



MONASH University

*Heresy, Conversion and Power:
Ex-Cathar Inquisitors and their Impact
on the Early Inquisition (c. 1229–1263)*

Alexandra Claire Rubenstein
BA, GradDipHist, Monash University

A thesis submitted for the degree of Master of Arts at
Monash University in 2021
School of Philosophical, Historical and International Studies

Copyright notice

© Alexandra Rubenstein (2021)

Abstract

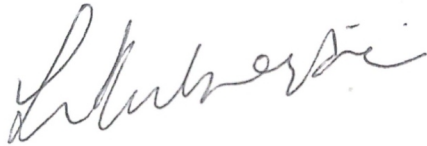
This thesis focuses on three Dominican inquisitors – Robert ‘le Bougre’, Peter of Verona, and Ranerio Sacchoni – all of whom were active between 1229 and 1263, and helped form what would subsequently become known as the medieval inquisition. They engaged in a campaign against so-called Cathar heretics, a movement to which all of them had once belonged. The vast body of existing scholarship investigating the inquisition tends to do so in terms of it being an established institution, without describing the protracted process of its establishment and growth. Its inception and developmental phase are, resultantly, comparatively understudied, as are the nuanced religious, cultural and political complexities that factored into this process. My research expands on current scholarship, not only in inquisitorial studies, but additionally in the fields of ecclesiastical history (particularly in terms of the shaping of ‘orthodoxy’ versus ‘heresy’), social organisation, bureaucracy, power dynamics, the intersection of the Dominican Order and early inquisitors, and scholarship relating to one’s religious identity. In examining previously unstudied sources and reconsidering key texts, I explore the nexus between individual inquisitors and the development of the processes of the inquisition itself. My research is guided by the following questions: How did the inquisitorial process and the self-image of the first inquisitors evolve between 1229 and 1264? What impact did Robert ‘le Bougre’, Peter of Verona, and Rainerio Sacchoni each have on the formation of the inquisition? What is the significance of the status of each of these individuals being converts from Catharism to orthodox Christianity? In answering these questions, I consider the interplay between the developing inquisition and the three figures outlined. I argue that through these individuals, we are able to trace the gradual transformation from an ad hoc prosecution of heresy to the evolution of organised systems, which would eventually become the institutional inquisition as we conceive of it today. I suggest too that each individual represents a progressive stage of this development. Robert ‘le Bougre’ operated during the 1230s under an improvisational, reactive model of prosecution and exposed the need for tighter overarching control over independent inquisitorial agents. Peter of Verona (active as a Dominican preacher from the 1230s until his death in 1252) came to embody a new phase in the inquisition’s development, helping to reinvent and legitimize its objective and identity. Rainerio Sacchoni created an informative report on Cathar beliefs and modes of conduct, for the express purpose of assisting inquisitors in carrying out its fundamental mission of eradicating ‘heresy,’ and thus dramatically shaped inquisitorial

culture and practice. Viewed together, the activities of these three individuals demonstrate the emergence of a persecutory structure against the chaos of religious dissent that defined this period.

Declaration

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

Signature:

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read 'A. Rubenstein', written in dark ink.

Print Name: Alexandra Claire Rubenstein

Date: 11 November 2021

Acknowledgements

This thesis has truly been a labour of love (though also the cause of my teeth being ground to dust in my sleep). This rather skimpy-looking thesis actually took a huge amount of time and effort, and would not have been possible without the help of a small army.

First off, I want to thank the Bill Kent Foundation for awarding me the HDR Prato Research Fellowship, 2019, which enabled a hugely informative and interesting research trip. Additionally, I am very grateful for the generous travel grant awarded by Monash Graduate Education and the Faculty of Arts. I ended up using it to attend the International Medieval Conference in Leeds, also in 2019, which was fantastic.

I owe Professor Constant Mews, my primary supervisor, a debt of gratitude. Constant has provided insightful conversation and many hours painstakingly editing this thesis to whip it into (better) shape. Particularly in the last few months before my submission, Constant has been attentive, thoughtful, and receptive to my concerns whenever discussing my project. He also directed me to the marginalia which had a significant bearing on my first chapter's contention. My thanks also to my secondary supervisor, Dr Carolyn James, who also provided incisive and constructive feedback on parts of this thesis.

Monash University's Centre for Medieval and Renaissance Studies has provided additional opportunities for learning, academic growth, and general companionship amongst like-minded researchers. It is through this network that I have met many wonderful individuals, many of whom have provided assistance and wisdom. I would like to thank Dr. Kathleen Neal, who has very graciously and kindly helped me with several administrative issues over the years, despite her very considerable time restraints. It was also through the CMRS that I was introduced to the Latin Reading Group, led by Craig Thomas, whose members helped me to translate some particularly tough sentences. I similarly attended the Palaeography Group, led by Anne Holloway, which was both far more difficult, and far more fun than I could have ever imagined. I would additionally like to extend a special thank-you to Earl Jeffrey Richards, who, at the request of Constant Mews, provided the translations of many verses of an obscure medieval French epic poem. I would have been in a real bind (the first and only inquisitorial pun of this thesis) without his extremely generous help.

Similarly, I would like to thank all those on the board of, or who contribute to, the Australian and New Zealand Association for Medieval and Early Modern Studies. I have made use of many of their excellent resources, most particularly their absolutely fantastic training and development seminars. These seminars attempt to make the often murky waters of professional academia clearer and more accessible, which, to optimistic students such as myself, is real balm for the soul.

I would also like to thank Monash University's library staff. The Document Delivery Staff have been incredibly helpful throughout this process, and have managed to uncover many articles and books I thought would remain unavailable to me, and the many other Monash post-grad students like me.

I would especially like to thank Anne Holloway, who helped me enormously with many structural questions I had. For no reason aside from the goodness of her heart, Anne went through my work with a fine-toothed comb, teaching me an obscene amount in a matter of hours, and making excellent nerdy historical jokes at every step along the way. I always knew she was brilliant, but I had no idea that she was so incredibly kind.

Through my studies, I have made an entirely new group of fabulous friends who have been a source of unmitigated delight and support throughout this long process. Rosa Martorana, Mimi Petrakis, Libby Burrell, and Meagan Pool have been true sources of comfort, laughter, empathy, thoughtful discussion and distraction over these past five years.

I owe, however, considerably more to two people I am lucky enough to now consider some of my closest friends: Lana Stephens and Kate Rivington. Both of these ladies went through my thesis exhaustively, and were kind enough to offer me their invaluable thoughts. My thesis is undoubtedly far better than I would have been able to manage without them. Throughout my research and writing, I have turned to both of these incredible ladies for advice, consolation, celebration, and everything in between. Kate has been an absolute godsend. No matter how busy she is, she has always been available for walks around Caulfield Park to help discuss and examine whatever issue I'm going through, and offered the exact right words to buoy my spirits when I need it most. I, like myriad others, am a better academic student, and a better person, for knowing her.

I could not possibly express how much Lana has helped me through this thesis, even if my word count were no longer a concern. She has been there to clear up the many administration questions I've had, given me exceptional feedback on my writing, given tours of Florence to rival any professional company, and far more importantly, has been an extraordinary friend to me, no matter what the situation. She is my family. If not for Lana, Kate, and the other friends I mentioned, I would be submitting a very different thesis, if one at all. How lucky I am to have found these friends who are wonderful beyond description.

Most important of all, however, has been my husband, Youri Yoksimovitch. I have been made fun of many times, each of them deservedly, for how much I talk about my other, categorically better half. It has been during these last few years that I have experienced my most exuberant highs and crushing lows. And Youri has been there at every juncture, unflagging in his loyalty, support, and understanding. He has listened patiently to many hours of historical minutiae that no sane person would be interested in, and given me thought-provoking feedback whenever I have asked. He is the greatest, and I would not have been able to complete this behemoth of a task without him.

Lastly, I'd like to dedicate this thesis to my grandparents, who I love ineffably: Sydney and Rae Rubenstein, and Morrie and Sonia Hoffman. It is their own personal histories of religious persecution and resilience that largely inspired this study. I hope I have produced work that would make them all proud.

Table of Contents

Abstract	ii
Declaration	iv
Acknowledgements	v
Introduction	1
Historiography	2
Methodology	11
Significance	12
Thesis Structure	13
1. Robert ‘le Bougre’: the Wayward Inquisitor.	13
2. Peter of Verona: The Canonized Inquisitor.	13
Chapter 1	
Robert ‘le Bougre’: The Wayward Inquisitor	15
Introduction	15
Sources Relating to Robert ‘le Bougre’	16
The War Against Heresy	22
Robert’s Career	23
Robert’s Suspension from Selected Dioceses	29
Robert’s Renewed Zeal	33
Mont Wimer	39
Robert’s Effect on the Inquisitorial Process	43
Conclusion	46
Chapter 2	
Peter of Verona: The Canonized Inquisitor	47
Introduction	47
Sources Relating to Peter of Verona	48
Context	54
Peter of Verona and the Campaign Against Heresy	55
Death	61
Pre-Canonisation Treatment of Peter’s Life, Death, and Legacy	64
Fragment of the Inquisition into the Murder of Peter Martyr	64
Letter from Roderic d’Attencia to Raymond of Peñafort	66
The Papal Account: Magnis et Crebris	67
Peter as a Tool to Rehabilitate Image of the Church	70
Peter’s Martyrdom as a Tool to Legitimise the Practice of Inquisition	73
Peter as a Tool to Introduce Further Inquisitorial Legislation	75
Chapter 3	
Rainerio Sacchoni: The Informed Inquisitor	82

Introduction	82
Sources Relating to Rainerio Sacchoni	83
Secondary Literature	84
Sacchoni's Biography	85
Sacchoni's Summa	89
The Four Sacraments	92
Effect on Inquisitors, Mendicant Orders and the Papacy	99
Effect on the Cathar Community	101
Conclusion	103
Conclusion	104
Figure 1	111
Bibliography	112
Abbreviations	112
Manuscripts	112
Printed Primary Sources	112
Secondary Works	114

Introduction

Three Dominican friars – Robert ‘le Bougre’, Peter of Verona, and Ranerio Sacchoni – helped form what would subsequently become known as the medieval inquisition. Throughout the years 1229 and 1263, they were engaged in a campaign against heresy throughout France, particularly in the southern region of Languedoc, and northern Italy, in Lombardy. The heresy that they were fighting against was Catharism, a movement to which all three of them had once belonged.¹ Contemporary popular culture and existing scholarship often assume that the *inquisitio hereticae de pravitate* emerged as a centralised institution with premeditated objectives and processes. In reality, the procedure of establishing what we now think of as the medieval inquisition was far more drawn-out and complicated.

This movement began soon after the closing of the Albigensian Crusade (1209-1229), when Pope Gregory IX (1227-1241) remained suspicious that Catharism had not been completely extirpated, but rather been merely forced underground. Wary of continued dissent and the resurgence of heresy, Gregory’s solution was to induct members of the newly-established Order of Friars Preachers (Dominicans) to act as independent agents, to investigate potential heresies. In February 1231, Gregory issued the papal bull *Excommunicamus*, which established a new tier of inquisitorial tribunals that answered directly to the pope himself.² Like the political and religious distinctions involved in establishing the inquisition, nuance can similarly be found in the activities of individual inquisitors such as Robert, Peter and Ranerio. I contend that through the analysis of these three figures, we can determine how inquisitorial conduct informed both ideological and organisational changes to the

¹ The term ‘Catharism’ is used predominantly in modern scholarship, and is itself a title that has elicited deliberation, as discussed further below. It is important to note that Catharism was one amongst several heresies in existence at this time. Another ‘heresy’ that posed considerable challenge to the Church was the Waldensians, who accepted all the sacraments and core orthodox doctrine, but challenged the wealth of the institutional church. Cathars were easier to challenge because they did not accept orthodox doctrine. This study focuses only on Cathars as all three figures were converts from Catharism.

² “We excommunicate and anathematize all heretics, Cathars, Patarenes, Poor Ones of Lyons, Passagines, Joseppines, Arnaldists, Speronists and others by whatever name they are known; indeed, their appearances are different, but they agree in the fact of their falsity, with their tails tied to each other. Those who are condemned by the church, indeed, ought to be left to secular law and punished with their due punishment; clerics should first of all be removed from their orders. If, however, those from the aforesaid [groups], after they were detected, wish to return to fulfil a suitable penance, they should be cast into prison forever. We pass judgment on those believing in heretics or their errors similarly.” My translation. Originally: *Excommunicamus et anathematizamus universos hereticos, Catharos, Patarenos, Pauperes de Lugduno, Passaginos, Joseppinos, Arnaldistas, Speronistas et alios quibuscumque nominibus censeantur; facies quidem habentes diversas, sed caudas ad invicem colligatas de vanitate conveniunt in id ipsum. Dampnati vero per ecclesiam seculari iudicio relinquuntur animadversione debita puniendi, clericis prius a suis ordinibus degradatis. Si qui autem de predictis, postquam fuerant apprehensi, redire voluerint ad agendam condignam penitentiam, in perpetuo carcere detrudantur. Credentes autem eorum erroribus hereticos similiter iudicamus.* Auvray, *Les Registres de Grégoire IX.*, vol. 1, p. 539, col. 351-352.

still-evolving inquisition, specifically in terms of shaping its objectives and identity, as well as affecting its procedural development. I argue that through these individuals, we are able to trace the gradual transformation from an ad hoc prosecution of heresy to the evolution of organised systems, which would eventually become the institutional inquisition as we conceive of it today.

In exploring the nexus between individual inquisitors and the development of the processes of the inquisition itself, my research is guided by the following questions:

- (1) How did the inquisitorial process and self-image evolve between 1229 and 1263?
- (2) What impact did Robert ‘le Bougre’, Peter of Verona, and Rainerio Sacchoni each have on the formation of the inquisition?
- (3) What is the significance of the status of each of these individuals being converts from Catharism to Catholic Christianity?

My study examines the known ‘hotbeds’ of heresy – primarily Lombardy, Languedoc, as well as other parts of France. It further considers how the institutional and civic attitudes to heresy differed within these regions, and includes discussions of the political, cultural, and economic contexts, and their subsequent implications.

Historiography

Existing historical narratives focusing on heretical societies and the evolution of the inquisition have inevitably sparked a number of key debates. The broadest of these debates include whether ‘heresy’ was a construct of orthodoxy, and is one that has in recent decades been revived and reconsidered. This discussion extends to the nature of Catharism, including: whether the religion, as we understand it, even existed, or if it was a myth retroactively fabricated by inquisitors. Others regard this very question as somewhat problematic, calling attention to the highly fluid nature of religious identity in both southern France and northern Italy during this period. Another area of discussion that bears direct impact on this thesis is the question of how much one is influenced by one’s environment, and reciprocally, how much influence one wields over their surroundings. It is with these historiographical debates that my study engages.

Cathar ‘traditionalists’ hold that Catharism was a real religious movement that predated the inquisition. In the traditional narrative, Cathar heretics were known as *bonshommes* (Good Men), *Patarines*, *Bougri*, *Pifli*, or Albigensian heretics.³ They are described as maintaining a neo-Gnostic, dualist

³ This was due to their prevalence in the southern territories of France, including the city of Albi.

theology, believing that one good God created the human souls, as well as everything belonging to the spiritual, intangible world, and one evil God/angel was responsible for everything encapsulated in the physical world.⁴ As the God who created the world was evil, then humans being God's creatures were the souls of angels trapped in human bodies, and to regain one's angelic status, it was necessary to disavow all that made up the material world lest they stay confined in the cycle of reincarnation. They therefore renounced all oaths and contracts anchoring them to the mundane world, and anything begotten by the sin of intercourse, such as having children and the eating of any animal products. As such, the Cathars rejected the Church's doctrines, sacraments, and hierarchy, as well as the authority of the papacy and his Holy See. They espoused, rather, a return to the Christian principles of perfection, poverty and preaching. Cathars were thought to believe that the good God had sent Jesus, his son, to communicate his message of salvation, but that Jesus presented himself as an apparition that did not interact with the physical world, or suffer and die in a bodily form. Cathars allegedly believed that Jesus delivered messages of comfort, and taught individuals that the soul could be released from its cycle of reincarnation, to join the good God, when one died in a 'perfected' state. This entailed training, preparation, and engagement in a ritual known as the '*consolamentum*', which was to be followed by the adherence to a scrupulous, austere, religious lifestyle thenceforth.

For traditional scholars, the Cathars were a serious threat to the Church due not only to its theological 'heresy', but to its criticism of Catholic Christianity, its active practice of proselytization, as well as the Church's inability to suppress, or accurately gauge, their numbers.⁵ Malcolm Lambert, in his 1998 book entitled *The Cathars*, argues that during the early eleventh century, itinerant preachers spread the dualistic religion of Catharism from Byzantium to the Languedoc region. Though Catharism existed throughout France, the movement was able to flourish particularly in the south.⁶ Lambert argues that Cathars conceived of themselves as embodying the true church, which they believed had devolved into an intrinsically corrupt institution. He also holds that the Cathars comprised the first 'counter-religious movement,' that had established their own discrete hierarchy, doctrine, and liturgy.⁷ Peter Biller has

⁴ 'Absolute dualists' are understood to have believed in two gods, while 'mitigated dualists' ostensibly believed in a single, good God who was opposed by an evil, fallen angel. Malcolm Barber, *The Cathars in Languedoc*, London: Longman, 2000.

⁵ For further discussion of the vast literature dedicated to the origins, structure and beliefs of Catharism, see Malcom Lambert, *Medieval Heresy*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1991, pp. 55-61, 105-146; Walter Wakefield, *Heresy, Crusade and inquisition in Southern France 1100-1250*, London: Allen & Unwin, 1974, pp. 27-43; Christine Thouzellier, *Catharisme et Valdeisme en Languedoc à la fin du XIIe et au début du XIIIe siècle*. 2nd ed., Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1969.

⁶ Indeed, most studies on Catharism have tended to focus on the Languedoc, as is evident in Catherine L  glu, et al. *The Cathars and Albigensian Crusade: A Sourcebook*, eds. Catherine L  glu, Rebecca Rist, Claire Taylor, Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2014.

⁷ Malcolm Lambert, *The Cathars*, Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1998.

similarly concluded that heresy in southern France was a movement that provoked considerable anxiety for the papacy. Biller further holds that this brand of heresy was characterised by a dualistic theology that was inspired by Eastern religious traditions, and had formed a hierarchical structure, a distinct doctrine, and a set of rituals that had existed since at least the late twelfth century.⁸ Catharism has sometimes been understood as stemming from a sect known as the Bogomils, which became most prevalent in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in Bulgaria and the Byzantine empire, before moving west towards Germany in the 1140s, and eventually flourishing in northern Italy and southern France.⁹ Likewise, John Arnold maintains that Cathars were dualists whose beliefs and organizational structure did not simply reflect their persecutors' projections, but were produced at least partly by the circulation of texts, ideas, and practices present throughout Europe.¹⁰ Arnold does, however, accede that heresy is not only defined in part by orthodox observation, but may have even influenced how these heretics perceived themselves. Yuri Stoyanov and Jonathan Sumption both offer complementary arguments, stating that Cathar beliefs did indeed vary from region to region, but that each community retained deep theological commonalities.¹¹

Catharism moreover held wide reaching appeal because of this democratization of faith.¹² Cathar *bonhommes* preached in the vernacular and offered equal social standing and religious opportunity to women.¹³ Their scrutiny centred on the New Testament's emphasis on the importance of apostolic poverty, and consequently, questioned the validity of the Church which failed to embody these values.¹⁴ This strain of anticlericalism soon spread to mainstream laity.¹⁵ Over the preceding centuries, the Christian community had become increasingly aware of the Church's numerous, entrenched, bureaucratic issues. These included accusations of rife corruption, a declining quality of the clergy's

⁸ Peter Biller, "Goodbye to Catharism?" in *Cathars in Question*, ed. Antonio Sennis, Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2016, pp. 274-312, at p. 275.

⁹ Claire Taylor, "Evidence for Dualism in Inquisitorial Registers of the 1240s: A Contribution to a Debate," *History*, vol. 98, no. 331, 2013, pp. 319-345, at p. 321n6.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Jonathan Sumption, *The Albigensian Crusade*, London: Faber, 1999, p. 4; Yuri Stoyanov, *The Other God: Dualist Religion from Antiquity to the Cathar Heresy*, New Haven: Yale Nota Bene/Yale University Press, 2000, p. 194.

¹² On the other hand, the Church's insistence on using Latin exclusively in all its communication meant that few clerics were able to converse in the vernacular, rendering all services, prayer and ritual mostly incomprehensible to its congregation.

¹³ For further discussion on the role of women in Catharism, see, Richard Phillip Ables, Ellen Harrison, "The participation of women in Languedocian Catharism", in *Mediaeval Studies*, vol. 41, 1979, pp. 215-251.

¹⁴ John Christian Laursen, Cary J. Nederman and Ian Thomas, "Introduction", in the volume they edit, *Heresy in Transition: Transforming Ideas of Heresy in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, Aldershot, Hants: Ashgate Publishing Group, 2005, p. 4n6.

¹⁵ Lutz Kaelber, "Weavers into Heretics? The Social Organization of Early-Thirteenth-Century Catharism in Comparative Perspective," *Social Science History*, vol. 21, no. 1, Cambridge University Press, 1997, p.131n4.

religious education, and by extension, a growing inability to meet the needs of an increasingly educated audience. The sect therefore resonated particularly well with those individuals who felt socially overlooked, were languishing economically, had criticisms of the Church's current bureaucracy, or felt stifled by the clergy's strict definition of spirituality.

