michael, c. 1234 – c. 1238 or those corroborating the appearances at the bed of the very ill Guilhem Faure.

de Caux or Johan de Saint-Pierre, a practice noted by both Dossat (1959: 240) and Wakefield (1993: 65). The investigations focused on specific people, and once inquisitors turned up a story that could indict those they targeted, it could be easily followed up by the small staff of notaries who provided the day to day continuity at Saint-Sernin.[73] The inquisitors made their notes so the key events and relations were later interrogated (and surely the few extant margin notes in MS 609 pale in comparison to the provisional notes and lists which must have been produced by the thousands of depositions at Saint-Sernin). Thus many *credentes* were deposed to confirm only one or two stories, despite the evidence of decades practicing whatever *heresis* the inquisitors believed was occurring in the lands of the Count of Toulouse. It didn't matter that scores of *credentes* and *fautores* were ignored and sidelined in each village, nor did it apparently matter who the particular *heretici* were. Sometimes it didn't matter if the evidence was even *stricto sensu* the *heresis* inquisitors had set as their criteria, because they were assailing the character of those consular families who inquisitors wanted to portray as allied against the Church.

Future research

I would conclude with a few considerations on the implications for future investigations into this study's findings and historical research methodologies applied to MS609. The first is the obvious question, 'Why the consuls?'. The current state of research makes this question impossible to answer. Notwithstanding the utter absence of rural and village consulates from the historiography of Catharism, we lack even published sources or studies which could shed light on this social group, their composition, their roles, and their influence, prior to Alphonse de Poitiers, brother of King Louis IX, assuming the title of Count of Toulouse upon Raimund VII's death in

[73] The key story for every chain of corroborated stories was identified by friars Bernard or Johan. There were three principal notaries who provided continuity for depositions of le Mas and Saint-Martin: Peire Fresapa, Nepos de Dournia, and Peire Aribert. They were assisted in a few instances by Bernard de Gaus, B. Petrabuffera, and 'Bartholomie'. Most of these names are found again in the related sentences recorded in Bibliothèque nationale de France Ms. Lat. 9992 (http://medieval-inquisition.huma-num.fr/MS9992/list) and other documents issued at Toulouse and in the Lauragais.

1249.[74] I am disinclined to any generalized conclusions drawn from existing studies of inquisition and consuls or 'urban elites' in the lands of the Count of Toulouse for several reasons. The first is that little unites these studies outside of resting under the banner 'inquisition of urban elites': some feature Catharism and inquisition as a backdrop to, or means to conduct, principally social and institutional studies of Toulouse (Mundy, 1985; Mundy: 1990; Mundy 1997; Mundy 2006);[75] others are early papal inquisitions at Montauban (Feuchter, 2007) where the author pursues a traditional relationship of inquisition to heresy (Catharism, Waldensian); still others are episcopal inquisitions which the authors have uncovered were rooted in local power struggles between bishop and secular 'elites' of Albi (Biget, 1971; Théry, 2002).

The second argument against any generalized answer is the context of this inquisition itself, which I outline here as a series of provocative observations and questions to be answered only by returning to regional, royal, and papal archives. The first begins with a precise historical question to reframe the inquisition: 'Why prosecute the consuls over *milites*, across the Lauragais, and to the near exclusion and ignorance of everyone else who were implicated in heresis by the inquisitors?'.[76] It is clear from the *juramentum* from Mas-Saintes-Puelles (and Lavaur, Puylaurens, Fanjeaux, *inter alia*) itself that King Louis IX, the *milites*, and the *probi homines* of the Lauragais thought their consuls in the 1240s were important enough that they should guarantee the oaths with their seals (*nos supradicti consules de mandato*

[74] Administrative and constitutional history of the county of Toulouse has generally started with the 'innovations' to administration brought by Louis IX and Alphonse, which lead Ramière de Fortanier to argue that town and village consuls only then flourished and multiplied in the Midi. His argument was circular in that it depended on the very constitutional documents he credits to Capetian administration.

[75] I note that Mundy (1990: 1–4; 1997: 1–5) was equivocal about Catharism toward the end of his career, declaring that his archival work had only produced confusion about where Christianity ended and heterodoxy began in families and social groups, to the point where he wasn't sure what defined either in the Toulousain of the thirteenth century. His archives at the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies (Toronto) may hold some indications as to where this equivocation would have taken his research.