Conventionally, the narrative of the inquisition and crusade begins with the Church's twelfth century campaign targeting heresy, and its escalation from there. The Third Lateran Council (1179) issued the first official condemnation of Catharism, and demanded more forceful secular intervention.¹⁶ Five years later, the papal bull *Ad abolendam*, issued by Pope Lucius III (1181-1185) ordered bishops personally to investigate parishes suspected of heresy bi-annually, and to pursue legal action against anyone expressing heretical beliefs.¹⁷ Innocent III (c.1160-1216) then issued *Vergentis in senium* in 1199, declaring four new legal provisos: that the title of 'infamy' should be imposed on heretical crimes; that properties belonging to convicted heretics were to be confiscated; that children of heretics would not be able to inherit any confiscated properties; and that for the first time, heresy was to be equated with the crime of *laesae maiestatis*.¹⁸ This bull was followed in 1207 by *Cum ex officii nostri*, which decreed that "heretics shall immediately be taken and delivered to the secular court to be punished according to the law."¹⁹ Two years later, Innocent concluded that his two-pronged approach of persuasion and coercion in the eradication of heresy was not adequate, at which time he called for the Albigensian Crusade (1209-1229). During the Fourth Lateran Council (1215), Innocent further introduced seventy-one canons, the third of which, *De haereticis* ('on heretics'), proclaimed that should "those suspected of heresy should neglect to prove themselves innocent, they are

¹⁶ "For this reason, because in Gascony, Albi, and parts of Toulouse, and in other places, so heretics, whom some call Cathars, some Patarines, and some publicans, some by other names, so that they no longer practice their wickedness in secret, as some do, but publicly disclose their error." My translation. Originally: *Eapropter quia in Gasconia Albigesio et partibus Tolosanis et aliis locis ita haereticorum quos alii catharos alii Patrinos alii publicanos alii aliis nominibus vocant invaluit damnata perversitas ut iam non in occulto sicut aliqui nequitiam suam exerceant sed suum errorem publice manifestant*. The same canon also emphasised the duty of local princes to suppress violent groups, and condemned "the Brabantians, Aragonese, Basques, Navarrese, and others who practice such cruelty toward Christians that they respect neither churches nor monasteries, spare neither widows nor orphans, neither age nor sex, but after the manner of pagans, destroy and lay waste everything." Originally: *De Brabantionibus et Aragonensibus, Navariis, Bascolis, Coterellis et Triaverdinis, qui tantam in Christianos immanitatem exercent, ut nec ecclesiis, nec monasteriis deferant, non viduis, et pupillis, non senibus, et pueris, nec cuilibet parcant aetati, aut sexui, sed more paganorum omnia perdant, et vastent*. Karen Sullivan, *Truth and the Heretic*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005, p. 120.

¹⁷ Council of Verona. 'Decretal for the abolition of the depravity of different heresies, November 4, 1184', in *Enchiridion fontium Valdensium*, ed. G. Gonnet, Torre Pellice: Claudiana, 1958, pp. 50-53.

¹⁸ Being found guilty of 'infamy' here meant one's loss of right to stand for election or exercise public office, to vote, and the loss of citizenship.; *laesae maiestatis* here refers to high treason, and could be applied to both the papacy and secular monarchies. For further information, see Christina Buschbell, *Die Inquisition im Hochmittelalter: Wurzeln, Bedeutung, Missbräuche*, Hamburg: Diplomica Verlag, 2010.

¹⁹ Pope Innocent III, "Cum ex officii nostri, 1207," in *Heresy and Authority in Medieval Europe*, ed. Edward Peters, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1980, pp. 41-52.

excommunicated,” and that “Princes are to swear that they will banish all whom the church points out as heretics.”²⁰ Most significant for this discussion is the fact that this canon established the legal precedence on which later inquisitorial laws would be founded.

Within all of the historiography outlined so far, the main discussion has centred on society and societal structures. This specific type of discussion has been driven by Robert Moore’s seminal book of 1987, *Formation of a Persecuting Society*, in which he emphasises the power of society over the individual. Moore argues that beginning in the twelfth century, Western Europe became a “persecuting society,” defined by its exclusion of religious and social minorities including heretics, Jews, lepers, prostitutes and sodomites.²¹ These ideas were driven by both ecclesiastical and secular institutions, which also established a monopoly over defining what might be considered ‘orthodox’ or ‘heterodox’ – definitions that he notes were subject to change. Focusing on the evolution of inquisitorial documentation and methods of punishment, James Given and Edward Peters similarly highlight the importance of historical circumstances in informing ideology and behaviour. Given’s analysis of the inquisition argues that a “predetermined set of social, economic, and political structures,” provided context for these actions.²² Peters uses as evidence the increased cooperation between ecclesiastical and secular authorities, the increasing severity of punishments in both these courts, and the increasing efficacy of individuals involved in these tribunals to highlight that various institutional and social structures were transformed by the development of the law throughout the medieval age.²³ In a postmodern reading, John Arnold argues that

Rather than assuming an *a priori* ‘individual’ who has an interior sense of selfhood, possesses agency, and remains in some essence unchanged through the different cultural situations within which it finds itself, we might consider subjectivity as contingent and discontinuous, as something produced in different ways and with different effects by altering circumstances.²⁴

²⁰ Norman Tanner, (trans.), *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, London: Sheed & Ward, 1990. For a discussion on the religious and intellectual debates resulting from Lateran IV pertaining to heresy (here relating to Joachim of Fiore’s response to the heretical theologian, Peter Lombard), see Constant Mews and Clare Monagle, “Peter Lombard, Joachim of Fiore and the Fourth Lateran Council.” In R. Quinto (Ed.), *Filosofia e teologia nel XII secolo e nei primi decenni del XIII*, (*Medioevo: rivista di storia della filosofia medievale*), Padova: Il Poligrafo, 2010, vol. 35, pp. 81-122.

²¹ R. I. Moore, *The Formation of a Persecuting Society*, New York: Basil Blackwell, 1987.

²² James Buchanan Given, *Inquisition and Medieval Society*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997, p. 167.

²³ For further detail on this argument, see Edward Peters, “Introduction: The Reordering of Law and the Illicit in Eleventh- and Twelfth-Century Europe,” *Law and the Illicit in Medieval Europe*, edited by Ruth Mazo Karras et al., Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010, pp. 1-16.

²⁴ John Arnold, *Inquisition and Power: Catharism and the Confessing Subject in Medieval Languedoc*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001, p. 12.

The work of Christine Caldwell Ames builds particularly upon both Edward's and Arnold's arguments, revising simplistic perceptions of inquisitors, and rather parsing through the subtle complexities that make up inquisitorial history. Ames' thoroughness and incisive interpretations in all of her work is formidable, but particularly so in *Righteous Persecution: Inquisition, Dominicans, and Christianity in the Middle Ages*.²⁵ Her most major intervention here is that these inquisitors believed their mission to be dictated by Christ, which resulted in an evolving "Christianity of fear." Here, she counters the view that the inquisition was exclusively an expression of social control and power. While I find this point to be entirely accurate, I believe this to be a straw-man argument: to assert that any historian holds this perspective is plainly an oversimplification. Moreover, this seems to attenuate the extent to which social control *did* influence the development of the inquisition, as well as more generalised Christian culture. That being said, my own thesis builds upon several other arguments Ames makes, most conspicuously the increasingly prominent role the Dominican Order played throughout this period of growth.

In contrast, Cary J. Nederman and Karen Sullivan criticise the historiographical overemphasis on institutional and sociological contexts within the field. Nederman argues that ideas developed by individuals can affect broad historical forces, maintaining that a focus on the influence of institutions "implicitly dismisses the power that ideas might have to drive ecclesiastical and secular institutions away from— as well as toward— the suppression of dissent or to aid in the redefinition of heresy."²⁶ In response to Moore, Nederman points that there existed not one cultural movement towards persecution, but two, the second of which tended toward toleration; "Just as systemic persecution enjoyed its Catholic advocates, so did doctrines of patient correction and instruction and even of open debate find many supporters among those loyal to Rome... On all sides, one can identify apostles of toleration battling with exponents of intolerance."²⁷ Sullivan's work is even more centred on the individual attempting to forge a "new humanism" in the field by restoring individual "subjectivity, agency and responsibility."²⁸ She notes that the focus on historical context works to erase the role of individuals, and diminishes whole worldviews into a series of detached, material forces. She works to ameliorate this by seeking to understand the "mental landscapes" in which these inquisitors attempted to rehabilitate Christendom. Sullivan and Nederman both integrate the individual back into their

²⁵ Christine Caldwell Ames, *Righteous Persecution*. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009.

²⁶ Cary J. Nederman, "Heresy and the Persecuting Society in the Middle Ages: Essays on the Work of R. I. Moore." *The Catholic Historical Review*, vol. 94, no. 3, July 2008, p. 545.

²⁷ John Christian Laursen. "General Introduction: Political and Historical Myths in Toleration Literature," in *Beyond the Persecuting Society*, ed. Cary Nederman, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998, pp. 1-10.

²⁸ Karen Sullivan, *Inner Lives of Medieval Inquisitors*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011, p. 25.

broader context of the Church. Neither, however, address the assumption that Cathars and Catholic Christians moved about the world in clearly divided groups. Nor do they sufficiently address the significance of individuals who do not remain in clearly defined categories of ‘orthodox’ or ‘heterodox’, but move between these categories through conversion. This is especially concerning considering that several early inquisitors were acknowledged to be converts to Catholicism. The lack of discussion of these practical navigatory issues undervalues the social complexity involved in identifying primarily with one religion, and the degree to which religious beliefs involved individual agency. In this thesis, I will explore the interplay between the individual and the institution – specifically, where institutional systems end and individual practice begins, as well as examining how individuals influenced the institution as a whole.

During the mid-2000s, scholarship began to challenge this particular understanding of the story of the Cathars. Cathar ‘skeptics’ or ‘revisionists’, led by Mark Gregory Pegg, challenged the concept of a formal Cathar church, any following internal hierarchy, associated texts or rituals. In addition to Moore’s *Formation of a Persecuting Society*, Pegg draws on Robert Lerner’s 1972 work, *Heresy of the Free Spirit*, where Lerner argues that inquisitorial records should not be taken at face value and that gnostic heretics in question should be characterised orthodox spiritualists attempting to broaden their spiritual boundaries. Lerner thus contends that defining this group as heretics is the loose result of inquisitorial imagination, and the corroboration of a small number of witnesses confirming this misguided inquisitorial conclusion.²⁹ In *The Corruption of Angels*, Pegg argues that throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, both Church intellectuals and inquisitors labelled localised social, political, and religious practices within Languedoc as heretical, and consequently, their practitioners prematurely labelled with the broad brush of ‘heretics’. Instead of one overarching grand schema, Pegg notes that we should look for localised versions of holiness, customs, and texts, claiming that only through labelling these individuals as ‘heretics’ did the inquisitors transform their idiosyncratic version of holiness into a defined ‘religion’, stating that “dualism played no part in the existence of the good men, good women, and their believers, until the inquisitors introduced it.”³⁰ From this new understanding of society, Pegg then argues that these good men and women then became the “self-[conscious] heretics needing the violence of the inquisitors to be the glorious martyrs of the early

²⁹ Robert Lerner, *Heresy of the Free Spirit*, Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1972.

³⁰ Mark Gregory Pegg, “Albigenses in the Antipodes: An Australian and the Cathars,” *Journal of Religious History*, vol. 35 (2011), pp. 577-600, quote from p. 596. For further reading, see: Pegg, *The Corruption of Angels: The Great Inquisition of 1245-1246*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001, his “Historiographical Essay: On Cathars, Albigenses, and Good Men of Languedoc”, *Journal of Medieval History*, vol. 27 (2001), pp. 181-95, and most recently *A Most Holy War: The Albigensian Crusade and the Battle for Christendom*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.

Church they now imagined themselves to be.”³¹ Pegg additionally disavows the traditionalist concept of Catharism as an organic, historic entity that may have had broader, formalised networks. He argues that while at one point in time the Bogomils might have been a heretical sect in the East, they were as much a twelfth-century construct as the Cathars were to the thirteenth century, only beginning to consolidate in response to the Albigensian Crusade.³² Later, and partly in response to Pegg, Moore revised his outlook, developing this approach in his book, *The War on Heresy*.³³ Here, he argues that what began as a small movement of ascetic preachers decrying the dishonesty of the clergy became, over the course of centuries, interpreted by clergy members as heretical ideologies. He argues then that accusations of heresy were levelled by both the Church and state against each other. Heresy, he argues, became a label used to attack any party in a broad political context. In this way, he argues that the entire Albigensian Crusade and what followed was in fact a very specific response to a set of pressures and crises that had been following senior church leadership for some time, and that a structured Cathar counter-church did not exist before the early thirteenth century. Moore concludes that Catharism, both as a theological construct and as a group of religious adherents, amounts to no more than a myth. He argues that inquisitors created this fantasy as a conspiracy to legitimise their practices of repression and persecution. Moore concludes that the ‘war’ to which he refers was an attempt by secular bureaucracies to centralise their power and create new empires, rather than simply a natural reaction to the growth of reform movements. Considering, however, that several manuals of the early inquisitors independently discuss the existence of a unified religious group (or sometimes multiple groups) that they independently call ‘Cathars’ at a stage well before the formalisation of the inquisition, I argue that to suggest that Cathars were an invention of the inquisitors is an overstatement.³⁴

The use of the label ‘Cathar’ has long been scrutinised, cited as ahistorical and even potentially derogatory, despite its function as a clarifying descriptor. In response to this quandary, Pilar Jiménez Sanchez uses the term ‘Catharisms’ to reflect the diversity of sects, texts, and distinguishing features.³⁵ This cultural sensitivity is echoed in Walter R Cosgrove’s discussion of what he terms a ‘lived-religion’. Essentially, Cosgrove theorises that individuals formed their identity through the social imaginary, meaning that the individual’s spiritual life – made up of both belief and ritual – is

³¹ Pegg, “Albigenses in the Antipodes,” p. 599.

³² Antonio Sennis, “Cathars in Question,” in Sennis (ed.), *Cathars in Question*, p. 4.

³³ Robert I. Moore, *The War on Heresy*, Cambridge: Belknap Press, 2012.

³⁴ For further discussion of this, see Caterina Bruschi and Peter Biller (eds). *Texts and the Repression of Medieval Heresy*, York: York Medieval Press, 2003.

³⁵ Julien Théry, “Pilar Jiménez-Sanchez. Les Catharismes. Modèles Dissidents du Christianisme Médiéval (XIe-XIIIe Siècles),” *Annales : Histoire, Sciences Sociales (French Ed.)*, vol. 64, no. 6, 2009, pp. 1403–1405.

heavily influenced by their local community.³⁶ Cosgrove argues, therefore, that whilst there were undoubtedly doctrinally-focused Christians and Cathars, it is absurd to conclude that all individuals consciously chose to adopt the beliefs or practices of one institution or another. “People were looking for the holy,” he states, “and found it in a mixed bag of practices that made sense in their cultural and social milieu.”³⁷ In addition to making it impossible for the Church to accurately measure the size of the Cathar community, this sense of broad acceptance and practice of particular Cathar beliefs amongst ostensibly Christian individuals would have validated the Church’s fears that heresy was growing at an exponential pace. There was, in other words, a considerable disparity between the ‘real’ versus ‘imagined’ threat of Catharism in the Church’s eyes. “It gestures, then, toward the very dynamic that underlay inquisitions, as well as reactions to them, in the Middle Ages: the elusiveness of truth, its fluid congress with error, and the instability of religion itself.”³⁸ It is with these religious and political nuances in mind that I have chosen to use the simple descriptor of ‘Cathar’ and ‘Catharism’, for both the sake of clarity and brevity.

Cosgrove’s argument, however, reflects a more important divide. One that is not simply about whether we should call this heretical group ‘Cathars’ or not, but the methodological approach that historians take to understand the motivations of both heretics and inquisitors – those who can perhaps be thought of as looking for the holy. In many ways, the debate over terminology is in fact a debate over method. As John Arnold has recently pointed out, to call this group ‘Cathars’ is to take into account contextual evidence spanning from the twelfth century, and from a varied range of sources; to deny this term is to look at specific documents and events in isolation, and to consider the wildly imaginative theoretical possibilities these specific documents present.³⁹

Methodology

When asked by the Bishop of Toulouse why the southerners refused to surrender the Cathars to the Church, one knight responded: “We cannot. We have been brought up among them. We have relatives

³⁶ Meaning the “set of principles, laws, establishments and symbols common to a specific social group.” Walter Cosgrove, “Clergy and Crusade: The Church in Southern France and the Albigensian Crusade,” PhD dissertation, Saint Louis University, 2012, p. 254.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Christine Caldwell Ames, “Does Inquisition belong to Religious History?”, *The American Historical Review*, vol. 110, no. 1, 2005, p. 12

³⁹ John Arnold, “The Cathar Middle Ages as a Methodological and Historiographical Problem.” *Cathars in Question*, ed. Antonio Sennis, Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2016, pp.53-78.

among them and we see them living lives of perfection.”⁴⁰ The laity of Languedoc were not the only groups to have been brought up amongst the Cathars; numerous individuals who would go on to work as inquisitors were as well. Even considering the significant amount of scholarship relating to early inquisitors, there is still much more work to be done; in particular when it comes to understanding the intersection between inquisitors and the burgeoning inquisition. In this thesis I will examine three specific figures who came to act as some of the Church’s earliest inquisitors: Robert ‘le Bougre’ (c.1200-1245), Peter of Verona (c.1203-1252), and Rainerio Sacconi (c.1200-1263). Each of these individuals were originally Cathars, converted to Christianity before they joined the Order of Friars Preachers. Robert was commissioned as an inquisitor in the early 1230s, but engaged in mass burnings of suspected heretics, without any clear legal basis. He was eventually excommunicated and died in ignominy. Peter of Verona was an ex-Cathar Dominican, and was appointed as an inquisitor only in 1251. He was assassinated and martyred as a Catholic saint, and rapidly generated a cult following. Sacchoni wrote what was one of the earliest guides for future inquisitors outlining the beliefs and organisation of the Cathar church, became a confidant of numerous popes, but quickly disappeared from the historical record. This evidence raises central questions revolving around the activity of these individuals as inquisitors, as well as how we can explain their divergent outcomes of their careers.

Despite their strikingly similar trajectories, their subsequent legacies were dramatically different. Robert’s excessive zeal exposed the need for tighter overarching control over independent inquisitorial agents; Peter of Verona’s canonisation and legacy was used as a means of legitimating the inquisition’s objective and identity; and Sacchoni’s intellectual mapping of the Cathar movement enabled the formalising of an educational process and the subsequent refinement of the inquisition’s strategy of persecution. Viewed as part of a single, integrated process, these individuals demonstrate the emergence of a persecutory structure against the chaos of religious dissent that defined this period. Additionally, I argue that the inquisition was, at this stage, not an institution or a movement that was rationally conceived of and executed, but rather a process that developed organically, responding dynamically to changing events and circumstances. I propose further that the fact that these three inquisitors were all ex-Cathars is significant because it drove the particular intensity of their campaign. While they were not the only Dominican inquisitors active against heresy in these early decades, they nonetheless contributed significantly to defining Christian understandings of Catharism, and therefore informed the inquisition’s perspective and treatment of Catharism in the decades to come. Their

⁴⁰ Quoted from the *Chronique of Guillaume de Puylaurens* by Andrew Roach, “Occitania Past and Present: Southern Consciousness in Medieval and Modern French Politics” *History Workshop Journal*, vol. 43 (Spring, 1997), pp. 1-22, at p. 3.

examination also allows for an analysis of how they used their unusual status as converts as a tool to be used to parlay a gradual increase in power and authority. This thesis argues that through these individuals, we are able to trace this gradual transformation from an improvised prosecution of heresy to the evolution of an organised system, which would eventually become the institutional inquisition as we conceive of it today.

Significance

As yet, scholarship on the identity of the inquisitors themselves, and consequently, their ideologies and motivations, is limited. This means that their potential to be used as a 'window' through which we can gain insight into their broader historical context, and thus the compelling dynamics shaping these beliefs, are often overlooked. Furthermore, despite accounts of conversion from Catharism to Christianity throughout and in the wake of the Albigensian Crusade, there exist very few evidentiary texts to further explore these converts' lives. Whilst some academic attention has been paid to all three individuals, the fact of their being ex-Cathar converts has never been considered a point of particular scholarly interest. Their common background is striking for a number of reasons. It confirms that there existed a wave of conversion to Catholic Christianity towards the end of the Crusade, and even after it had ended. These individuals further offer insight into Cathar belief systems structures, routines, and rituals. Additionally, these individuals' records provide otherwise scarce first-hand evidence for the way in which Catholics and Cathars interacted. Lastly, an examination of their lives allows for an analysis of how they made strategic use of their unique status as converts as a tool to gradually obtain control and influence.⁴¹ My research addresses these historiographical issues, and therefore expand current scholarship not only in inquisitorial studies, but additionally in the fields of ecclesiastical history (particularly in terms of the shaping of 'orthodoxy' versus 'heresy'), social organisation, bureaucracy, power dynamics, the intersection of the Dominican Order and early inquisitors, and scholarship relating to one's religious identity. In examining previously unstudied sources and reconsidering key texts, my research contributes to a more thorough and comprehensive knowledge of the development of the inquisition, and the cultural context from which it grew.

⁴¹ As previously mentioned, much of the extant Cathar primary evidence is considered unreliable, as it was often extracted under duress or torture. Bernard Hamilton in a review of John Arnold, *Inquisition and Power: Catharism and The Confessing Subject in Medieval Languedoc*, in *The Catholic Historical Review*, vol. 89, no. 3, 2003, p. 548.

Thesis Structure

This thesis focuses on developmental changes in how the inquisitorial process organised and expressed power in its foundational stages, using the biographies of three ex-Cathar inquisitors to crystallise these arguments.

1. Robert 'le Bougre': the Wayward Inquisitor.

The first chapter is framed by the context of the conclusion of the Albigensian Crusade, with a further discussion of why Pope Gregory IX remained unconvinced that all Cathars had not yet been purged from the Papal States. Here I investigate Robert's biography, and the way in which he used his identity as an ex-Cathar to further leverage this agency. I then examine the structure and extent of his power as an individual inquisitor, and the political and legal factors that were considered in defining the extent and nature of this authority. In the absence of a defined institution that would become the inquisition, this chapter then explores Robert's relationship to the various individuals who made up the complex power network of which he had become a part; namely, local bishops, archbishops, Pope Gregory IX and King Louis IX of France. Here I argue that Robert's rapid rise to power and the subsequent fallout of his short-lived career highlighted the need for a more structured process of inducting and overseeing inquisitors. Lastly, this chapter examines the curious dearth of documentation of his later life and death, arguing that this may have been an intentional attempt by the Church to retroactively control Robert's image and thus effect on the inquisition's preliminary composition and effect on the beginnings of the campaign against heresy.

2. Peter of Verona: The Canonized Inquisitor.

The second chapter investigates the Dominican preacher-turned-inquisitor, Peter of Verona. Through the analysis of a variety of primary sources – including chronicles of Peter's life, hagiographies, and papal bulls – this study investigates how Peter's life and legacy was retroactively used as a method of tightening religious and political control of the mid thirteenth to early fourteenth century Christian laity. More specifically, this study examines the process in which Peter was used by the papacy to rehabilitate the image and legitimise the authority of existing inquisitors, to ultimately create traction to enable the introduction of more formalised, dictatorial and oppressive legislation.

3. Rainerio Sacchoni: The Informed Inquisitor

The third chapter examines the rapid development of official procedure in gaining, expressing and negotiating power in the inquisition's evolution through the life and contributions of Rainerio Sacchoni, who wrote one of the first known treaties on the beliefs of the Cathars and the structures of their 'Churches'. I argue in this chapter that Sacchoni, using his considerable knowledge of Catharism, deliberately attempted to actively shape inquisitorial perspective and protocol from within the slowly-establishing movement. Sacchoni additionally became instrumental in the investigation of Peter of Verona's murder, and established ongoing relationships with several popes, including Pope Innocent IV (1243-1254), Pope Alexander IV (1254-1261), and Pope Urban IV (1261-1264). This chapter will argue that Sacchoni thus embodied the inquisition's developed preference for attaining and demonstrating power through defined, formalised channels.

The subject matter of this thesis is incontrovertibly difficult, and at times, even harrowing. But I do hope that its analysis reveals that each of these individuals chose to become forces of social disruption for what they considered to be legitimate reasons. Each perspective, of course, has its own contested vision of how to define the abhorrent, the threatening, and the unimaginable.

Chapter 1

Robert ‘le Bougre’: The Wayward Inquisitor

Introduction

By the year 1239, a mere seven years after beginning his career as one of the earliest known Dominican inquisitors, the former-Cathar known as Robert ‘le Bougre’ had established himself as a relentless pursuer of his former kinsmen. Within the space of a week, Robert brought to trial numerous Cathars accused of heresy – finding approximately 187 of them guilty, he sentenced them all to burn upon pyres.⁴² At the castle of the count of Champagne, in the town of Mont Wimer (also known as Mont Aimé), many thousands reportedly gathered to watch the spectacle. One of the chroniclers who mentions Robert, Alberic of Trois-Fontaines, described the mass *auto-da-fé* as a sacrificial burning, “a holocaust pleasing to the Lord.”⁴³ “And so,” Alberic concluded, “as the story runs that dogs once came from all directions and tore themselves in a battle at the same place, as a sort of prophecy of what was to be, so these *Bougri*, worse than dogs, were there exterminated in one day to the triumph of holy church.”⁴⁴ This mass execution proved to be the climax of Robert’s career. His presence at the scene, however, was his last documented appearance in public.

⁴² *Chronica Albrici Monachi Trium Fontium*, ed. P. Scheffer-Boichorst, MGH SS XXIII, Hannover: Hahn, 1874, p. 944, “[1239] In this year, the week before Pentecost on Friday, there was a great holocaust pleasing to God with the burning of *Bulgri*, indeed 183 *Bulgri* were burned in the presence of the king of Navarre and of the barons of Champagne at Mont Wimer,” Alberic reports 183 being killed, Mouskét 187, the Annals of Erfurt 184. Etienne de Bourbon in one passage gives “about 180,” in the other “more than 80” – the latter with an evident omission of the hundred, and finally, Jean de St. Victor has 180. Philippe Mouskés, *Chronique rimeé*, ed. Baron Frédéric Auguste Ferdinand Thomas de Reiffenberg, 2 vols., Brussels: Hayez, 1838, vol. 2, p. 613; Matthias Eifler, ‘Annales Erphordenses Fratrum Praedicatorum’. In *Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle*. ed. Graeme Dunphy, Leiden: Brill, 2010, p. 38; Etienne de Bourbon, in his *Anecdotes Historiques*, ed. Lecoy de la Marche, Paris: Renouard, 1877, p. 415, Jean de S. Victor, *Memoriale Historiarum*, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS Lat. 14626, f. 339; Charles Homer Haskins cited these sources, but found no further contemporary evidence in his two-part study. “Robert le Bougre and the Beginnings of the Inquisition in Northern France,” *The American Historical Review*, vol. 7, no. 3, 1902, pp. 437-457 and no. 4, 1902, pp. 631–652.

⁴³ Alberic of Trois-Fontaines estimates “700,000” witnesses attended the event, which is probably considerably exaggerated, *Chronica Albrici Monachi Trium Fontium*, p. 944.

⁴⁴ Ibid. Another individual reporting Robert’s career, Philippe Mouskés, similarly noted that the burnings of heretics at Cambrai, Douai and Lille in 1236 aroused ‘great joy without end’. Philippe Mouskés, *Chronique rimeé*, vol. 2, p. 613.

The incongruity of this event – its overwhelming tragedy, theatricality, and the matter-of-fact detachment with which Robert apparently operated, as reported by Alberic – begs many critical questions. The most fundamental, however, is that of how we are to explain the apparent extremist zeal of Robert’s behaviour. Both Robert’s contemporaries and modern scholars alike have hypothesised as to his reasoning, arguing variously that he was a fanatical religious extremist, a Machiavellian master-manipulator, some kind of magician, or simply a madman.⁴⁵ This chapter, however, argues that we can better understand Robert as an individual shaped by a lifelong cultural climate of unregulated violence against Cathars. His extremism can furthermore be understood in terms of the papacy’s failure to provide any guidelines or structure for those investigating heresy on behalf of the Church. I contend that Robert used this failure as an opportunity to pursue continued violence against the Cathars. Through the analysis of Robert’s career and subsequent disappearance from the historical record, I demonstrate the lack of a clear, bureaucratic framework in the 1230s for itinerant and autonomous inquisitors. This allowed unchecked inquisitors to carry out their duties to an extent that they deemed appropriate, without justifying themselves to local bishops, and answering ostensibly, only to the Pope. I argue that in the absence of a clear institutional structure or guidelines for inquisitors, Robert was able to take advantage of this administrative loophole at every given opportunity, exercising a degree of power that his superiors repeatedly deemed excessive and actively damaging to their original campaign of rooting out heresy. I show that as a result, Robert came to represent an ecclesiastical cautionary tale of megalomania and corruption, and thus inadvertently contributed to significantly shaping the foundation and organisation of the inquisition.

Sources Relating to Robert ‘le Bougre’

The first contemporaneous and most important sources are the bulls of Pope Gregory IX (1227–1241).⁴⁶ With a background in law, Gregory became the architect of the rudimentary inquisitorial system, which we shall explore in greater detail later in this chapter. Gregory was not only personally invested in the (mostly) Dominican campaign of inquisition, but

⁴⁵ See similar descriptions of Robert in the following work: Georges Despy, “Les débuts de l’inquisition dans les anciens Pays-Bas dans le XIII^e siècle,” *Problèmes d’histoire du Christianisme*, vol. 10, 1980, pp. 71-104, at pp. 72-73; Régine Pernoud, *Those Terrible Middle Ages: Debunking the Myths*, San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2000, p. 124; Richard Kieckhefer, *Repression of Heresy in Medieval Germany*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, Incorporated, 2016, p. 15.

⁴⁶ Auvray, *Les Registres de Grégoire IX*, vol. 1.

maintained a personal relationship with Robert, even when he was technically no longer in the Pope's service.⁴⁷ He described Robert as possessing "such special grace that every hunter feared his horn," and who was held "in such renown that almost the whole of France trembled before him."⁴⁸

The earliest chronicle making mention of Robert is that of the Annals of Saint-Médard de Soissons. Named after the saint whose remains it houses, Saint-Médard is a Benedictine abbey located in the Champagne region. Written around 1241, the entry on Robert is recognised for its precision and impartiality in describing Catharism, the treatment of the Cathars at the hands of the papacy, and a certain "preaching brother" named Robert.⁴⁹

Robert is also mentioned in the chronicle of a Cistercian monk from Châlons-en-Champagne (formerly Châlons-sur-Marne), named Alberic of Trois-Fontaines. Historians of the field regard him as relatively well informed, but lacking chronological clarity and precision. His work, the *Chronica Albrici Monachi Trium Fontium*, is intended to discuss the history of the world from Creation to the year 1241.⁵⁰ Here, he mentions Robert on four separate occasions, each time in favourable terms. He describes, for example, Robert as being able "to tell unbelievers from their speech and gestures alone," and as a man "who did not hesitate to avail himself of the magic arts in order to bend people to his will."⁵¹ Alberic's first mention of

⁴⁷ From c. 1236, Franciscans were also appointed inquisitors by Pope Gregory IX. Geoffrey Ward Clement, "A Franciscan Inquisitor's Manual and its Compositional Context: "Codex Casanatensis" 1730," PhD dissertation, Fordham University, 2013, p. 3.

⁴⁸ *Bull Quo inter ceteras* of 22 August, 1235. Auvray, *Les Registres De Grégoire IX*, vol. 1, p. 2737; Auguste Potthast, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum (1198-1304)*, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, 1874, p. 9994; Paul Fredericq, *Corpus Documentorum Inquisitionis Haereticæ Pravitatis Neerlandicae*. Vuylsteke, 1896, vol. II, no. 28.

⁴⁹ Anonymous. *Annals of St Medard, Soissons* MGH SS XXVI, Hannover: Hahn. 1882, p. 552. I have included a translation of the passage in its entirety, as it is very informative: "1236: A great multitude of heretics, scattered through different towns and castles of France, Flanders, Champagne, Burgundy and other provinces, whom certain people call *Bulgari*, others *Pifli*, were through the action of a certain Robert, a preaching brother, captured, examined and tried by archbishops, bishops and prelates of other ecclesiastical ranks, and finally condemned and handed over to the secular authorities as heretics. Certain of them were put into prison to do penance. Others indeed, who did not wish to renounce heresies, were burned by fire, and their goods seized by the secular authorities. Not only did this happen in this year, but previously for three years continuously and after for five years and more. It was indeed said by many that an infinite multitude of heretics were scattered through different parts of Gaul."

⁵⁰ *Quidam magister Robertus de ordine predicatorum qui antea fuit hereticus ad fidem catholicus reversus, hereticos per Franciam investigat et aut ad reversionem absolvendos vel ad iudicium comburendos attrahebat. Chronica Albrici Monachi Trium Fontium*, p. 636

⁵¹ *Per solam loquelam et per solos gestus, quos habent heretici, deprehendebat eos. Chronica Albrici Monachi Trium Fontium*, p. 940.

Robert refers to the year 1234, where he claims that Robert's pursuit of heretics resulted in some individuals returning to orthodoxy, and some who were put to the pyre.⁵² While Charles Homer Haskins argues that at this time, Robert was suspended, other evidence supports the notion that he continued to see himself as exercising papal powers, as I will examine within this chapter. Alberic goes on to describe Robert's operations in Champagne and Flanders throughout 1235, where he places Robert between February 9th and May 27th. He then reports that Robert ordered the *auto-da-fé* of many heretics, though he neglected to specify where this took place. Alberic's last mention of Robert describes in detail the events at Mont Wimer, that is, Robert's last public sighting.

Like Alberic's *Chronica*, the *Chronique rimée*, written by French chronicler, Philippe Mouskés, similarly seeks to discuss the history of France, from its origins until his own lifetime, and similarly ends in the year 1242.⁵³ Mouskés was himself a contemporary of Robert, born at the end of the twelfth century to a family of French aristocrats in the city of Tournai, in Flanders.⁵⁴ The epic poem consists of 31,150 verses, 160 of which are devoted to Robert. Like Alberic, Mouskés writes about Robert in positive terms, attempting to justify his behaviour. At first glance, as Georges Despy remarked, it provides "an ideal source – it is contemporary, regional and secular, therefore not suspect by definition."⁵⁵ And indeed, as a contemporary source, the chronicle provides some insight into the nature of thirteenth-century religious culture, and additionally offers an emotional appeal, allowing readers to more personally identify with specific events and individuals. There are, however, significant constraints in shaping his narrative. Because the chronicle is written in verse, for example, its content needs to conform to considerations of metre and rhyme, which may have resulted in the misrepresentation of actual events. Mouskés also reveals a lack of historiographical precision, as he mentions, for example, Robert initiating a public burning in Cambrai on the eighth day of Lent, without mentioning the year. This is significant as the suggested timeframe for this event, as surmised by several of the poem's editors, potentially overlaps with a year in which Robert was suspended from his duties, which inevitably casts

⁵² *Chronica Albrici Monachi Trium Fontium*, p. 936 and p. 940.

⁵³ Philippe Mouskés, *Chronique rimée*, ed. de Reiffenberg, vol. 2, p. 613. The source was originally probably written between 1242-1272.

⁵⁴ Presently located in Belgium, near the French border.

⁵⁵ My translation. Originally: *une source idéale – elle est contemporaine, régionale et laïque, donc non suspecte par définition*. Despy, "Les débuts de l'inquisition," p. 74.

doubt on the veracity of the rest of Mouskés reported information.⁵⁶ As a result, some scholars are slow to regard Mouskés' writing with any real seriousness. Ronald Walpole, for instance, maintains that the chronicle was written “for fun” by a rich layman who regarded his sources uncritically.⁵⁷ Edward Ham has convincingly argued that the poem had borrowed directly from the *Historia Caroli Magni*.⁵⁸ Irrespective of these shortcomings, the *Chronique rimée* confers inherent value as a representation of the ideologies and concerns of the French upper classes in the aftermath of the Albigensian Crusade.

An unfavourable witness detailing Robert's role as inquisitor is that of Matthew Paris' *Historia Anglorum*, in which Robert is nicknamed ‘le Bougre’.⁵⁹ Paris was himself an English Benedictine monk from Saint-Alban's Abbey in Hertfordshire, openly prejudiced against the Pope, as well as the Dominican monks. Such attitudes inevitably affect the work's overall objectivity, and thus reliability. In no uncertain terms, Matthew condemns Robert's character as deceptive and damaging to Catholic Christianity itself, describing him as “a deceiver and seducer of men worthy of being compared to the leader of the Pastoureaux,” a man whose crimes “it were better not to mention” and who was “turned aside like a deceitful bow” to the last; a man who “seemed to have much religion but had it not,” and “the incarnation of hypocrisy, a wolf in sheep's clothing, wholly given over to uncleanness and the glory of this world.”⁶⁰ Additionally, and of more significant concern, is the fact that Matthew contradicts himself throughout the text. One example of this is his mentioning of the campaign from Châlons-sur-Marne to Lille taking place over a two to three-month period in 1236. He then refers to the same event taking place in 1238, and later again in 1251, which of course

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Ronald Walpole, *Philip Mouskés and the Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle*, University Of California Publications in Modern Philology, vol. 26, 1947, pp. 327-440.

⁵⁸ Edward B. Ham, “Review: *Philip Mouskés and the Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle* by Ronald N. Walpole” *Romance Philology*, vol. 1, no. 2, 1947, pp. 159–163. The *Historia Caroli Magni* is also known as the *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle*, and is a twelfth-century document about Charlemagne's alleged conquest of Spain.

⁵⁹ Masculine singular of ‘Bougri’.; ‘Matthew Paris, “Ex Historia Anglorum,” ed. Felix Liebermann, in MGH SS XXVIII, Hanover: Hahn, 1975, pp. 390-434.

⁶⁰ The Pastoreaux were a mystico-political movement that pillaged towns in 1251, ostensibly in defence of King Louis IX.; Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, ed. H. R. Luard, British Royal Library, MS 14 C VII, Rolls Series 57, 7 vols, 1250-1259. Quotes from vol. 3, p. 520, vol 5, p. 247; “Ex Historia Anglorum,” pp. 147, 326, 411.; *Chronica Albrici Monachi Trium Fontium*, p. 940.; MGH SS XXV, p. 307. Haskins, “Robert the Bougre”, *The American Historical Review*, vol. 7, no. 3, p. 452, notes that “one is tempted to see an allusion to our inquisitor in the “Frere Robert” whom Ruteboeuf mentions together with five other friars in one of his satires on the hypocrisy of the Mendicants” (ed. Jubinal, 1874, vol. I, p. 246; ed. Kressner, 72), but concludes that he agrees with Jubinal; the names are probably fanciful..

underscores the question of Paris's credibility.⁶¹ Paris was, however, famous for his sources. He was in personal contact with leading figures of his age, including Henry III of England, Richard, the Earl of Cornwall, as well as relying on eyewitness accounts of events he was chronicling, and provided an exhaustive number of documents in both his chronicle and its appendix. They provide substantial insight into both French and English politics, and inevitably intersect with the corresponding politics of the papacy.

The final, and once more hostile account I examine here is Richer de Senons' *Chronicon monasterii Senoniensis* written c. 1254-1255.⁶² The chronicle records the travels of the French monk, and of a variety of religious traditions and tales he came across on his adventures. The chronicle is written with such enthusiasm that it has been likened to a personal memoir, rather than a strict historical chronicle. This chapter uses only one passage that relates to Robert le Bougre, where it is reported that he maintained a measure of control over his deponents by use of 'magic', which is also examined later in this chapter.

It is worth noting here that these accounts were written at the time of the anti-mendicant controversy. The mendicants faced opposition from a number of sources, including from bishops, the secular clergy, as well as universities. This tension arose largely as a result of limited funds that the mendicant orders were now also competing for. This context thus likely coloured the way in which Robert and the Dominican Order was represented in these treatises, as well as the authors' own reception, which is also examined later in this chapter.⁶³

Secondary Literature

Charles Homer Haskins' two-part article entitled "Robert le Bougre and the Beginnings of the Inquisition in Northern France," published in the *American Historical Review* in 1902,

⁶¹ Despy, "Les débuts de l'inquisition," p. 88.

⁶² Richer of Senones *Gesta Senonensis Ecclesiae*, vol. 3, p. 18, ed. G. Waitz, MGH SS XXV, Hannover: Hahn, 1880, pp. 249-345. Significantly, however, the chronicle has never been published in its complete form—the most extensive version still excludes 21 chapters – either partially, or in their entirety.

⁶³ For further information, see, for example, Cornelia Linde, *Making and Breaking the Rules: Discussion, Implementation, and Consequences of Dominican Legislation*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018; William A. Hinnebusch, *The History of the Dominican Order*, New York: Alba House, vol. 2, 1966, pp.71-78; John Van Engen, "Dominic and the Brothers: Vitae as Life-forming exempla in the Order of Preachers" in *Christ Among the Medieval Dominicans*, ed. Kent Emery, Jr and Joseph Wawrykow, Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1998, pp.7-25.

remains the first port of call for scholars investigating Robert.⁶⁴ The first component of this article provides socio-political, religious and legal context for the development of the inquisition. It focuses primarily on the events which led up to the introduction of the Dominican inquisition in Northern France. The second half of the article hones in on Robert's biography and his role within this broader framework. Haskins' skills are showcased prominently here: astounding thoroughness of research, especially considering the limited resources he would have had access to in this period, unsurpassed attention to the technical aspects of his subject matter (especially pertaining to legal nuances as well as unclear timelines), masterly control and analysis of the primary sources, as well as unusually detailed and constructive footnotes. One serious limitation of this article, however, is that Haskins does not make any specific argument about what drove Robert to his eventual sequence of actions or his own influence on his environment. One of Haskins' only appraisals of Robert's character, for example, is his reporting that Robert was known "[to pursue] his victims with a fury which bordered on mania."⁶⁵ Building on Haskins' formidable research, this chapter seeks to situate Robert within a wider context characterised by the absence of any clear institutional structure to pursue heresy.

While much has been written about heresy and inquisition in the south of France, surprisingly little attention has been given to the north of France and to the activity of Robert in particular. Apart from a study by Grisard in 1967, the only important study is that of Belgian medievalist, Georges Despy. In 1980, Despy published an important article addressing this wider context, 'Les débuts de l'inquisition dans les anciens Pays-Bas au XIII^e siècle,' in the now-defunct journal, *Problèmes d'Histoire du Christianisme*.⁶⁶ The article offers excellent historiographical contextualisation and explores the spirit of the era's religious environment. In recounting Robert's movements throughout his career, Despy places special emphasis on the years of 1233-36, due to the vague narration of Robert's journeys in all existing primary sources within this timeframe. Unlike previous authors who have contributed to the scholarship of Robert, Despy is seldom referenced, perhaps because he characterized Robert

⁶⁴ Haskins, Charles H. "Robert le Bougre and the Beginnings of the Inquisition in Northern France." *The American Historical Review*, vol. 7, no. 3, 1902, pp. 437–457; as well as Haskins, Charles H. "Robert le Bougre and the Beginnings of the Inquisition in Northern France." *The American Historical Review*, vol. 7, no. 4, 1902, pp. 631–652.

⁶⁵ Haskins, *The American Historical Review*, vol. 7, no. 4, p. 636.