[76] The questions are formulated with the acknowledgement that we do not know what the other eight of the original ten volumes contained (Dossat, 1959: 56–70; Pegg, 2001: 25). We can speculate to some degree based on references in the margins of MS 609 as to contents of missing volumes, together with BnF MS Lat 9992 (edited at http://medieval-inquisition.huma-num.fr/MS9992/list) which contains sentences from the same inquisition.

speciali predictorum militum et aliorum hominum universorum de Manso presentem paginam sigilli nostri munimine duximus roborandam).[77] These *juramenta* were enacted at the end of Raimund VII's rebellion against the Louis IX (a rebellion broader than Raimund VII, allied with England, and extending up to within catapult range of Poitiers (Le Goff, 2009: 102–08)). The signees swore to council Raimund should he become 'belligerent' again, and that, should battle come, they will adhere to the King in his matters, and Church in its matters: against heretics, their supporters, or anyone allied against it. Two years later, these very same signees – *milites*, consuls, *probi homines* – then travelled by the thousands from this vast region to Toulouse, in a short period of time and to give depositions against those same consuls. I note as well here that the memories set down by inquisitors end in 1243, the year of the oaths, two years before this inquisition. The effect is that this inquisition seems less and less a 'survey' and more and more ceremonial, processional, and ritualistic.

Going further, it is not clear which power(s) organized, enforced, or compelled such coordinated action on such a massive scale. If the consuls were chosen, then by whom and under what criteria? Some historians have observed (Chiffoleau, 2006: 167–69, 188–96, 207–14) that inquisition is not conducted *within* the borders of princes, but rather controlled *by* those borders. This research direction, which shifts the study of this inquisition from religious considerations (i.e., where there was heresy, there was inquisition)[78] to earthly considerations, is suggested by the temporal context of the inquisition itself. To whom were the consuls and *milites* of the Lauragais subject by the time of friar Bernard and Johan's inquisition – Louis IX, or his ostensible direct vassal, Raimund VII? Why did Raimund VII, after fiercely resisting inquisition for 15 years, suddenly seem to throw his support behind an inquisition which targeted the very consuls and lords of the Lauragais who swore to the *juramenta*? Did this change in attitude

[77] Many of these *juramenta* still have their silk-attached consular seals, including J.305.13, 16, 18, 20, 21, 23, 24, 27, 28, 29 and J.306.71. See images by following http://medieval-inquisition.huma-num.fr/Tresor_des_Chartes/list.

[78] Lambert (1998: 71) argues that Cathars 'fade away to the east' of Trencavel territory, arguing from no evidence beyond the presence (or lack thereof) of crusade and inquisition.

have any relationship to Raimund VII's concurrent quest to receive papal support for annulation of one marriage and proposed new marriage, in order to solidify his claims in Provence? Is there significance to the Lauragais' geographic and political position at the nexus of ambitions of the kings of France and Aragon in Languedoc, Frederic II in Provence, and Raimund VII's defense of his own patrimony in both?

Finally, returning to the manuscript that provoked these questions, historians are offered an unusually large and contiguous source with which to test and falsify the conclusions of this study (and other arguments about its contents). This marks a rare opportunity in medieval historical research, let alone for the 'Cathar debate'. The famed difficulty and sheer scale of the manuscript, its historic lack of accessibility, and the deeply problematic transcriptions available until now, have allowed historians to judge its contents (and to select extracts from it) by expectations of what it *should contain*. The digital edition of MS 609 (and documents related to the social context of the inquisition) has been constructed in such a way as to maximize the opportunities for historians to investigate its contents, including by making the edition and its data available under Creative Commons. The methodology presented in this study, combining network analysis and close reading, is but one possible approach – in this case suited to the question of who accused who. Other techniques, manual or digital, can be applied to numerous other investigations of the contents of MS 609, from the apparatus of the inquisitorial record itself to the beliefs and social worlds of the subjects. But there is a double-edge sword to digital availability: our work must be rigorous and testable, knowing that it can be submitted to rapid, intense scrutiny against large samples. With this challenge, our methods must become more explicit and more fine-grained in argument. The real challenge this poses to old Cathar historiography is the question of what is to be found in the 'negative space' in the manuscript: that the immense amount of information which exists outside the cherry-picked, strip-mined samples (the 'positive space') that have served to demonstrate the value of MS 609 until now.

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The author has no competing interests to declare.

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