⁶⁶ Georges Despy, "Les débuts de l'inquisition dans les anciens Pays-Bas dans le XIII^e siècle," *Problèmes d'histoire du Christianisme*. Hommages à Jean Hadot, ed. by Guy Cambier, Brussels: Ed. de l'Université libre de Bruxelles, 1980, pp. 71-104.

as a far more sympathetic figure than other scholars. Despy argues that Robert was a victim of historiography in that his story was written partly by ecclesiastics of the thirteenth century who were prejudiced against Dominicans because of their undue influence on the pontifical theocracy. In Despy's view, Robert was rather the instrument of policies laid out primarily by Pope Gregory IX, and to a lesser extent, King Louis IX, which attempted to prevent the heresy rife in the south of France from reaching areas north of the Loire Valley. Despy concludes, rather controversially, that the entirety of the ecclesiastical structure was responsible for the hunt for heretics, interrogations, sentencing and overseeing of the deaths by burning that Robert became famous for. He contends, moreover, that the fault of this misconception is due to the "*l'acharnement et l'aveuglement*" ("relentlessness and blindness") of modern historians.⁶⁷ Despite this rather controversial conclusion, the unmatched thoroughness of Despy's work makes his contribution to the field fundamentally essential to the study of the formation of the inquisition.

The War Against Heresy

In 1227 the Council of Narbonne commanded that bishops appoint 'investigators' within each parish who were to report on the activities of their neighbours in a rudimentary policing procedure. Contending with canny, experienced and resourceful heretics, this system quickly proved unsuccessful. Gregory IX soon recognised that the reason for the policy failure was that bishops retained power only within the confines of their own dioceses, had numerous other responsibilities, and did not have the energy or means to spearhead a campaign of oppression.⁶⁸ Two years following the Council of Narbonne, Gregory IX endorsed the decisions of the Council of Toulouse. Of forty-three canons, the Council issued eighteen that dealt directly with heresies. One canon explicitly took up the mantle of the failed attempt of Narbonne, where local priests, along with laymen of good repute were ordered to "seek out the heretics in those parishes, by searching all houses and subterranean chambers which lie under any suspicion."⁶⁹ In order to better organise the finding and prosecution of heretics, Gregory published the constitution *Excommunicamus* in February 1231, which imposed a sentence of life imprisonment on repentant heretics, and capital punishment for those who refused to change their ways.⁷⁰ It should be noted, however, that Gregory did not make any

⁶⁷ Despy, "Les débuts de l'inquisition," p. 88.

⁶⁸ Sumption, *The Albigensian Crusade*, p. 229.

⁶⁹ Canon 1, *Heresy and Authority in Medieval Europe*, ed. Peters, pp. 194-195.

⁷⁰ See footnote 2.

distinction between sects, arguably revealing how little the pope actually knew about particular groups. This body of law comprised a new inquisitorial system that introduced peripatetic inquisitors, who were to be commissioned directly by the Pope himself. In seeking out suitable candidates for this new role, Gregory bestowed the responsibility primarily upon the newly founded Dominican Order, whose members devoted themselves to scriptural education, preaching, and debate, making them ideal prosecutors of heresy.

Robert's Career

Information pertaining to Robert's biography is scant. The existing knowledge derives from ancillary statements from those who were focused on analysing his later career.⁷¹ Robert's origins and early adulthood are notoriously mysterious, which, as we shall see, have weighty implications for how we can interpret his ambitions and behaviour. We do know, based on his formal name, Robert le Petit, that Robert likely came from somewhere within the Kingdom of France.⁷² Both Matthew Paris and Alberic discuss Robert as having been born to "heretic" parents.⁷³ Alberic later alludes to Robert following a heretical woman to a Cathar community in Milan at the time of the Great Council (1215) and staying there for twenty years (Mouskés repeats this, but says, more plausibly, that it was for ten years). There he achieved a high rank within the religion; some authors describe this rank as being akin to "apostle."⁷⁴

The first piece of definitive evidence we have of Robert presents him as actively, overtly and independently exercising bureaucratic control. The document is dated to 1232, by which time Robert had already converted to orthodox Christianity, joined the Dominican Order, and had been appointed by the Dominican prior at Besançon to investigate heresy in La

⁷¹ Charles Homer Haskins, "Robert le Bougre and the Beginnings of the Inquisition in Northern France," *The American Historical Review*, vol. 7, no. 3, 1902, p.450.

⁷² Unfortunately, this is impossible to narrow down further, as *petit* meant 'small' (masc.) in two variants of French – *langue d'oïl* (spoken in the north of France) and *langue d'oc* (spoken in what is now southern France and northern Spain). It is worth noting, however, that the Kingdom of France in the thirteenth century excluded the territory that falls east of the route from Lyon to Arles. Despy, "Les débuts de l'inquisition," 78, n.44.

⁷³ Matthew Paris, *Historia Anglorum*, ed. F. Madden, *Matthaei Parisiensis Historia minor*, Rolls Series 44, vol. 3, London: Longmans, 1866-69, p. 278; *Chronica Albrici Monachi Trium Fontium*, p. 448.

⁷⁴ According to Mouskés, Robert remained in Milan for ten years, but according to Alberic, it was twenty: *Circa tempus magni concilii apostatavit, secutusque mulierculam manicheam Mediolanum abiit, et factus est de secta illa pessima per annos 20, ita quod inter eos fuit perfectissimus*. As he refers to the Council of 1215, he seems to have been gone to Milan c. 1215-1230. *Chronica Albrici Monachi Trium Fontium*, p. 940. Mouskès, *Chronique rimée*, vol. 2, at verses 28873-28876: *Et dist quil ot mes a Melans/ Et si eut este par dis ans/ En la loi de mescreandise/ Pour conoistre et aus et lor guise*. Haskins uses the term "apostle" in *The American Historical Review*, no. 3, p. 452.

Charité-sur-Loire, in Burgundy.⁷⁵ That Robert makes his first appearance as an eager pursuer of heretics at this specific moment is revealing. After spending the first few years of his life in a contentious climate – which of course eventually erupted into war in France – he moved to Italy for the majority of his early adult life. Within Lombardy's highly urbanised structure, he saw an environment where Catharism was able to flourish. Robert then returned to France, either during the last years of the war, or soon after its conclusion. In either case, as a member of the Dominican Order, it is safe to assume that Robert would have heard of Gregory's 1227 announcement that he would be appointing roaming 'enquirers' to investigate heresy. Robert's volunteering as an inquisitor in France thus indicates that he wanted to combat heresy, and more specifically, that he wanted to take advantage of France's warring environment to do so. In the following year, Robert had made his way to La Charité-sur-Loire, in early 1233, where he claimed to be representing his immediate superior from Besançon. According to a reproduction of his own statement, Robert had been anticipating that the town had a significant population of 'heretics,' but he apparently found them to be far more wide-spread than even he had assumed, being spread throughout northern France, and particularly in the neighbouring provinces and Flanders.⁷⁶ He added that any

⁷⁵ Bull *Gaudemus*, 19 April, 1233. Auvray, *Les Registres de Grégoire IX.*, vol. 1, no. 1253, p.707. This came eleven months after Gregory IX identified La Charité-sur-Loire as a major centre for heresy. The following is an excerpt from that bull: "Brother Robert, of the Order of the Preachers. We rejoice in the Lord. For we, our beloved son of the prior Bisuntinus and brother William, of the Order of the Preachers, give to you our instructive letter, that in Burgundia, to inquire with them about the truth with careful diligence, of any crimes, you shall live by the service of the prior himself upon these matters... you will approach the village called 'Charity', of the diocese of Auxerre, you will approach the aforesaid village of ill-famed vice, and there you will preach the doctrine of the truth of the gospel in a Catholic manner, and dwell in it. Altogether abandoning such a vice, they would return to the unity of the Catholic Church, and you have taken an oath to advise them carefully." My translation. Originally: *Fratri Roberto, de ordine fratrum Praedicatorum. Gaudemus in Domino. Cum enim nos dudum dilectis filius priori Bisuntino et fratri Willelmo, de ordine fratrum Praedicatorum, ae tibi nostris dedissemus litteris in mandatis quod in Burgundia super crimine preonato sub certa forma cum ipsis perquireres diligenti sollicitudine veritatem, tu prioris ipsius super hiis vives fungens... ad villam Charitatem, Autissidiorensis diocesis, de prescripto pessime infamatam vitio, accessisti, ibique proponenes ae predicans doctrinam catholice ae evangelice veritatis, habitores ejusdem nt. prorsus hujusmodi vitio derelicto, redirent ad catholiceam unitatem, sollicite monere eurasti.* This is perhaps because the town was dominated by a Benedictine priory, and the 'heretics' to whom Gregory refers are those opposing monastic wealth and power within the city. This also suggests that Robert may have been from Besançon originally, which is a mere 300km from Milan. Moreover, if Robert had been at the Council of Béziers (1232-1233), and the Council commenced before April 1233, it would make sense that this papal letter was a follow up to the Council of Béziers. For further information, see Dossat, "I. Remarques sur la légation de l'évêque Gautier de Tournai dans le Midi de la France (1232-1233)," *Annales du Midi : revue archéologique, historique et philologique de la France méridionale*, vol. 75, no. 61, 1963, pp. 77-85.

⁷⁶ Haskins, *The American Historical Review*, no. 3, p. 453. Technically, Robert's area of commission did not originally extend to La Charité, so he was obliged to limit his activity there to preaching. It should be noted, however, that the papal legate to France in 1232-3 was Walter (Gautier), the bishop of Tournai. Given that at this time, King Louis IX was interested in expanding his influence to Flanders (where Tournai was located), Walter, whose interests aligned with both Pope Gregory IX and King Louis IX, may well have invited Robert to Tournai

attempts to directly quell local heresy resulted in heretics simply fleeing to another jurisdiction.⁷⁷ Robert asked, therefore, for the Pope to extend his jurisdiction to become inquisitor to all of France.

Apparently gratified by Robert's efforts, Gregory IX responded promptly with two separate bulls granting further power to inquisitors. The first of these was entitled *Ille humani generis*, issued on 20 April 1233. This bull proclaimed that the newly established Dominican Order would replace bishops in the task of investigating heresy:

Considering the fact that you [French bishops] are so borne down by the whirlwind of your various duties that you are scarcely able to breathe amid the pressure of your overwhelming cares, we for this reason think it best that your burdens be divided among others and we have therefore dispatched the ... Friar Preachers against the heretics in the kingdom of France and adjacent provinces.⁷⁸

The new bull enabled the Dominican brothers to circumvent the authority of the bishops, who, until this time, had been responsible for the investigation of heretics, and reported directly to Gregory IX himself.⁷⁹ In granting inquisitors these powers, Gregory was in effect dramatically restructuring the hierarchy of the Church. His formally elevating the office of the inquisition to a position in which they reported directly to the Pope, rather than through the line of bishops they had reported to previously, contributed to the Church's new centralisation of power. In other words, by this action, Gregory had created a new kind of

to further his cause against heretics. For further discussion, see Edmond Cabié, "Date du concile de Béziers tenu par Gautier, légat du Saint-Siège, et itinéraire de ce légat de 1231 à 1233," *Annales du Midi: Revue archéologique, historique et philologique de la France méridionale*, vol. 16, no. 63, 1904, pp. 349-57.

⁷⁷ Our knowledge of Robert's experiences at La Charité rests upon his own statement as reproduced in the bull *Gaudemus* of April 19, 1233. Doubtless he informed the Pope promptly of his labours there, so they must have fallen in the early months of 1233. The *Circa mundi vesperam* of 28 February, in Auvray, *Les Registres de Grégoire IX.*, vol. 1, p. 1145, mentions the efforts of the prior of La Charité, but says nothing of Robert. Haskins, *The American Historical Review*, vol. 7, no. 3, p. 453n2.

⁷⁸ "Friars Preachers" being another moniker for Dominicans. Yves Dossat, *Les Crises de l'inquisition Toulousaine au XIIIe siècle (1233-1273)*. pièces justificatives, Bordeaux, 1959, no. 1; Albert Clement Shannon, *The Popes and Heresy in the Thirteenth Century*, Villanova, Pa., Augustinian Press, 1949, pp. 61-62. See also Michael Lower "The Burning at Mont-Aimé: Thibaut of Champagne's Preparations for the Barons' Crusade of 1239". *Journal of Medieval History*, vol. 29, no. 2, 2003, pp. 95-108.

⁷⁹ Lothar Kolmer, "Ad Terrorem Multorum Die Anfänge der Inquisition im Frankreich," in *Die Anfänge Der Inquisition im Mittelalter. Mit einem Ausblick auf das 20. Jahrhundert und einem Beitrag über Religiöse Intoleranz im Nichtchristlichen Bereich*, ed. Peter Segl, Cologne: Böhlau, 1993, pp. 77-102, esp. 92-93.

clerical elite. The Pope then issued the bull *Gaudemus* on 19 April 1233, in which he specifically ordered Robert and his fellow inquisitors to oversee “the extirpation of heresy from the aforesaid town and the adjoining regions.”⁸⁰ Gregory IX encouraged the inquisitors to work collaboratively with the bishops, and if necessary, solicit the aid of the secular arm to mete out physical punishment. By the same token, the inquisitors were encouraged to proceed against harbourers of heretics, in accordance with the statutes of 1231, and were warned of feigned conversions. The Pope then authored bulls to the French prior of the Dominicans, to the archbishops, as well as to the bishops of France informing them of these developments. He made it clear to all members of the clergy that he expected them to provide the Dominicans with any assistance they might need.⁸¹ Many historians view the dissemination of these bulls as the official commencement of the inquisition in northern France.⁸² The institution of these policies can be attributed in part to Robert’s personal activity, which, within two short years, had begun to influence its fundamental framework.

From even his earliest days in La Charité, Robert proved himself to be an exceptionally effective inquisitor. Using the Dominican practices of preaching and confession, Robert created a new method of inquisition: sermonising locals upon his arrival and exhorting the guilty to confess and seek absolution. He then examined the accused parties and oversaw the conviction of those he judged ‘guilty.’⁸³ In one of his earliest correspondences with Pope Gregory IX, Robert reported that his initial sermons imploring the community to return to Christianity had been overwhelmingly successful; not only had the summoned individuals suspected of heresy presented themselves, making attempts to undergo penance and return to the faith, but individuals who remained above suspicion did the same, seeking clemency of their own accord.⁸⁴ Individuals who confessed without a prior accusation were assured that

⁸⁰ Bull *Gaudemus*, see footnote 75.

⁸¹ *Corpus documentorum inquisitionis haereticae pravitatis Neerlandicae*, ed. P. Frédéricq, 1, Ghent: L. Vuylsteke, 1902, no. 89; Potthast, *Regesta pontificum Romanorum inde ab a. post Christum natum MCMXCVIII ad a. MCCCIV* Berlin, 1874, no. 9143.

⁸² See for example, Henry Ansgar Kelly, “Inquisition and the Prosecution of Heresy: Misconceptions and Abuses.” *Church History*, vol. 58, no. 4, 1989, pp. 439–51; Jessie Sherwood, “The Inquisitor as Archivist, or Surprise, Fear, and Ruthless Efficiency in the Archives.” *The American Archivist*, vol. 75, no. 1, Society of American Archivists, 2012, pp. 56– 80; Donald A. Nielsen, “Rationalization in Medieval Europe: The Inquisition and Sociocultural Change.” *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society*, vol. 2, no. 2, Springer, 1988, pp. 217– 241.

⁸³ Haskins, *The American Historical Review*, no. 4, p. 645.

⁸⁴ See Louis Tanon, *Histoire des tribunaux de l'inquisition en France*: Paris, Larose & Forcel, 1893, p. 329.

only moderate penance would be required of them. After Robert's special commission from the Pope, indulgence was further promised to all who attended his preaching and assisted him in rooting out heresy.⁸⁵ A system encouraging intra-community surveillance, vigilance, and paranoia quickly emerged. Information became so highly prized that even after a death sentence had been issued, a reprieve might be granted if the subject were able to identify other victims.⁸⁶ In these conditions where it was a choice to inform on others or be informed on oneself, the Cathar community of La Charité quickly collapsed in on itself. Here, Robert is establishing routine practices as an inquisitor to showcase the degree of his personal power, and to potentially create practical conventions for future inquisitors to use.

Robert did not ascribe this success to the laying of a legislative trap for a fundamentally disempowered society, but, interestingly, to his own mystical powers. He "claim[ed] to know thoroughly the thought, the subtleties, the behaviour of his former fellow believers. He claim[ed] to unmask them at the slightest sign."⁸⁷ He reported to Gregory that as a direct result of these powers, many of the erring heretics submitting themselves to him with "chains about their necks," freely offering to give evidence against others, parents even "denouncing their children and children their parents, husbands their wives and wives their husbands" in return for absolution of their "blasphemous" lifestyles.⁸⁸ The significance of this extraordinary assertion was that it highlighted Robert's unparalleled success on behalf of the Church, and apparently demonstrated Robert's exceptional power in his capacity as inquisitor. Whatever Robert's intention in relaying this claim – whether he was psychologically unhinged, attempting to make a veiled threat to ensure his rise through the ranks of the Church, or simply pointing out that he was a source of underused potential – it is easy enough to deduce that Robert was building a case in order to be granted further power.

⁸⁵ Bull *Gaudemus*, 19 April, 1233. Auvray, *Les Registres de Grégoire IX.*, vol. 1, no. 1253, p.707

⁸⁶ "If the aforesaid has not been accused or convicted, but has confessed his own free will and confesses his errors and the things that are required in such cases, abjured altogether heretical depravity, you should provide him with the benefit of absolution according to the form of the church." (*Si predictus G. non accusatus nec convictus sed sponte confessus est et suum confitetur errorum et ea que exiguntur in talibus, abiurata prorsus heretica pravitate, de absolutionis beneficio iuxta formam ecclesie provideatis eidem, iniungentes ei penitentiam salutarem et alia prout in similibus censure debite modus et ordo deposcunt.*); Henry Charles Lea. *A Formulary of the Papal Penitentiary in the Thirteenth Century*, Philadelphia: Lea Bros. & Co., 1892, p. xxxviii, n.2.

⁸⁷ M. Grisart, "Les Cathares dans le nord de la France," *Revue du nord*, vol. 49, no. 194, 1967, pp. 509-519.

⁸⁸ Frédéricq, *Corpus*, vol. 1, no. 90.

In his time at La Charité, Robert had begun to express his agency more dramatically.⁸⁹ According to all contemporary sources, Robert took proffered accusations seriously, and once his suspicion had been roused, it was apparently difficult to dissuade him of the subject's potential innocence, irrespective of objective facts, or the prior value judgements made by both ecclesiastical and secular authorities. Though the original intention of punishing heretics was, ostensibly, to encourage reform and a return to orthodoxy, Robert's prerogative seems to have been more personal and retributive in nature: "As if to be forgiven for his past attitude, he want[ed] to annihilate the last vestiges of Catharism... He want[ed] them back to Catholicism, or send them to torture."⁹⁰ The punishments ordered and overseen by Robert seem, at first, to be in keeping with the trends of the punitive measures for all heretics throughout the region: the exile of individuals to Constantinople; the mandatory taking of the cross and attendance of any religious services of which they are able; being marked with a yellow cross across the back and chest of their garments and the shaving of the penitent's head; and, often, imprisonment.⁹¹

Soon, however, Robert began circumventing or simply ignoring established authorities and approaches and authority in favour of his own. Perhaps the best-known case illustrating this same behaviour is that of Peter Vogrin of Souvigny, in the diocese of Clermont, who happened to be living in La Charité between 1231 and 1232, and who cleared himself of accusations of heresy by canonical purgation. After again being accused, Vogrin convinced the bishop of Clermont, as well as other prelates, of his innocence. Irrespective of these outcomes, Robert issued him a third summons. When Vogrin appeared before both Robert and the bishop of Clermont, each assured Vogrin that legal procedure would be observed, and that he would not be called to appear before either of them separately. Despite his earlier guarantee, Robert summoned Vogrin to an undisclosed location before his appointed examination, bringing with him an armed gang and publicly threatening him. Vogrin fled, sent an appeal to the Pope,⁹² and sent his nephew (who happened to be a priest) as a

⁸⁹ Robert spent between eighteen to twenty-four months at La Charité (source estimates vary).

⁹⁰ Grisart, "*Les Cathares dans le nord de la France*," p. 515.

⁹¹ Mouskés, *Chronique rimeé*, vol. 2, pp. 611, 612, verses: 28964, 28966, 28984, 28985; Alberic of Trois-Fontaines, *Chronicon*, MGH SS XXIII, p. 937. Rather ominously, the number of those imprisoned at Cambrai and Douai— records variously state both eighteen and twenty-one — was roughly the same as the number of individuals eventually put to the flames in those towns.

⁹² Bull of November 8, 1235, to the bishop of Nevers, the Dominican provincial prior, and the archdeacon of Paris, published by Giovanni Giacinto Sbaraglia, *Bullarium Franciscanum Romanorum Pontificum*,

messenger to notify Robert of his appeal. Robert, in response, excommunicated Vogrin's nephew and suspended him from his benefice, to be upheld until he renounced his uncle.⁹³ At least four more accounts exist of Robert's pattern of ignoring prior judgements of heretics, seeking instead to overturn these decisions and deliver harsher punishments. We know of only these few cases because appeals of these convictions happened to be lodged with the Pope himself. In each of these cases, the Pope saw fit to order further investigations against the accused.⁹⁴ Beyond these examples, we have no insight into the conditions or severity of the examination process, or indeed the frequency of appeals or acquittals. The only contemporary source providing information into Robert's judicial process is that of Matthew of Paris, who notes simply that Robert punished the innocent along with the guilty indiscriminately.⁹⁵ Although the reason that Robert began to consistently escalate the severity of his punishments cannot, of course, be decisively known, we can make some likely speculations. If Robert was in fact driven by his own wish to do penance to achieve absolution, then his doling out these punishments is simply an expression of this desire, applied to a juridical setting. Alternatively, of course, was that this behaviour reflects Robert's simple impulse towards exerting power and control for its own sake.

Robert's Suspension from Selected Dioceses

Already watchful of the growing agency of the mendicant orders, in early 1234, the archbishops of Sens and Bourges vocalised their criticism of Robert to Gregory IX. They claimed that there were no heretics in their dioceses and were clearly unhappy about Robert's impinging upon their authority. The original letters of the archbishops are lost, but their

Constitutiones, Epistolae, ac Diplomata Continens, Rome, 1898, vol. 1, p.177 and by Auvray, *Les Registres de Grégoire IX.*, vol. 1, p. 2825; Potthast, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*, no.10044.

⁹³ In response to this, the curia appointed three churchmen to consider the case. Bull of 8 November, 1235, to the bishop of Nevers, the Dominican provincial prior, and the archdeacon of Paris. Giovanni Giacinto Sbaraglia, *Bullarium Franciscanum Romanorum Pontificum, Constitutiones, Epistolae, ac Diplomata Continens*, Rome, 1898, p.177.

⁹⁴ These examples include: Petronilla from La Charité, who had been tasked with proving her claim of innocence by producing the oaths of three individuals attesting to her Christian faith. When, however, she provided this evidence, Robert inexplicably declared that she had failed in her appeal, and immediately imprisoned her, along with her son-in-law, whose purgation had previously been accepted by the Church, Auvray, *Les Registres de Grégoire IX.*, vol. 1, p. 3106; a man from Cahors, who, despite holding a letter of security issued by local officials, was accused again of heresy and imprisoned by Robert. Lea, *Formulary*, p. xxxviii, 2; Jean Chevalier, who was associated with a woman suspected of heresy, was similarly examined by Robert before being subjugated to an extensive process of public penance, and threatened with death should she ever revert back to heretical behaviour, Marie D Chapotin, *Histoire des Dominicains de la Province de France*, Paris: Lecoffre, 1896, p. 224.

⁹⁵ *Chronica Albrici Monachi Trium Fontium*, pp. 147, 326.

complaints can be reconstructed from the Pope's responses.⁹⁶ Their protestations were obviously vociferous enough to lead the Pope to issue a bull in February stating that he never authorised inquisitorial examinations in lands free of heretics. He ordered the Dominicans to completely and immediately suspend their duties as inquisitors, unless they were specifically sought out and commissioned by an archbishop and his suffragans.⁹⁷ Here, Haskins argues that the copy of the bull sent to the dean of Bourges was entitled *De revocatione jurisdictionis fratris Roberti* (On the revocation of the jurisdiction of brother Robert), and that by virtue of its title, it specifically revoked the authority of Robert alone, rather than the Dominican inquisitors generally.⁹⁸ The manuscript record of the original bull, however, shows that this so-called 'title' is actually written in the margin, and is therefore in all likelihood a later annotation, signalling that the original bull was not in fact written specifically about Robert.⁹⁹ This small piece of evidence therefore drastically alters our understanding of Robert's 'suspension' and supposed 'reinstatement' as inquisitor. I argue, therefore, that Robert was not singled out and suspended as an inquisitor completely, but rather, was banned from operating specific dioceses at this time. I argue further that following his suspension from these dioceses, Robert simply moved to other dioceses where he was not banned from continuing this work, as we can infer from records that show he was in the diocese of Champagne that same year.¹⁰⁰ Additionally, although the Pope was clearly attempting to encourage cooperation between Robert and the clergy, no evidence exists that any bishops or archbishops employed him when they had need of an inquisitor.¹⁰¹ Robert's playing fast and

⁹⁶ Bulls *Dudurm* and *Quo inter ceteras* of August, 1235 (Auvray, pp. 2735, 2736, 2737).

⁹⁷ Copies of a Bull entitled *Olim intellecto* (commending the Dominicans for their ability to invalidate the beliefs of heretics) were sent to: the Archbishop of Sens and his suffragans on February 4, 1234, Auvray, *Les Registres de Grégoire IX.*, vol. 1, p. 1763 col. 969–970; the Archbishop of Rheims and his suffragans (Potthast, 9386; Fredericq, Corpus, I. no. 93; not in Auvray); and to the prior provincial of the Dominicans, on February 15, 1234, Auvray, *Les Registres de Grégoire IX.*, vol. 1, p. 1763 col. 969–970). Another copy was sent without a date, to the dean and chapter of Bourges, as well as to the bishops of the province, in the cartulary of the chapter of Bourges (Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS. Lat. n. a. 1274), p. 42. It is additionally worth noting that the letters to the archbishops of Sens, Rheims and Bourges were written in response to presumed letters of protest, but in them the Pope acknowledged that all inquisitors must have episcopal approval (4 Feb 1234).

⁹⁸ Haskins, *The American Historical Review*, vol. 7, no. 3, p. 456. Haskins was, according to his own notes, using Ripoll, *Bullarium Ordinis Praedicatorum*, vol. 1, 1729, p. 81. Indeed, Ripoll uses the title that Haskins describes, but this differs in the way that I describe above from the original bull.

⁹⁹ Etienne de Galardon and Girard Vogrin, *Cartulary of the Chapter of Bourges*, Paris, BnF nouv., acq lat. 1274.p. 42 (fol. 25), <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10033626d/f25.item#>, accessed 09.08.21

¹⁰⁰ See footnote 106.

¹⁰¹ *Chronica Albrici Monachi Trium Fontium*, p. 936, makes reference to Robert's activity "throughout France." As Haskins points out, this is (a) doubtful, unless he is only referring to the beginning of the year, and (b) "Chronological exactness is not always the strong point of this chronicler," Haskins, *The American Historical Review*, no. 3, p. 456n3.

loose with the limits of his authority had begun to affect where and to what extent he was able to practice his job as inquisitor, and, moreover, forced Gregory IX to adjust his approach in utilising inquisitorial agents.

In the following two years, historical records make little mention of Robert. The first of four pieces of evidence is from early 1234, where a royal messenger was sent to him, carrying a letter addressed to “the bailli of Bourges.”¹⁰² For what specific purpose, however, we have no further evidence.¹⁰³ The second document, in which Gregory IX wrote to Robert personally in Paris, is dated to November of 1234. Interestingly, the Pope asked him to use his influence to help negotiate peace between the kings of France and England.¹⁰⁴ The Pope also wrote to Robert on behalf of a number of Florentine merchants accused of heresy.¹⁰⁵ Again, the specific details of the circumstances and Robert’s potential intervention elude us. Lastly, we have the only document apparently written by Robert himself, dated to November of 1234. Here, Robert claims that he and a colleague are judges delegated by the Pope against the heretics of the Kingdom of France.¹⁰⁶ This is a significant claim, as it implies that Robert still

¹⁰² Here, he seems to be employed in a secular capacity, given the definition of a “bailli” is a bailiff, or a king’s administrative representative during the Middle Ages in France. For further discussion of the institution of the *bailli*, see Norman F. Cantor, *The Civilization of the Middle Ages*, New York City: Harper Perennial, 1994, p.412f.

¹⁰³ *Simon de Sancto Germano, ad fratrem Robertum, pro baillivo Bithuricensi*, xx. s. Account of the King’s household, Ascension term, 1234, Bouquet, *Histoires des Gaules et de la France*, vol. 21, p. 233E. The date of the entry is approximately March 24, but there is detail of what the request was, and if/ when the service was performed.

¹⁰⁴ Robert was known to have a close relationship with Louis IX, and has been referred to as *le grand inquisiteur de Saint Louis*. Grisart, “*Les Cathares dans le nord de la France*,” p. 515. Both Henry III of England and Louis IX were known to be devout, and publicly supported both the Church, and the mendicant orders. Some historians argue that the two kings were indeed competitive in their piety, so input in their secular reign from the Pope may not have been as out of place as it appears at first glance. Bull of November 6, Auvray, *Les Registres de Grégoire IX*, vol.1, p. 2185

¹⁰⁵ Bull Accurri of November 23, “*priori et fratri Roberto de ordine Predicatorum Parisiensibus*,” Auvray, *Les Registres de Grégoire IX*, p. 2221; Potthast, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*, p.9772, following Thomas Ripoll, has “*fratri Raynerio*.” There is also a bull of November 20, 1234 (*Relatum est auribus* relating to Florentine merchants which is addressed *Fratri R.* in the text of Ripoll, *Bullarium Ordinis Praedicatorum*, vol. 1, 1729, p. 115; Potthast, 9766, and Auvray, *Les Registres de Grégoire IX*, vol. 1, p. 2216, but reads “*Fratri Roberto ordinis Praedicatorum Parisius*” in *Analecta Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum*, 4, 1896, p. 383.

¹⁰⁶ “*Brother Robert, the judge, charges the king against heretics to release his abbess, Gila, as they say, to the dean and chapter of Saint Quiriacus, if this is the case. To the noble husband Theobald, Earl of Champagne and Brie, brothers Robert and James of the Order of Preachers, judges delegated by the Pope to the lord Pope against heretics in the kingdom of France, may the Lord ever preserve and keep you. Because by our order you detain Gilas the said abbess in prison, which the venerable dean and chapter of Saint Quiriacus de Pruvinus assert to be a woman, by the authority (MS. act) entrusted to us, we order you to shake, if it is so as they say, without any contradiction you shall deliver them to the custodian, and remove the guardians from the property and houses of the said G., if perhaps you have placed some. Given in the year of our Lord 1233, on Tuesday before the chair of St. Peter.*” My translation. Originally: *Frater Robertus iudex contra hereticos mandat regi ut deliberet decano et capitulo Sancti Quiriaci Gilam abbatissam suam, ut dicunt, si ita est. Nobili viro Theobaldo comiti Campanie et*

held his title.¹⁰⁷ The document provides further evidence of Robert being suspended from acting as an inquisitor specifically in the diocese of Auxerre, and not suffering a blanket papal ban on all of his duties as an inquisitor. It is also crucial that Robert does not use the title ‘inquisitor’, but that of a ‘judge’, concerned with accusations of heresy. Like all juridical innovations, it is critical that Robert is identifying himself through an existing legal category.

¹⁰⁸ What is clear from these snippets of evidence is that Robert had forged personal relationships with those within the highest echelons of society, who trusted him, regarded him as possessing considerable power and charisma, and who, despite Robert’s recent tumult, found it prudent to keep close ties with the former inquisitor.

The strength of Robert’s political ties was again made clear when, eighteen months later, on 23 August, 1235, Gregory IX promoted him to the position of Inquisitor General for the entire French kingdom.¹⁰⁹ Contrary to the claims of the bishops, Gregory maintained that in the most recent years, heresy had become far more ubiquitous, stating that “in every part of the kingdom the poisonous reptiles of heresy swarmed in such numbers that they could no longer be endured or concealed,” and thus commissioned Robert to “rise up against the manifest deceits [of the heretics], like a knight strenuous for the fray, to loose the reins of the inquisition...in every direction throughout the kingdom of France.”¹¹⁰ Robert was again (though now more transparently) acting on behalf of the Pope’s authority, and answering directly to Gregory. Additionally, provincial priors were ordered to appoint other friars to assist Robert, and to cooperate with Robert’s immediate orders.¹¹¹ King Louis IX echoed

Brie fratres Robertus et Jacobus de ordine Predicatorum, iudices a domino papa contra hereticos in regno Francie delegati, salutem in Domino. Quoniam ex precepto nostro Gilam dictam abbatissam detinetis in carcere, quam venerabiles viri decanus et capitulum Sancti Quiriaci de Pruvino suam asserunt esse mulierem, auctoritate (MS. actum) nobis commissa vobis mandamus quatinus, si est ita sicut dicunt, eam absque contradictione aliqua tradatis eisdem ad custodiendum, et custodes a rebus et domibus dicte G. removeatis, si forte aliquos posuistis. Datum anno Domini MCCXXXIII, die martis ante cathedram sancti Petri [February 21, 1234.] Bibliotheque Nationale, MS. Lat. 5993 A (Cartulary of Champagne known as *Liber Pontificum*), f. 412. Cf. Bourquelot, *Histoire de Provins*, I. 182. Haskins notes that “There is an incorrect analysis in L’Arbois de Jubainville, *Catalogue des actes des Comtes de Champagne*, no. 2293 (*Histoire des Comtes de Champagne*, V. 332). Haskins, *The American Historical Review*, no. 3, p. 455n2.

¹⁰⁷ This claim runs counter to Haskin’s argument of Robert being suspended completely from his duties, but does still align with my own argument here.

¹⁰⁸ It soon becomes clear that this was not a stratagem approved of by the archbishop of Sens, but the letter relates to Provins and Troyes, where Robert clearly maintained support.

¹⁰⁹ Grisart, “*Les Cathares dans le Nord de la France*,” p. 515.

¹¹⁰ *Bull Accurri* of 23 November, ‘priori et fratri Roberto de ordine Predicatorum Parisiensibus; Ripoll, *Bullarium Ordinis FF. Praedicatorum*, vol. 1, 1729, p. 81.

¹¹¹ *Bull Dudum ad aliquorum murmur*, to the provincial prior of the Friars Preachers in France, August 21, 1235; Auvray, *Les Registres de Grégoire IX*, vol. 1, p. 2736; Frédéricq, *Corpus*, vol. I, no. 100. *Bull Dudum*, to Friar

these sentiments for ecclesiastical intervention of the apparently rife heresy, stating “the laity must not defend [orthodoxy], except with a sword in their hand, which they must thrust in the belly of the contradictor as deeply as possible!”¹¹² Here, we see the mutual collaboration between the French crown and the Holy See, as both parties support each other in their zeal for expansion. It is in this relationship that Robert becomes a willing partner.

Robert’s Renewed Zeal

After Robert was granted this new title, he begins to reappear in the historical record with both regularity and revived fervour, and to make active use of *animadversio debita* (capital punishment). One chronicler reports that: “Many he consumed with avenging flames, many he handed over to perpetual prison.” Clarifying his process of evaluation somewhat, another source reports that “Some were shut up in prison to do penance, others who refused to renounce their heresies were consumed by fire.”¹¹³ Further attesting to his cruelty, one account describes that Robert buried other individuals alive.¹¹⁴ Upon resuming his orders, Robert travelled to Châlons-en-Champagne (sur-Marne). Here, he oversaw the burning of an undisclosed number of accused heretics, to which he invited master Philippe, the Chancellor of Paris. Little evidence remains of these particular victims, aside from the fact that one Arnold, a barber by trade, had managed to garner numerous followers.¹¹⁵ Robert then made his way to Péronne, where, according to Philippe Mouskés, five individuals were put to death at the stake outside the city walls.¹¹⁶ Following this, Robert arrived at Elincourt, where, according to one eyewitness, he oversaw the burning of four heretics.¹¹⁷

Robert, August 23 1235; Auvray, *Les Registres De Grégoire IX.*, vol. 1, p. 2735; Potthast *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*, vol. 1, p. 849, no. 9995.

¹¹² My translation. Originally: “*les laïcs, ne doivent pas en prendre la defense, sinon l’épée a la main, qu’ils doivent enforcer dans le ventre du contradicteur autant qu’elle y peut entrer!*” Grisart, p. 515

¹¹³ *Annals of St. Medard of Soissons*, MGH SS XXVI. p. 522.; “*Ex Cronicis Maioribus*,” ed. Felix Liebermann, in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Scriptorum*, MGH SS XXVIII, Hanover: Hahn, 1975, pp. 180-389. Quote from p. 133, *Quidam in carcere poenitentiam aliae haereses nolentibus renuntiare crematur*.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., “*Ex Cronicis Maioribus*,” MGH SS XXVIII, p. 133. The phrase used here is *vivos sepeliri*, which literally means “to be buried alive,” which Frederichs interprets as merely an exaggerated description of the close quarters of those heretics imprisoned for life. Tanon argues that live burial was indeed used as a legitimate form of punishment in the thirteenth century. For further information, see Haskins, *The American Historical Review*, no. 4, p. 648n3.

¹¹⁵ Despy, “Les débuts de l’inquisition, p. 81.

¹¹⁶ The group comprised two couples and a man. The son of the first couple escaped from Valenciennes, and was later driven to Cambrai, where Robert would soon visit. For further information, see Haskins, *The American Historical Review*, no. 4, pp. 633-634.

¹¹⁷ Mouskés, *Chronique rimée*, vol. 2, verses 28888-28893.

He then left for Cambrai. At the time, Cambrai was technically a part of the Holy Roman Empire. This necessitated Louis IX to provide Robert and a Bishop Godefroid with whom he was travelling, with an escort of royal sergeants so that “no harm would come to him” during his travel.¹¹⁸ Aside from this alluding to the populace’s general contempt for inquisitors, this also speaks to Robert’s high status, as well as to the importance of his mission to the French crown.¹¹⁹ In Cambrai, Robert established a new court in the diocese, which took place on 17 February 1236. He then detained forty people on charges of heresy. Roughly half of the individuals were imprisoned or given lighter punishments – eighteen were sentenced to life imprisonment and three women who renounced their heretical faith were condemned to simply wearing *ensignies* on their clothing.¹²⁰ Two independent witnesses, whose information overlaps, both confirm that the remaining individuals were burned at the pyre, including three aldermen of Cambrai, two inhabitants of a neighbouring village, a fugitive from Peronne, and an old, “*demi-folle herbière*” (half-mad witch). Most of the Cathars sentenced to death were held in high political or cultural esteem in Cambrai, which would have been an additional factor in persuading the king to hire private guards.¹²¹ The infamy of Robert’s campaign became such that even the queen herself, Margaret of Provence, became drawn in when she personally intervened to save the life of the daughter of a sentenced heretic, Matthew de Lauvin, on the grounds of her being pregnant.¹²²

Robert then ventured back north, crossing back into French territory, and began his enquiries in Douai. He brought with him his judicial court, and transferred prisoners who had not yet been tried. The result of these pre-existing trials, as well as new local ones, was that on 2 March 1236, ten individuals were burned as heretics outside the city’s Oliveti gate, on the via Leprosarium. An unspecified number of individuals were additionally imprisoned or converted. Two independent individuals testified to this event, one adding that the group consisted of elderly men and women. Present at this burning were the archbishop of Reims, the bishops of Arras, Cambrai, and Tournai, as well as Joanna, countess of Flanders and

¹¹⁸ Again, it seems likely that Louis IX and this French speaking bishop were using Robert’s preaching against heresy as a pretext for expanding French influence in a region that was traditionally under imperial authority.

¹¹⁹ Grisart, “*Les Cathares dans le nord de la France*,” p. 516.

¹²⁰ In this case, this consisted of red crosses on their clothing.

¹²¹ Despy, “*Les débuts de l’inquisition*,” p. 81n65.

¹²² She was also pardoned on the condition of her profession of orthodoxy. For further information, see Haskins, “Robert le Bougre and the Beginnings of the Inquisition in Northern France,” *The American Historical Review*, vol. 7, no. 4, 1902, p. 633n1.

Hainault.¹²³ Robert finished this campaign in Lille, where Mouskés reports his arrest of “Those [heretics] who were burnt in Cambrai/ And in Piérouse and in Douai/ And elsewhere by Brother Robert/ Burnt to dust all that remained of them...And in Lille he seized merchants.”¹²⁴ They were later joined in prison by suspects from the three neighbouring villages of Ascq, Leers and Toufflers. Roughly twenty of them were sentenced to be burned at the stake, and the rest were sentenced to life in prison.¹²⁵

In sum, the results of Robert’s two to three month campaign were as follows: one heretic was pardoned, at least three conversions were made, at least twenty individuals were imprisoned, and a minimum of sixty people were executed on the pyre.¹²⁶ That Robert was able in such a short amount of time to wreak such devastation can be partly attributed to the papacy having completely failed to establish a mandated precedent, and therefore lack of understanding in the need for oversight or tighter control. At the same time, Robert’s persecution of heresy was helping to legitimise French interests in a region traditionally under imperial authority.¹²⁷

It was during this spree of hunting heretics that Robert apparently encountered an individual, the details of whose trial are found in two separate chronicles. The first, Mouskés’ *Chronique rimee*, refers to the event only vaguely, but the second account, Richer of Senones’ *Gesta Senonensis Ecclesiae*, provides a more detailed account. Both texts provide us with some insight into the varied opinions about inquisitors, as well as the organisation of their oversight, and are therefore worth quoting to their full extent.

Mouskés’ appropriate passage reads:

¹²³ Michael Lower, “The Burning at Mont-Aimé: Thibaut of Champagne’s Preparations for the Barons’ Crusade of 1239,” *Journal of Medieval History*, vol. 29, no. 2, 2003, p. 102.

¹²⁴ *Cil ki furent ars à Cambrai/ Et à Piérouse et à Douwai/ Et aillours par frere Robiert/ Ars en poure tut en apiert/...Et à Lille ot prise marcéans*. These were nomadic merchants from the commune of Marcé, who were apparently propagating Catharism at a local fair. Mouskés, vol. II, verses 28974–28988. The translation that I have used was very generously provided by Earl Jeffrey Richards, upon the request of my supervisor, Professor Constant Mews, 26.07.21.

¹²⁵ Grisart, “*Les Cathares dans le nord de la France*,” p. 516.

¹²⁶ Despy, “Les débuts de l’inquisition,” p.81; Matthew Paris estimated that the total number of deaths of Robert’s journey was closer to fifty, though this has not been confirmed in any other sources. Other reports mention an undisclosed number of executions by live burial, though these accounts are fewer in number, and thus more difficult to confirm.

¹²⁷ It is also significant that during this campaign, Robert operated in the archdiocese of Reims (in Champagne), and the archdiocese of Cambrai (in Peronne and Cambrai). This may indicate that he was no longer popular in the archdiocese of Sens-Auxerre, and so Robert went to Champagne and Cambrai to break new ground.

Wandering from fair to fair,
Robert was taken there by that whore,
who held sway at this time
But the Lord God delivered him
To whom he had quite sweetly prayed,
For he had been a decent man
Who had however loved women

All because of a lady from Milan.
Brother Robert was trouble for her,
And he said that she would be pay for this
In his country, if he/she were to go back there.¹²⁸

Richer, on the other hand, describes more explicitly his relationship to a Cathar woman:

There was in these days in Paris, Robert by name, a most learned man and clear in speech from the Order of Preachers, who had such great grace that none was considered second to him. But as it happened, he was totally given to the glory of the world and to debauchery (*luxuria*). He composed by certain magic art a letter (*cartula*) so that whenever he placed the *cartula* on anyone's head, that person would speak, willy-nilly, whatever he wanted. On a certain day when he saw in his preaching a certain beautiful woman, he desired her in spirit. Instructing her that she should speak with him after the sermon. Coming to a certain hidden place, where he was waiting for her to wish to confess to him, he addressed her and so that he could accomplish his will, constrained her with threats and smooth words. What more? She denied, he insisted and threatened. If she did not do so, he would charge her with heresy and have her burned at the stake. The following day, he made that woman come to him in the presence of everyone, and putting a hand on her, he asked in a loud voice: Are you not from the sect of the heretics? She said: I am indeed. "Do you want to return to the Catholic faith? She however said: "No" He said: "Do you rather wish to be burned than deny that sect?" She replied: "I wish so". He

¹²⁸ *De fieste en fieste adès esrans./ Robers i fu de la Galie/ Pris, retenue a cele fie./ Mais Dam-el-Dieux l'en délivra/ Qu'il moult docement empria / Quar il avoit preudom esté/ Mais les femes avoit amé,/ Pour une dame de Melans./ Li fu frere Robiers nuisance,/ Et dist qu'encor le comperroit/ En son país, s'il i venoit.* Mouskès, *Chronique rimée*, vol. 2, verses 28989–28999. Translation by Earl Jeffrey Richards, 26.07.21.

said: “Do you hear how this woman has confessed her foulness?” And those said to him in amazement that they had never heard such a thing said about her; and thus she was handed over to the guard. For that matron had a clerical son, a young man of good character, who touched by sorrow for the mother went around the neighbours and kinfolk, asking them if he was able to free his mother in any way from the danger of death. To whom a certain person who was a servant/intimate (*familiaris*) to that preacher, truly sorrowing, said to him: Go tomorrow to the public consistory because your mother will be examined again. “You however stand next to her; and when master Robert puts his hand on your mother and asks her about the faith, you because you are stronger than him. take his hand firmly and take that *cartula* which you will find on her and keep it for yourself. And when the cleric took the said *cartula* from the hand of that Preacher, that matron swore as previously interrogated in front of everyone, that he had never heard these words nor had she ever been interrogated by master Robert about faith, nor had she ever replied to him in anything, nor had she ever heard what heresy was. The son showed that *cartula* to everyone and because by diabolic art the same Preacher deceived whom he wanted through that *cartula*, he handed them over to death. The people indeed hearing this strove to kill him; but seized by the cleric, he was sent into a stone prison, to be shut up for ever. And because by the said art, he had had [his] father and mother and many other innocent people burned as guilty to conceal his own iniquity, God decreed that such a punishment should be imposed on him in the present life, if perchance he might be converted while still alive.¹²⁹

These passages are compelling for a number of reasons. Most obviously is the juxtaposition in attitude; Mouskés clearly condones Robert’s behaviour, while Richer is overtly critical. Mouskés frames Robert’s actions as being ordained by God. His mysterious involvement with an alleged heretical woman is underplayed and presented as a one-off deviation from

¹²⁹ Richer of Senones, *Gesta Senonensis Ecclesiae*, III.18, ed. G. Waitz, MGH SS XXV, pp. 307-308. Translation by Earl Jeffrey Richards, 26.07.21.

otherwise honourable behaviour. Furthermore, Mouskés apparently sees no conflict between his portrayal of Robert and the ease with which he threatens his opponent. Richer's account, by comparison, allows for a more robust analysis. Perhaps most prominently, it speaks to the overwhelming and unchecked power that Robert held as an inquisitor. In the first line of the document, the author conveys that there is an assumed collective belief in magic (amongst both Church clerics and the laity), and implies Robert's use of this belief to weaponise his own resources. Robert is depicted as a lone operator who, not representing the interests of the papacy, enacts his own personal objectives. His moral dubiousness is depicted as his investigation is galvanised because of his attraction to this particular woman.¹³⁰ Robert threatens the woman with the harshest possible punishment, with no reference to a due process of trial and investigation. Her son's willingness and ability to confront Robert is remarkable for revealing attitudes to the inquisitor – Richer implies there was genuine hostility towards him. The actual process of the deponent's questioning is clearly intended to underscore Robert's complete power over individuals – in both bureaucratic as well as psychological terms. The fact that Robert here uses a "magic" *cartula*, that is, an external object rather than simply claiming magical powers (as he had done himself in the past) is an intriguing detail. Considering that the source here is Richer of Senones, a monk himself, it seems that Richer wanted to distance the Church as far as possible from magic. Additionally, Robert's use of the *cartula*, rather than being inherently magical himself, disempowers the latterly disgraced figure. Moreover, if the Church had magical beings doing its bidding, heretics would hardly be considered the critical threat to Christianity for which they had come to be known. According to Richer's account, the clergy are eventually redeemed as the true and just ethical authority by prosecuting the corrupt member of their own ranks. Finally, in the last sentence of the passage, Richer makes a two-fold, albeit indirect, appeal to morality: the first frames Robert as engaging in premeditated, cognisant murder in order to distract from his own sinfulness (though the logic of this argument itself is clearly circuitous). The second presents God – and by extension, the clergy – as magnanimous, suggesting that Robert can yet still be forgiven should he attempt to make reparations for his manifold sins (which significantly include the accusation of Robert ordering the deaths of both his parents). In reading between the lines of this passage, the author's contention is not only stated, but

¹³⁰ As a Dominican, Robert was supposed to have been bound by a vow of celibacy.

reiterated repeatedly: Robert was an individualistic iconoclast who had spiralled out of the papacy's control.

Between 1236 and 1238, Robert seems to have disappeared from the historical record. By 1238, however, he re-emerged, exerting his now considerable power with unprecedented force. Robert first made a brief appearance in the Low Countries, in which he oversaw an unspecified number of executions.¹³¹ Here, Robert was again accompanied by royal protection, representing both Louis IX and the churches of Cambrai, and in so doing, helping the crown extend royal authority in Flanders.

Mont Wimer

Our final sighting of Robert takes place at what we might consider to be the zenith of his career, in one of the single bloodiest episodes of inquisitorial history. This incident took place on 13 May, 1239, at the castle of the count of Champagne, in the town of Mont Wimer, now known as Mont-Aimé.¹³² The town, nestled in the middle of Champagne, had historically been a safe-haven for provincial heretics. According to contemporary sources, Robert received news of a large Cathar community thriving under an Archbishop Moranis, and thus he immediately set about destroying the coterie.¹³³ In a mere seven-day investigation, Robert brought charges of heresy to up to 187 of the town's inhabitants.¹³⁴ He then set about organising a grand mass *auto-da-fé*, to which he had invited a long list of dignitaries and ecclesiastical officials, including Theobald I, the King of Navarre, the Count of Champagne, the archbishop of Rheims and ten of his suffragans, sixteen bishops – notably including the bishops of Sens, Lyon, Orleans, Troyes, Meaux, Verdun, and Langres, along with “many abbots, priors and deans.”¹³⁵ As with the previous burnings attended by various luminaries, their presence here is significant. It implies that Robert was acting with the cooperation or

¹³¹ *Chronica Albrici Monachi Trium Fontium*, p. 937.

¹³² Stephen of Bourbon. “Tractatus de septem donis Spiritus Sancti.” *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum*, ed. J. Quétif and J. Echard, vol. 1, Paris, 1719, p. 190.

¹³³ Alternatively titled ‘Bishop Moranis,’ depending on the text (e.g. Grisart, p. 516, uses the moniker of ‘bishop’); Whilst many authors hold that it had remained a refuge for the religiously disenfranchised, Malcolm Lambert argues that the town was rather chosen for its past association with heresy as a political statement. He also notes that the town was not a natural topographic stronghold, but was surrounded by lords who were neither sympathetic, not tolerant of Catharism; Malcolm Lambert, *The Cathars*, Oxford: Wiley, 1998, p. 124.

¹³⁴ The exact number is unclear; the most frequently cited numbers are 183 and 187, or simply “over 180” individuals.

¹³⁵ Haskins, *The American Historical Review*, vol. 7, no. 4, p. 635n5.

active support of these individuals, indicating a complex network of collaboration between the religious and political powers of the area. The vast geographic area represented by the officials suggests that the victims were extricated from their Sees, underscoring the considerable power Robert had managed to amass over his short career.¹³⁶

The details of the actual mass murder are sparse, with the extant evidence being provided by Alberic of Trois-Fontaines.¹³⁷ Alberic describes the Cathars engaging in the practice of the *consolamentum* at the scene.¹³⁸ Here, he describes how the Archbishop Moranis performed the rite on every willing Cathar at the pyre, proclaiming, just before the stakes were lit, “You will all be saved, absolved by my hands; I alone am damned, because I do not have a superior who will absolve me.”¹³⁹ Alberic chronicled that not all ecclesiastical dignitaries remained to witness the end of the events, but did state that an impressive crowd had gathered to witness the event. Estimating with what we can assume was slight exaggeration, Alberic claimed that seven hundred thousand men, women and children of all classes came to witness the spectacle that Robert had choreographed.¹⁴⁰ Even allowing for exaggeration, this event was, by a large margin, the grandest and most significant episode of Robert’s persecution against the Cathars. It serves as evidence of both Robert’s cultivated power, as well as his self-assurance in applying that authority.

Despite the incident at Mont Wimer being characterised by Alberic as a performance of triumphalism, it proved to be Robert’s undoing. A series of complaints were made by both the clergy and civil authority, to which the Pope responded with an investigation assigned to Matthew Paris.¹⁴¹ Though it is unclear exactly who made these complaints, it is reasonable to assume, given the number of dignitaries at the event, that it was perhaps primarily individuals

¹³⁶ Lambert, *The Cathars*, p.124

¹³⁷ Etienne de Bourbon provides an account as well in his *De Tractatus Diversis Materiis*. See Stephani de Borbone, *Tractatus de diversis materiis predicabilibus*, ed. Jacques Berlioz and Jean-Luc Eichenlaub. Turnhout: Brepols, 2002.

¹³⁸ This was the ritual of absolution by which the ordinary Cathar follower was elevated to the rank of ‘perfectus.’ As a perfectus, one was no longer permitted to partake in any of the ‘evil’ of the material world, including carnal relationships, food or drink. The ceremony was therefore only typically performed close to one’s death.

¹³⁹ *Chronica Albrici Monachi Trium Fontium*, p. 945.

¹⁴⁰ See footnote 43.

¹⁴¹ Marcel Pacaut, “Robert le petit dit Robert le bougre (XIIIe s.)” *Encyclopædia Universalis*, accessed 20.09.18. URL: <https://www.universalis.fr/encyclopedie/robert-le-petit-dit-robert-le-bougre/>

who had been first-hand witnesses to the burnings. If Alberic's account is any indication of the sentiment of the masses, these complaints were not likely registered out of pity for the victims. It seems, rather, as though the burnings served as proof that Robert's degree of power had become untenable, and at odds with the rectitude of the Church he claimed to represent. According to Matthew Paris, Robert went far beyond the limits of moderation and justice, punishing, in the pride of his power and terror, the simple and the innocent along with the wicked; "Great numbers of innocent people were infatuated by him and then handed over to their death."¹⁴² This, Paris contends, was the true cause of his downfall.¹⁴³

Robert's orchestration of the mass burnings at Mont Wimer would prove to be his last verifiable sighting. We know that soon after the events at Mont Wimer, Robert was removed from his office, though exactly when and by whom are not reflected in extant sources. If, as it is assumed, the Pope personally revoked his title and authority, the bull was not recorded in the papal registers, and it is thus impossible to accurately determine even an approximate date of when Robert stopped working as an inquisitor. If, alternatively, he was removed by members of the Dominican Order or simply by a papal legate, the likelihood of finding evidence of this is even more remote.¹⁴⁴ As we have seen, Richer of Senones held that Robert "was condemned to perpetual imprisonment."¹⁴⁵ Writing after 1251, Matthew Paris claims that Robert was in actuality, "by means of a large sum of money," as well as to avoid a further scandal, able to be received as a canon of the church of St Victor.¹⁴⁶ Gerard of Frachet, a French Dominican chronicler, writing between 1255-1260, has a slightly different version of what happened to him in the last part of his life:

¹⁴² "At length he abused the power granted to him, and transgressing the limits of modesty and justice, being proud, powerful, and formidable, he embodied the good with the evil, and punished the innocent and the guilty. He was therefore ordered by the papal authority not to rage any longer by thundering in that office. Afterwards, he was sentenced to jail for perpetual imprisonment, for his more obvious faults, which I deem better to keep silent than to explain." My translation. Originally: *Tandem abutens potestate sibi concessa, et fines modestiae transgrediens et justitiae, elatus, potens, et formidabilis, bonos cum malis confundens involvit, et insontes et simplices punivit. Auctoritate igitur papali jussus est praecise ne amplius in illo officio fulminando desaeiret. Qui postea, manifestius clarescentibus culpis suis, quas melius aestimo reticere quam explicare, adjudicatus est perpetuo carceri mancipari. Chronica Majora*, ed. Luard, vol. 3, p. 520; "Ex Historia Anglorum," p. 411.

¹⁴³ Ibid., *Chronica Majora*, ed. Luard, vol. 3, p. 520.

¹⁴⁴ Haskins, *The American Historical Review*, no. 4, p. 638.

¹⁴⁵ Richer de Senones, *Chronicon*, MGHSS. XXV, pp. 307-308.

¹⁴⁶ "Ex Historia Anglorum," p. 448. On the authority of the Dominicans to imprison erring brothers see the *acta* of the general chapters of 1238 and 1240, Benedikt M Reichert and Franz A. Frühwirth, *Acta Capitulum Generalium Ordinis Praedicatorum*. Rome: In domo generalitia, 1898, p. 10, 16; and Potthast, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*, vol 2, pp.945, 11089.

There was a certain other man in France who had the office of inquisitor and was in such renown that almost the whole of France trembled before him and even the great held him in the highest reverence. Relying on his popularity, he became insolent and unwilling to govern himself by the advice of his elders, so that the friars at Paris kept him for a long time in bonds until his friends finally succeeded in inducing the Pope to have him released and received into another order. He joined first the brothers of the Trinity and then those of St. Victor, but having been expelled from each of these orders because of his evil deeds, he at last entered Clairvaux. Here he began with great honour, but when his wickedness—which God did not allow to remain hidden long— was discovered, he was reduced to a vile position in that monastery. And so, having been confounded before many, he died not long afterward in great shame and sorrow.¹⁴⁷

What we do know is that no references to Robert are made after 1239. Henry Lea and Louis Tanon surmise that Robert fell from power by the close of 1239, while Jules Frederichs places the date at “about 1241.”¹⁴⁸ Haskins, on the other hand, asserts that Robert remained in office until at least 1244-1245.¹⁴⁹ In support of this claim, Haskins points to evidence of a preaching friar Robert of St Jacques appearing as one of the executors of a will in Flanders in the summer of 1242, as well as the mention of a “clerk Friar Robert of the Order of the Preachers” the following January.¹⁵⁰ The Annals of St. Medard imply that Robert remained

¹⁴⁷ Gérard de Frachet et al. *Fratris Gerardi de Fracheto O.P. Vitae Fratrum Ordinis Praedicatorum*, printed by E. Charpentier & J. Schoonjans, 1896, p. 292. For further discussion of religious responses to medieval imprisonment, see Megan Cassidy-Welch, *Imprisonment in the Medieval Religious Imagination, c. 1150-1400*. London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2011.

¹⁴⁸ For further information on each of these authors, see Lea’s *History of the Inquisition*, vol. 2, p. 116; Tanon’s *Histoire Des Tribunaux De L’inquisition En France*. 1893, p. 53; Jules Frederichs, *Robert Le Bougre, premier inquisiteur général en France, première moitié du XIIIe siècle*, Paris: Hachette, 2020, pp. 27, 32.

¹⁴⁹ Haskins, *The American Historical Review*, no. 4, p.639n1. Here he cites the Testament of Arnoul d’Audenarde, June and August, I 242, in *Inventaire . . . des Archives de la Chambre des Comptes de Lille*, Lille, 1865, vol. 1, 307, nos. 740, 741.

¹⁵⁰ Haskins, *The American Historical Review*, no. 4, 639n2. Here he cites Briôle et Coyecque, *Les Archives de l’Hôtel-Dieu de Paris*, 225, p. 466. Haskins also notes that potential support for this argument lies in the fact that Robert’s fall from grace is not mentioned at all by Mouskés, who he claims died in 1244/45. While his chronicle finishes in this year, Mouskés subsequently died c. 1282.

<https://www.biblicalencyclopedia.com/M/mouskes-philippe.html>, accessed 02.07.21

active until 1241.¹⁵¹ It could be that Robert's mandate as inquisitor lapsed with the death of Pope Gregory IX on 22 August 1241, and that it was not renewed when a new Pope (Innocent IV) was consecrated on 25 June 1243. We do indeed know, however, that Robert died before 1263. Based on numerous accounts, it is clear that Robert had left the Dominicans some years before.¹⁵² The fact that a figure who had become so notorious throughout France seemingly disappeared without a clear trace (or at best, in a flurry of confusion) implies that the exclusion of his demise was intentional. Without sufficient evidence, it is impossible to state why this might be with any certainty. However, it is reasonable to assume that Robert was, by the end of his career, dismissed as an embarrassment, and even as antithetical to the archetypal image of an inquisitor that the papacy was attempting to project.

Robert's Effect on the Inquisitorial Process

Despite Robert's considerable 'productivity' in rooting out and exterminating heretics, his unrestrained conduct exposed gaps in the existing system of inquisitorial instruction and procedure. Throughout the course of his career, Robert had influenced three fundamental ways in which inquisitors expressed their power: the way in which they engaged with fellow ecclesiastical legates; how they formulated strategies for dealing with the broader lay community;¹⁵³ and refined the way in which inquisitors mobilised their sources.¹⁵⁴ Robert's methods certainly bred terror, resentment of the Church, and threw into question the validity of his commission, and in turn, the burgeoning institution he claimed to represent.¹⁵⁵ Collectively, his practice highlighted the need for a better developed system in which inquisitors were trained, given clear legal parameters, monitored, and managed.

¹⁵¹ *Non solum istud factum est in isto anno [1236] sed ante per tres continuos annos et post per quinque continuos annos et plus. Annals of St. Medard of Soissons*, MGH SS. XXVI. p. 522. If this were the case, it would make sense that Robert's reign ended following the death of his personal contact and protector, Gregory IX, who died in this same year.

¹⁵² *Quondam frater Robertus dictus Lepetit, tunc ordinis fratrum Predicatorum, in illis partibus inquisitor pravitatis hujusmodi. Bull Constitutus of Urban IV., 29 October, 1263, in Chapotin, Histoire des Dominicains de la Province de France*, p.224; Haskins, *The American Historical Review*, vol. 7, no. 4, p. 640

¹⁵³ Including short and long term strategies, as well as the inquisitors' internal plans of dealing with heretics, and the way in which they externally and publicly dealt with heretics.

¹⁵⁴ This included legal obligations and loopholes, appeals to fear, the exploitation of social connections, withholding/ reporting unproven information that would affect the case's outcome, etc. This footnote as well as the one immediately previous was inspired by a similar (though broader) argument made in James Given's James Buchanan Given, *Inquisition and Medieval Society*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997, pp. 1-22.

¹⁵⁵ And indeed, his contemporary 'proto-inquisitors', as we might think of them – including Conrad of Marburg, Conrad of Dorso, and John the One-eyed – all had similar claims levied against them. Peters, *Inquisition*, p.57

The need for a more holistic and coherent inquisitorial enterprise was felt both by individual inquisitors, as well as the institution of the episcopate. The first attempts to establish a uniform set of inquisitorial praxis can arguably be seen in the creation of inquisitorial manuals. One of the first of these emerged in 1235 (roughly the same period in which Robert had returned from his suspension), entitled *Liber suprastella*, written by Salvo Burci, a Piacenzan layman with strong ties to the Dominican Order.¹⁵⁶ As we shall see in the next chapter, another manual produced between 1235-1236, titled the *Summa contra hereticos*, although anonymous, is broadly believed to have been penned by Peter of Verona, a prominent Dominican preacher.¹⁵⁷ Another early manual is that of Moneta of Cremona, a Dominican at the University of Bologna, who in c. 1241 wrote the *Summa adversus Catharos et Valdenses*, in which he categorically claims first-hand knowledge of the sect.¹⁵⁸ Similarly, a register of sentences passed against *credentes* from the diocese of Cahors, copied in the 1240s, reveals information that was considered to be important to inquisitors, and survived at least one stage of editing, indicating that it must have been of significant consequence to inquisitors.¹⁵⁹ The document further reveals that it was intelligence to be used for future inquisitors, in order to understand heretical culture and activity. Moreover, the document exposes a process of ongoing exploration, debate, and discussion.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁶ Salvo Burci, ed. Caterina Bruschi, *Liber suprastella*, Rome: Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo, 2002, p. 64.

¹⁵⁷ Thomas Kaepelli, "Une Somme contre les hérétiques de s. Pierre Martyr (?)," *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, vol 17, 1947, pp. 295-335. There are two manuscripts of the summa, 1) Perugia: Biblioteca comunale MS 1065 (N. 16) and 2) Florence: Biblioteca Nazionale MS Conv. Soppr., cod. 1738 A 9. Parts are translated by Austin P Evans and Walter L Wakefield. *Heresies of the High Middle Ages*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1991, pp. 274-8.; Various sources indicate that Peter makes an appearance in the city of Como in the mid 1230s, likely visiting the Dominican priory established there in 1233. Evidence further points to his living at the priory for some time, c.1235-6, as his name appears in several documents disputing property rights, Vladimir J. Koudelka, O.P., "La fondazione del convento domenicano di Como (1233-1240)," *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 36, 1966, pp. 412-14, 419-21, document 5, and one sixteenth century source discusses the contents of one of Peter's early sermons given there; Michele Pio, O.P., *Della nobile et generosa progenie del padre san Domenico in Italia*, Bologna, Sebastino Bonomi, 1615, pp. 276-8.

¹⁵⁸ Moneta of Cremona, *Venerabilis Patris Monetae Cremonensis ... Adversus Catharos Et Valdenses Libri Quinque*. ed. Tommaso Agostino Ricchini, Rome, 1743, repr. Ridgewood: Gregg, 1964.

¹⁵⁹ There is an edition of the register with a facing translation in French: *L'inquisition En Quercy: Le Register Des Pénitences de Pierre Cellan 1241-1242*, ed. J. Duvernoy, Castelnau La Chapelle, 2001. Jorg Feuchter suggests that this register was an aide-memoire for the inquisitors, or may have served in drawing up letters of safe conduct for penitent pilgrims, Pierre Sedan, "Le Pouvoir de l'inquisition à travers ses peines. Le cas de Montauban (1241)." *Inquisition et Pouvoir*, ed. G. Audisio, Aix-en-Provence: Presses universitaires de Provence, 2003. pp. 235-255.

¹⁶⁰ Additionally, the preservation of a few inquisitorial registers from the 1240s in Languedoc signal the beginnings of a more systematic inquisitorial approach. For further discussion, see Claire Taylor, "Evidence for Dualism in inquisitorial Registers of the 1240s: A Contribution to a Debate." *History*, vol. 98, no. 3 (331), 2013, pp. 319-345.

The most significant councils focusing primarily on anti-heretical activity were not held until the early 1240s, exemplifying how institutional change was galvanised by the lowest actors in the inquisitorial managerial hierarchy. The Council of Tarragona, convoked in 1242, served to centralise and regulate inquisitorial procedures, and became, as Lucy Sackville describes it, “a sort of inquisitorial handbook in its own right.”¹⁶¹ Here, heretical activity was categorised into varying levels of transgression, and included all heretical participants – from leaders to casual supporters – in this process of classification. A variety of punishments were additionally ascribed to each heretical activity, according to its severity. The recurrent theme of this council, and indeed the councils before it that were not as single-mindedly focused on the prosecution of heresy, was the exclusion of convicted heretics from influential social positions, or indeed, interactions.¹⁶² Each of these canons contributed to what would become the substantial inquisitorial legislative material. The Great Council of the provinces of Narbonne, Arles, and Aix, which served as the institutional basis of inquisitorial conduct, was held in Narbonne, c.1243-1244. Here, an intricate series of canons were introduced, notably one in which sentences are executed in the name of inquisitors, though if the bishop of the province or any other notable individual also took part, they were to be mentioned as an “assessor.”¹⁶³ The Council of Béziers, convened in 1246, furthermore puts much more emphasis on a slow and thorough process of condemnation and subsequent punishment. Each of these canons was later integrated into the growing body of inquisitorial statutes that were then reproduced and cited in inquisitorial literature, as well as inaugurating a tradition of discussion and practice that, in turn, influenced later councils and legislation. Together, these tribunals instituted a series of systemic laws that removed the ability of inquisitors to improvise or use their own discretion when it came to the seeking out, sentencing, and executing punishments of heretics.

¹⁶¹ L. J. Sackville, “The Church’s Institutional Response to Heresy in the 13th Century,” in *A Companion to Heresy Inquisitions*, ed. D. Prudlo, Leiden: Brill, 2019, pp. 125-6.

¹⁶² The other councils include those of Narbonne, in 1227, Toulouse, in 1229, and Béziers, in 1232.

¹⁶³ Claude de Vic and Joseph Vaissette, *Histoire générale de Languedoc avec des notes et les pièces justificatives*, vol. 3, Paris: Jacques Vincent, 1742, pp. 364, 370-371.

Conclusion

As one of the first practicing inquisitors, Robert ‘le Bougre’ has historically been dismissed as a madman, a zealot, or a tool used strategically by the papacy. This chapter argues, however, that his contribution to the process of hunting out heresy is significant. Robert’s long sojourn in Lombardy evidently made clear to him that in this more urbanised society, one could only affect radical change through preaching, as we shall see in the following chapters. As an ex-Cathar who had spent at least ten years with that sect in Milan, Robert expressed extreme fervour, ostensibly because of his conversion. His career clearly relied on a close connection to the secular arm, that is, the utilisation of threats of violence. The (mostly) uncontrolled conduct that defined his career revealed a clear lack of juridical inquisitorial structure, meaning that there existed an opportunity for rogue inquisitors to potentially bypass episcopal authority under the guise of working directly for the Pope. Thus, Robert’s actions inadvertently helped galvanise the inquisition further to cultivate its ideologies, practices, and structure in its most critical developmental stage.¹⁶⁴ With this in mind, we can effectively reconsider Robert’s legacy. Rather than Robert being simply repudiated as an anomalous agent that took advantage of his powers and lack of institutional oversight, he can instead be considered a pivotal figure exemplifying substantial changes taking place in the structures of authority. Through the course of his career, Robert ‘le Bougre’ was in fact announcing a profound phenomenon: the new control of what would become the medieval inquisition. It would be left to other ex-Cathar Dominicans, however, to take the process to a new stage. In the eyes of the papacy and the Dominican Order, the violence and suspicion that Robert generated needed to be replaced by someone with an image of inalienable holiness.

¹⁶⁴ Indeed, “During the 13th century the inquisitorial procedure became the standard form of criminal procedure throughout most of Europe... As a Romano–canonical procedure, it shaped European jurisprudence and legal practice until the end of the 18th century.” Edward Peters, *Inquisition*, London: Collier Macmillan, 1988, p. 52.

Chapter 2

Peter of Verona: The Canonized Inquisitor

Introduction

According to the report of an eyewitness, Peter of Verona arose and set off at dawn from the Dominican convent of Como, southbound for the city of Milan on 6 April 1252. On the journey, Peter and three of his fellow friars celebrated mass, regaled each other with tales of their favourite martyrs, and sang *Victimae paschali* (a sequence recited on the octave of Easter). The quartet split off into two pairs for lunch, not wanting to burden a single monastery unnecessarily. Peter and his *socius*, friar Domenico ate quickly and resumed their travel, sending word with a messenger for the other brothers to catch them up. Soon after they had resumed their journey, however, the pair were attacked by a man brandishing a broad-axe. He struck Peter twice in the head, and once on the shoulder, before concentrating his attack on Domenico. As Peter lay dying, he reportedly recited “*In manus tuas, Domine, Commendo spiritum meum,*” (Into your hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit). He then began the Apostle’s Creed, a prayer summarising the core tenets of belief that the apostles preached. However, he was not able to finish the prayer, for he was cut short when the attacker’s final blow crushed his skull.¹⁶⁵

Peter of Verona (c. 1203-1252) was subsequently canonized as a saint on 9 March 1253, the fastest canonisation in the history of the Church. Peter, remembered as having been born as a Cathar who later converted to Christian orthodoxy, was active as a preacher from the 1230s until his death. He would become remembered as the first Dominican ‘inquisitor saint.’ Yet while he was alive, he was known to his contemporaries above all as a preacher, not as an inquisitor. Why then was Peter and his mission framed so quickly in such definitive, yet fundamentally inaccurate terms? And why was his canonisation rushed through with such urgency? Whereas Robert ‘le Bougre’ operated during the 1230s under an improvisational, reactive model of prosecution and exposed the need for tighter overarching control over

¹⁶⁵ All details of this account are drawn directly from The Fragment of the inquisition into the Murder of Peter Martyr, edited in J. S. Villa, “Processo per l’uccisione di S. Pietro Martire,” *Archivio Storico Lombardo*, vol. 4, 1877, pp. 790-4.

independent inquisitorial agents, Peter came to embody a new phase in the inquisition's development, helping to reinvent and legitimize its objective and identity.

In this chapter, I argue that although Peter was indeed nominally an inquisitor, he is more accurately conceptualised as a preacher, social advocate, and legislative reformer who was primarily concerned about the theological threat of heresy. I contend that Peter's fundamental identity was transformed after his death by the papacy and the leadership of the Dominican Order, into a figure on whom the papacy could superimpose their preferred image of a saintly inquisitor. Peter's death served several further specific functions: it both sharpened existing anxieties about the re-emergence of heresy and its inherent threat to the survival of the Church, and provided political leverage for Innocent IV. Within this context, Peter helped restore the Church's reputation, and to introduce for the first time, a much more intentional, structured vision of inquisitorial power and legislation. Peter's death therefore led to a hardening of the emerging inquisition's structure, and ultimately constituted a major catalyst in the transformation of the papacy's political dominance.

Sources Relating to Peter of Verona

Peter of Verona is thought to have written the *Summa contra hereticos* during an extended visit to the Dominican priory of Como, c. 1235-1236.¹⁶⁶ Thomas Kaepelli has argued that the work was written by a Dominican friar who had an active hand in the campaigns against heretics in northern Italy. One of the two surviving copies of the manuscript was printed as *Contra Patarinos Petri martiris*.¹⁶⁷ The work is structured into four sections, the first of which examines Christian belief through a discussion of the creed and seven sacraments, before conducting a comparative analysis against Catharism. The remaining three sections discuss other heresies. The first section illustrates the author's knowledge of Cathar doctrine, as well

¹⁶⁶ Kaepelli, "Une Somme contre les hérétiques," pp. 295-335. There are two manuscripts of the summa, 1) Perugia: Biblioteca comunale MS 1065, no. 16, and 2) Florence Biblioteca Nazionale MS Conv. Soppr., cod. 1738 A 9. Partial translation in Evans and Wakefield, *Heresies of the High Middle Ages*, pp. 274-278. Various sources indicate that Peter makes an appearance in the city of Como in the mid 1230s, likely visiting the Dominican priory established there in 1233. Evidence further points to his living at the priory for some time, c.1235-1236, as his name appears in several documents disputing property rights. See document 5, Koudelka, "La fondazione del convento domenicano di Como," pp. 412-414, 419-421. One sixteenth century source discusses the contents of one of Peter's early sermons given there. Michele Pio, O.P., *Della nobile et generosa progenie del padre san Domenico in Italia* (Bologna: Sebastino Bonomi, 1615), pp. 276-278.

¹⁶⁷ Karen Sullivan, *The Inner Lives of Medieval Inquisitors*. 2nd ed., Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013, p. 121.

as his training in Christian dogma. Often taking the form of a debate, the text singles out a Cathar bishop named Peter Gallus, as well as other Cathar perfects the author apparently knows personally. The author alludes to his own personal experience with Catharism, and evinces his thorough understanding of the sect's culture. The author also demonstrates his logical aptitude as well as his expert knowledge of scripture and general philosophy, referencing, amongst others, Augustine, Aristotle, Cassiodorus, Cicero, Gregory, Hippocrates, Lucan, Plato, and Virgil. The subsequent sections are less structured and systematic, discussing the fundamental errors of belief in other minor sects.¹⁶⁸ Strikingly, the author represents all heretics with substantial intricacy. In some descriptions, he encourages his audience to liken them to criminals and describes them as suffering from “insanity,” being led by “diabolical fantasies,” and should be forcibly restrained.¹⁶⁹ In other sections, however, he represents them as contemplative and worthy of respect, who can, through philosophical argument, empirical evidence, and proper biblical exegesis, be rationally persuaded to return to the Church. The author portrays these figures as multifaceted, complex individuals and seems to echo the sentiment that he felt a particular kinship with these heretics —being of the same spiritual provenance and potentially embarking on the same religious journey.

Of particular importance to this chapter is the bull *Ad extirpanda*, issued by Pope Innocent IV on 15 May, 1252, a mere six weeks after Peter's assassination. The bull was written as a direct response to the growing public profile of heretics who imposed political competition to the Church. Heretics had “grown so strong that they no longer practise their wickedness in secret, as others do, but proclaim their error publicly and draw the simple and weak to join them.”¹⁷⁰ Punitive measures were therefore targeted at limiting the public influence of heretics – whether they had been convicted or simply suspected of such charges. *Ad extirpanda* originally introduced 38 new laws to enshrine both the means and method of systematised persecution, whilst taking into account the needs of all involved parties.¹⁷¹ Addressed to the governmental administration in northern Italy, the document established the balance of power as belonging to the triumvirate of the bishop, inquisitor, and civic authority,

¹⁶⁸ Donald Prudlo, *The Martyred Inquisitor: The Life and Cult of Peter of Verona (1252)*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008, p. 34.

¹⁶⁹ Sullivan, *The Inner Lives of Medieval Inquisitors*, p. 121.

¹⁷⁰ Donald Prudlo, *A Companion to Heresy inquisitions*. Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers, 2019, p.110.

¹⁷¹ Jill Moore, *The Inquisition and its Organisation in Italy, 1250-1350*, Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2019, p. 41; Innocent IV, Bull *Ad extirpanda*. Issued 15 May 1252, Ripoll, *Bullarium Ordinis FF. Praedicatorum*, vol. 1, 1729, pp. 209-12.

which the bull stipulated could be adjusted depending on the needs of their situation. The bull is considered to be one of the most important in the history of the inquisition, as it concerns itself primarily with the treatment of heretics – notoriously condoning for the first time the use of torture in eliciting confession – and because it compels the involvement of secular authorities and local communities.

The “*Fragment of the Inquisition into the Murder of Peter Martyr*” contains the earliest report of Peter’s death, written in the autumn (September to November) of 1252.¹⁷² The investigation into his death led to the testimonies of two Cathar individuals guilty of orchestrating Peter’s murder being recounted to the inquisitor Rainerio Sacchoni and fra Daniele of the Order of the Preachers (who were incidentally also ex-Cathar converts). The report can be considered to be relatively reliable, and has served as a cornerstone for understanding the technical organisation of the operation.

A more precise vignette about Peter is provided by a letter of Roderic d’ Attencia to Raymond of Peñafort, written in 1252.¹⁷³ Both Attencia and Peñafort were, like the chroniclers mentioned previously, devout Dominicans. Attencia was a hagiographer who worked throughout France and Spain, while Peñafort was a prominent Dominican friar, known for his compilation of the Decretals of Gregory IX. The unfinished letter ostensibly draws on a document that details the investigation into Peter’s murder, as it consistently corroborates these first-hand accounts of the event. However, the letter never overtly states where Roderic d’ Attencia attained his information. It is the first narrative document outlining the timeline of Peter’s final weeks, his death, and the immediate fallout of his murder.

Also important is the papal bull *Magnis et Crebris* issued by Innocent IV on 9 April 1253, announcing Peter’s canonisation a mere eleven months after his murder, on 25 March 1253.¹⁷⁴ This bull acts as a long obituary, in which Peter’s life and service to the Church is described

¹⁷² J. S. Villa, “Processo per l’uccisione di S. Pietro Martire,” *Archivio Storico Lombardo*, vol. 4, 1877, pp. 790-794. The investigation seems to be in direct response to a chain of events following Peter’s murder: On the same day as promulgating *Ad extirpanda*, Pope Innocent IV sent a letter of condolence to the Dominican brotherhood, who were at this point assembling for their upcoming general chapter in Bologna to celebrate Pentecost. The Dominicans then appealed to Innocent to authorise a committee to investigate the life and miracles of Peter of Verona. In response, he issued the bull *Judicium Ecclesia de his* on 31 August 1252, in which he commanded an inquiry into the causes of Peter and Domenico’s deaths.

¹⁷³ “Documents sur Saint Pierre Martyr,” *Année Dominicaine*, 1889, pp.901-10.

¹⁷⁴ Edited in Ripoll, *Bullarium Ordinis Praedicatorum*, Rome, 1729, vol. 1, pp. 228-30.

and venerated. Significantly, it is also the oldest extant document that introduces Peter's miracles. As an official papal document, it inevitably promotes a specific vision of Peter over verifiable truth.

The earliest biography of Peter of Verona is that supplied by Gérard of Frachet (c. 1260) within his *Vitae Fratrum*, written in response to the request issued at the Dominican General Chapter in 1256. It incorporates stories from numerous first-hand witnesses, and therefore provides the reader with an understanding of Peter's standing amongst his peers.

There also exists a *Vita* by Tommaso Agni da Lentino (c. 1270), a fellow Dominican and later a bishop of Bethlehem, archbishop of Cosenza, and Latin patriarch of Jerusalem.¹⁷⁵ His highly stylised account consistently drew parallels between Peter and Christ's own life, with special attention to Peter's performance of miracles. Because Agni was attempting to promote the argument that Peter mirrors many of Christ's milestones, it is not easy to discern fact from fiction.

Additionally, the *Legenda Aurea*, or 'Golden Legend' was written by friar Jacopo da Varazze (c.1260), who later became the archbishop of Genoa.¹⁷⁶ The text featured Peter of Verona in a broader collection of the lives of saints, and included both factual and more fanciful fictional tales. The purpose of these stories was to engage, encourage, and educate both fellow Dominicans as well as the faithful. Because its main function was to captivate its audiences and secondarily serve as moralistic tales, little importance was placed upon historical accuracy. With this in mind, I have decided to not include a close analysis of the text in this chapter.

Secondary Literature

Although there has been much scholarship about the inquisition as an institution, little has been written about its early development. Even for a figure as comparatively famous as Peter of Verona, only three extensive modern treatments of his life in its entirety exist: a single journal article written by the French Dominican Friar, Antoine Dondaine, a journal article by

¹⁷⁵Tommaso Agni da Lentino, *Vita Sancti Petri Martyris Ordinis Praedicatorum*, Toulouse: Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 481, fol.34v. 1.3, p.688.

¹⁷⁶*Jacobi a Voragine legenda aurea vulgo historia lombardica dicta*, 2nd ed. T. Graesse, Leipzig: impensis librariae Arnoldianae, 1850. 281

Christine Caldwell Ames, and the far more substantial book exploring his life and the post-mortem growth of his cult, written by Donald Prudlo.¹⁷⁷

Dondaine's article from 1953 is largely exploratory in nature. His primary contribution is in his discovery of, and investigation into, what he terms 'non-traditional' documents to enrich existing historical accounts of Peter of Verona, such as the letters of Roderic d'Attencia and cardinal John Colonna. Dondaine's inclusive approach to using these sources was borne of his dissatisfaction that the 'real' Peter was neither represented nor understood, and his stated desire to separate fact from legend. Dondaine argues for minimising Peter's role as an inquisitor, and to more distinctly separate him from the movement in its entirety. This chapter builds on Dondaine's seminal efforts, making particular use of his innovative application of sources. I reinforce Dondaine's fundamental argument that Peter of Verona's role as inquisitor has been historically overestimated, but differ in demonstrating that Peter's memory was pivotal in the construction of the inquisition. I contend that Peter's legacy provided the theoretical, political, and social precedent around which elemental inquisitorial legislature was built.

In 2000, and over half a century after Dondaine, Christine Caldwell Ames wrote her article, "Peter Martyr: The Inquisitor as Saint," which was soon followed by her PhD Dissertation, "Doctors of Souls: Inquisition and the Dominican Order, 1231–1331," and later, her book, *Righteous Persecution*.¹⁷⁸ Her works are widely known for their exceptional level of thoroughness. The common thread in all these works is the exploration of the multifaceted nature of the inquisitor's profile in medieval society, and the way in which men who defined themselves as devout and intelligent could devote their lives to inquisitorial practice. Caldwell Ames discusses the ways in which inquisitors negotiated for increased focus on the inquisitorial process within the Church. Most significantly, Caldwell Ames introduced the idea that Peter's identity as a holy figure could be reconciled with his being an inquisitor, and that his being an inquisitor. In doing so, she provides insightful discussion into the inquisitor's

¹⁷⁷ Antoine Dondaine, "Saint Pierre Martyr: Etudes," *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, vol. 23, 1953, pp. 66-162; Prudlo, *The Martyred Inquisitor*.

¹⁷⁸ Christine Caldwell, "Peter Martyr: The Inquisitor as Saint," *Comitatus: A Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, vol. 31, no. 1, 2000.; "Doctors of Souls: Inquisition and the Dominican Order, 1231–1331." University of Notre Dame, PhD Dissertation, 2002.; *Righteous Persecution*. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009.

impact on both the culture of the broader laity, as well as that of the Dominican Order. She argues that by the fourteenth century, the Dominican Order had successfully rewritten their own history to underscore inquisitorial work as their central spiritual calling. In her work on Peter of Verona, Caldwell Ames writes extensively about his performance of miracles, and the way in which his identity became critical in re-centring the Dominican Order's identity over the fourteenth century. Though my position is similar to that of Caldwell Ames, her argument concentrates on the proliferation of Peter's cult in the long-term culture, whereas I examine the influence of his life and death on local culture in the immediate years following his death, and the way in which this directly shaped both religious and secular law, especially within the context of inquisitorial practice.

Donald Prudlo, writing in 2008, makes extensive use of both his predecessors' work. Prudlo's self-proclaimed intent was to provide a "modern critical biography" of the saint. It is incomparably thorough, if slightly apologetic in tone. His book is divided into two parts. The first is a close examination of Peter's biography, leading up to and including his death in 1252. Prudlo derives most of his information from the early hagiographies written by Tommaso Agni and Gérard de Frachet, as well as referring to (with occasional emendations of) Dondaine's work. The second section of the book analyses the way in which Peter's image, and to a greater extent, his cult, were forged and proliferated in the decades following his death. The result of Peter's religious impact, Prudlo holds, is his earning the "triple crown"—an accolade referring to his martyrdom, virginity, and scholarship. Throughout both sections, Prudlo provides essential information relating to both the ecclesiastical and political context, including papal-imperial relations, the development of the mendicant orders, the laity, and the state of Catharism throughout Italy. Following his conclusion, Prudlo includes an epilogue in which he examines the eventual decline of Peter's cult. Lastly, he furnishes his reader with an appendix in which he provides translations and discussion of key primary sources used throughout the book. Prudlo's central arguments emerge in this second section, revolving predominantly around the development of Peter's image and the way in which this influenced the dynamic evolution of his cult. He first contends that the root cause of his being targeted for assassination had little to do with his inquisitorial role. His short tenure as inquisitor did not allow him to enact substantial change in this capacity, and thus, Prudlo maintains, he does not deserve the reputation of being a persecutor. He argues, rather, that

Peter posed a threat by virtue of his oratorical talents, his personal cachet, and his ascetic lifestyle. He argues that the Dominican Order used his murder as an opportunity to promote their fraternity, reassert their influence, and further refine the Order's identity. He holds that Peter soon came to be regarded as comparably important to saint Dominic Guzman, the Dominicans' founder of the Order. Moreover, he argues that the cult that sprung up around Peter's memory was a direct result of Peter's popularity. Prudlo criticises other historians who have written on Peter of Verona more cursorily – including G. G. Merlo, M. Goodich, and J. Le Goff – who hold that Peter's canonisation was due principally to political motives, portraying him as an archetypal 'inquisitor-saint.'¹⁷⁹ Prudlo argues, rather, that Peter's swift canonisation was in recognition of his genuine sanctity. His focus lies in the expansion of Peter's cult and his relationship to the Dominican Order and pious laity. Prudlo additionally traces the ensuing cultural impact of Peter's cult over several centuries, investigating its far-reaching religious effects predominantly on the devout and superstitious masses. My study differs in that it uses Peter as a means to help answer the overarching question of this thesis: how select ex-Cathars influenced the early evolution of the inquisitorial process between the 1220s and 1260s. This chapter accordingly explores the influence Peter's Cathar roots may have had on his conduct, and to a much greater extent, the way in which Peter's legacy was used in the years immediately following his death by the upper echelons of both political and ecclesiastic society to establish the inquisition.

Context

By the 1240s, Catharism throughout Lombardy was thriving due to several factors. The death of Emperor Frederick I (1122-1190) had stirred dormant enmity between the pro-imperial Ghibelline and the pro-papal Guelf factions in Lombardy, provoking brutal political conflict that raged on throughout the thirteenth century. This simultaneously diverted papal attention away from growing Cathar hostility to Catholic orthodoxy.¹⁸⁰ Whilst Frederick II (1194-1250) did not personally sympathise with the Cathars, he applied the adage of his enemy's enemy being his friend, and thus many imperial loyalists chose to actively protect adherents of the

¹⁷⁹ Prudlo, *The Martyred Inquisitor*, pp. 169-170.

¹⁸⁰ Grado Merlo, "Federico II, gli eretici, i frati," *Federico II e le nuove culture: Atti del XXXI convegno storico internazionale*, Todi, 9-12 ottobre 1994, pp. 45-67.

sect.¹⁸¹ Moreover, the success of the Albigensian Crusade in 1229 had caused a surge of migration of Cathars from Languedoc to Lombardy. Despite this triumph, Pope Gregory IX (1227-1241) remained vigilant to a possible resurgence of heresy. He established a new policy to use the Mendicant brothers (especially the Dominicans) as inquisitors to support bishops taking a pro-papal line. The introduction of these inquisitors simply fomented a new wave of resistance from the Cathars.¹⁸² Over the next two decades, the Cathars and their sympathisers, for want of legal recourse, engaged in violent resistance.¹⁸³ At the same time, a movement of religious revival, known as the Alleluia movement, supported by the Dominicans, was hostile towards Cathars.¹⁸⁴ Although there were several disconnected attempts to eradicate the Cathars – by the papacy, the episcopate, and local lay communities individually – the lack of coordination between these parties rendered these attempts futile.¹⁸⁵ It is against this volatile socio-political backdrop that our investigation commences.

Peter of Verona and the Campaign Against Heresy

Peter was born between 1203-6 of so-called “heretical origins.”¹⁸⁶ Whether Peter’s family

¹⁸¹ For example, Frederick took no action against the heretics in Regno as this would have led to mendicant intervention. His successor, Manfred, also actively sheltered heretics, as did Umberto Pallavicino. For further discussion, see Prudlo, *The Martyred Inquisitor*, p. 40.

¹⁸² According to the account of William Pelhisson, a thirteenth-century inquisitor stationed in Languedoc, *Chronique de Guillaume Pelhisson (1229–1244), suivie du récit des troubles d'Albi (1234)*, ed. and trans., J. Duvernoy, Paris: CNRS, 1994. English trans. W. L. Wakefield, *Heresy, Crusade and Inquisition in Southern France, 1100–1250*, London: Allen & Unwin, 1974, pp. 138-139. For further discussion, see Malcolm Barber, *Cathars: Dualist Heretics in Languedoc in the High Middle Ages*, London: Taylor & Francis, 2014, p. 146.

¹⁸³ There exist numerous accounts of Cathars attacking local inquisitors, of local lords expelling both inquisitors and entire groups of Dominicans, of the Church accusing Cathars of razing the Viterbo Dominican convent in 1240, and perhaps most significantly, all-out revolts in the cities of Carcassonne and Montsegur, which took place in 1240 and 1243 respectively. A crowd attempted to throw the inquisitor Arnold Catalan into the River Tarn, although in the end some of them relented, leaving him badly beaten, his face bloody and his clothes torn. *Chronique de Guillaume Pelhisson*, ed. Duvernoy, pp.46-47.; Wakefield, *Heresy, Crusade and Inquisition in Southern France, 1100–1250*, p.211. An immediate victim was Andreas Chaulet, a royal seneschal, ambushed in a wood at La Centenaire, near Cousins, south of Carcassonne, apparently in retaliation for his conversion of a Cathar perfectus, whom he was holding in prison. Many others, he says, were assassinated on 'suspicion alone', so that Raymond VII was accused of crass negligence. *Chronique de Guillaume Pelhisson*, ed. Duvernoy, pp.140-141. English trans. Wakefield, *Heresy, Crusade and inquisition in Southern France, 1100–1250*, p. 213; Several inquisitors, including William Arnold, were attacked, killed, and their bodies looted in Avignonet. For an account of Avignonet, see Y. Dossat, *Les Crises de l'inquisition toulousaine en XIIIe siècle, 1233-1273*, Bordeaux, 1959, pp. 146-151.

¹⁸⁴ The Alleluia movement refers to a wave of revivalist preachers who acted as peacemakers within the tumultuous political context of Lombardy within the 1230s. For further reading on this subject, see the work of Augustine Thompson, O.P., *Revival Preachers and Politics in Thirteenth Century Italy: The Great Devotion of 1233*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992.

¹⁸⁵ Prudlo, Donald. *The Martyred Inquisitor*, p. 39.

¹⁸⁶ The *Vitae Fratrum* and Tommaso Agni’s *Vita* both refer to Peter being a *juvenis* and *adolescens* at the time of his entrance into the Order of the Friars Preachers, also taking into account that once normally commenced their

were Cathars themselves or mere sympathisers is unclear; the *Vitae Fratrum* of Gerard de Frachet notes that “nearly all [his] kinsmen were heretics,”¹⁸⁷ while Tommaso Agni of Lentini describes Peter as originating “from heretical parents, like light from darkness, a rose from thorns, or a flower from brambles.”¹⁸⁸ Irrespective of how closely tied his parents were to Catharism, Peter evidently began to question the teachings of the Cathar Church at a young age. Having been sent to a local school for his education, Peter soon engaged in a discussion with his uncle that would come to illustrate his ineluctable pull towards Christianity.¹⁸⁹

When, about the age of seven, he was returning from school when he was receiving his first lessons, his heretical uncle set a diabolical trap. His uncle asked what he learned in school. He responded that he had learned the Symbol of Faith, “I believe in God, the Father almighty, maker of heaven and earth,” and all in succession until it was completed. The uncle, incensed at this profession like a wild fighter, sought to divert the boy. It was not God, he claimed, but rather the devil who is confessed to be the creator of these visible things. By heretical authorities he tried to convince the boy of his error, since the uncle was a patron of faithlessness. Nevertheless nothing was able to prevail upon the boy, who constantly affirmed that what he read and what was written, he himself wanted to believe and to hold.¹⁹⁰

university education in their middle teenage years, and that Peter was unlikely to have been younger than 15 when he entered the Order. For further discussion, see Prudlo, *The Martyred Inquisitor*, pp.18-25.

¹⁸⁷ “Omnes frere consanguineos hereticos habebat” Gérard de Frachet, O.P., *Vitae Fratrum Ordinis Praedicatorum*, unpublished, c.1257, ed. Simon Tugwell, 2003, lines 1-2.

¹⁸⁸ “Beatus Petrus Martyr... ex parentibus haereticis originem traxit, ut tamquam lux de tenebris, rosa de spinis, flos exortus de sentibus,” Thomas Agni of Lentini, *Vita*, p.9.

¹⁸⁹ Considering a Cathar school had been established in Verona as early as 1184, and Peter’s family was ostensibly financially comfortable enough to send Peter to the Cathar school or hire a private tutor, Peter’s family likely experienced a degree of pressure to assimilate within their local community. For further discussion, see Prudlo, *The Martyred Inquisitor*, p.20.

¹⁹⁰ *Cum autem circa septennium rediens a scholis, quibus erat traditus litteris imbuendus, a patruo suo heretico, magno diaboli laqueo, quidnam in scholis didicerat, interrogatus fuisset; respondit, se Symbolum fidei didicisse: Credo in Deum patrem omnipotentem, factorem caeli et terrae, etc. per ordinem prosecutus. A cuius professione cum dictus patruus prefatum puerum, quasi rudem pugilem, avertere niteretur; ut non Deum, sed diabolum potius fateretur horum visibilium creatorem, auctoritatibus etiam additis ad sui fomentum erroris, cum esset caudidicus et infidelitatis patronus; nihil tamen a puero potuit obtinere, affirmante constanter, quod legerat et quod scriptum erat se velle credere et fateri. Vita Sancti Petri Martyris Ordinis Praedicatorum, Toulouse: Bibliotheque Municipale MS 481, fol.34v. 1.2, p. 688; story also reported in Agni, c. 1270, *Vitae Fratrum Ordinis Praedicatorum* (R), 236 and LA, pp. 421-422.*

This excerpt outlines a conversation in which Peter recounts to his uncle that he had learnt the Apostles' Creed, which crucially asserts the unchallenged omnipotence of God. His uncle here attempts to correct Peter, asserting his family's belief in mitigated dualism, in which the devil has created everything in the visible, tangible world. When the uncle was unable to convince Peter of this, he apparently reported the incident to Peter's father. The uncle allegedly prophesied that if left unchecked, Peter would end up joining "that harlot the Roman Church, and in so doing he will destroy our faith."¹⁹¹ This tale would later serve as the foundational anecdote establishing both Peter's character within his legends – specifically, his being intellectually precocious, dogmatically unshakeable in his 'correct' faith, and by extension, his pledging his devotion to the orthodox faith over his family and the heretical values they attempted to engrain in Peter, and as an ironic nod to inescapability of ordained destiny within the Church.

According to later legends, Peter's gravitation to Catholic Christianity strengthened substantially over time, along with his sense of the corruption of heresy. Peter commenced study at the University of Bologna in his mid-teens (c. 1220), just as Dominic de Guzman (1170-1221), the famously charismatic preacher, was visiting the city. Dominic's presence generated a wave of excitement across the university, and it was during this period that Peter began his process of conversion to orthodoxy.¹⁹² He was accepted into the recently founded Order of Preachers, which provided a company of like-minded, spiritual men whose lives revolved around tangible ethics and procedure, offered continued scholarship, and rejected the

¹⁹¹See Prudlo, *The Martyred Inquisitor*, p.21, for the original quote. Prudlo here cites Tommaso Agni, *Vitae Fratrum*, and *The Golden Legend*, and goes into more detail on pp. 176-177.

¹⁹² To answer why Peter felt inclined to convert is not within the purview of this thesis. A variety of possible answers have long been theorised, but are of course ultimately unknowable. Peter's rejection of the wanton atmosphere of his university is certainly considered to be one such theory (though this should be taken with a grain of salt, as it is an excerpt from his hagiography). "The boy, therefore, having already grown out of boyhood, was sent to Bologna to study; where, although he was far removed from heretics and accustomed to the assaults of his younger age, encountered yet some new kinds of assault, fighting to steal away the flower of his chastity. Acknowledging the astonishing goodness of the divine spirit within him, he confessed after a long time to his brothers his state of purity, so that he could avoid falling down the slippery pathway towards unchasteness." My translation. Originally: *Puer igitur, domi annis puerilibus jam excursis, missus est Bononiam ad studendum; ubi licet esset ab hereticorum instantia elongatus, non defuere tamen novae impugnationis genera, florem pudicitiae sue subripere decertantia, adolescentioris aetatis insultibus assueta... Quapropter ingeniosus adolescens qui foritus erat animam bonam: et ad corpus incoinquinatum et ad cor immaculatum totis anhelabat affectibus; bonitatem circa se divinae dispensationis agnoscens et stupens, sicut longo post tempore coram quibusdam fratribus suae puritatis consciis est confessus, quod in via tam lubrica lapsum casitatis potuerit evitare.* Tommaso Agni da Lentino, Toulouse: Bibliothèque Municipale MS 481, fol. 34v. Edited in *Vita Sancti Petri Martyris Ordinis Praedicatorum*, vol. 1, no.3, p. 688.

revelry that had troubled Peter at university. Though historical sources describing Peter's novitiate are few and far between, we can construct a provisional timeline based on accepted Dominican processes of this age. Peter would have needed at least three years of theological training before being granted the title of 'authorised preacher,' which would then be followed by six to seven years of training before Peter was ordained as a priest, which would have tentatively taken place between 1228-1229.¹⁹³

Throughout his career within the Church, Peter engaged in multiple behaviours that differentiate him from his fellow Dominicans, and that would be used to retroactively prove his worthiness of sainthood by Innocent IV. Soon after joining the Order, he began to distinguish himself by his acute religious zeal, expressed primarily through extreme ascetical practices.¹⁹⁴ Continuous fasts, vigils, and scourgings led to a reputation amongst his peers, as well as a state of permanent "nervous exaltation," that bolstered his ambition to eradicate heresy, and made him a potent and steadfast figure with whom to contend.¹⁹⁵

Most important, however, was Peter's exceptional reputation as a preacher. So popular was Peter due to his singular ability to both reaffirm Christian belief and convert heretics in his audiences that his sermons were often heralded by trumpets blaring and banners fluttering. The space in front of the Dominican church of Santa Maria Novella had to be enlarged to accommodate crowds.¹⁹⁶ Though none of his sermons remain extant, one fra Paschale, an elderly Dominican, attested to Peter's unmatched dynamism, stating: "When he spoke while preaching the faith, all other preachers seemed as mutes in respect to him, they all seemed like speechless stammerers."¹⁹⁷ As Tommaso Agni similarly recounts "... multitudes of the people

¹⁹³ H. C. Scheeben, "Constitutiones Antiquae Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum," *Analecta Sacri Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum II*, 1895.

¹⁹⁴ For Peter's hagiographers, this practice developed out of a need to "[guard] sufficiently the integrity of the mind and body among the enticements of the flesh, the fallacies of the world, the traps of the Enemy..." *Quis enim inter carnis illecebras, mundi fallacias, hostis insidias et lubricos sodalium comitatus, integritatem mentis et corporis sufficeret custodire?* Agni, *Vita Sancti Petri Martyris Ordinis Praedicatorum*, pp. 8, 32.

¹⁹⁵ Henry Charles Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages; Volume II*. Project Gutenberg, 2012, p. 214; Thomas Agni asserts "In novitiatu suo contra carnem nimio zelo succensus," ("In his novitiate he was inflamed with excessive zeal against the flesh"), and that Peter in fact fasted for so long that he at some point seemed physically unable to open his jaws, *Mensuram propiae fragilitatis excedens, fere civem perdidit*, Agni, *Vita Sancti Petri Martyris Ordinis Praedicatorum*, p. 4.

¹⁹⁶ Sullivan, *The Inner Lives of Medieval Inquisitors*, p. 101.

¹⁹⁷ [*Quod quando in praedicatione de fide in loqueretur, omnes alii predicatorum respectu eius videbantur muti, omnes elingues et balbi*. Remigio de' Girolamo, OP [1235-1319], *Firmabitur in illo et non flecteret*, Florence: Biblioteca Nazionale MS D. 1. 936, fol 152rb, RLS 5, 110, n. 715. Cited in Prudlo, *The Martyred Inquisitor* p. 36.

flocked together to his preaching, and he showed the magnitude of his powers... where he set up to preach, such an innumerable crowd ran to seize the place beforehand that he was in an intolerable crush.”¹⁹⁸

He was, put simply, a paragon of the Alleluia revivalist movement to which he had become an heir. Another factor that might help explain Peter’s popularity was his own heretical background. Sullivan suggests that his kinship with his heretical audiences may have engendered a sense of empathy otherwise inaccessible to his fellow preachers; put more deftly, Peter “perceive[d] himself as [the heretics’] partner in repentance and their partner in pain.”¹⁹⁹ Where Robert believed in the cleansing of society through ensuring the death of unrepentant heretics, Peter saw the widespread heresy as an opportunity to save these individuals’ souls, and recognized his own special ability to persuade them. Peter’s adroitness as a preacher is also evidenced through the duration of his career. According to his *Vita*, Peter preached throughout the 1240s and into the 1250s, during which time he visited Lombardy, Tuscany, Romagna, and the Marches of Ancona. He is also known to have preached on specific occasions in Rome in 1244, Florence in 1245, and Cesena in 1249.²⁰⁰ By the sheer number of individuals that he drew to orthodoxy, whether as converts or returning, lapsed orthodox Christians, Peter proved himself to be a *tour de force* who was growing to embody the virtue and power of the Church.

Peter became closely involved in the founding of several religious societies, including the “Society of the Virgin” and the Servites.²⁰¹ He was also crucial in founding a Milanese school

¹⁹⁸ *Sicut vero gratiam gratiae Dominus adequavit, quod multitudo populi ad praedicationem eius undique confluentis, gratiae ipsius magnitudinem ostendebat. De civitatibus enim et castris, cum vexillis et tubis sonantibus, erumpebant obviam venienti: recedentem quoque tot aliquando sequebantur, quod vix ab eis poterat separari. Saepius etiam, ubi statuerat praedicare, innumerus turbarum concursus loca praeripies ipsum intolerabiliter opprimbat. Propter quod Mediolanensium populus, in insigne devotionis indicium, in carruca ex pictis asseribus fabricata, non collis animalium, et sed humeris sub vecta fidelium, collocatum Sanctum, a pressura multitudinis importuna servabat illaesum; et praedicationis locum aptum sibi providebat ceteris praeeminentiorem.* Tommaso Agni da Lentino, Toulouse: Bibliothèque Municipale MS 481, fols. 35r-v. Edited in *Vita Sancti Petri Martyris Ordinis Praedicatorum*, 1.9, pp. 689-690.

¹⁹⁹ Sullivan, *The Inner Lives of Medieval Inquisitors*, p. 101.

²⁰⁰ Prudlo, *The Martyred Inquisitor*, pp. 32-37.

²⁰¹ The former is a confraternity which emphasised the veneration of Mary, which some scholars speculate was formulated as a response to the Cathar repudiation of Christ’s humanity. The association was in and of itself pacifistic, focusing primarily on encouraging prayer and upholding orthodox precepts. The group, however, worked closely with the Society of the Faith, a militant religious group, established in the early 1230s, which defined their purpose as the coercive suppression of heresy, Gilles Gérard Meersseman, *Ordo fraternitatis: Confraternite e pietà dei laici nel medioevo*, Rome: Herder, 1977, pp. 762-763. Gregory IX’s bull entitled *Sicut egressis iniquis* makes mention of this group, and is dated 10 December 1233; In reference to the Servites, the

named the *Scuola dei Fedeli a difesa della fede cattolica*, which was intended for the education of members of the lay Christian community. The school, first referenced in May 1253 in a bull of Innocent IV, seems to have been broadly associated with the mission of the inquisitors.²⁰² Peter further engaged in pastoral work in Milan in 1247, focusing on the needs of religious women within the organisation known as Saint Peter of the Vine, before serving as the prior of the Dominican house at Asti in 1248, and again in Piacenza in 1249.²⁰³ Evidence thus suggests that Peter adopted a whole host of other significant roles throughout the course of his active career: an accomplished scholar, prophet, teacher, preacher, philanthropist, and spokesman for the papacy. The absence of reference to these activities in the papal account offered by Innocent IV in *Magnis et Crebris* reflects the distorted way in which he was remembered after his death.

Peter was officially promoted to “inquisitor” when there emerged a greater, more explicit need for this change. Emperor Frederick II’s death in December of 1250 created the temporary political vulnerability that Innocent IV had been anticipating, and upon which he seized. He wasted no time in reinforcing the papacy’s authority throughout Italy by calling upon selected monks and bestowing upon them new diplomatic or inquisitorial positions. As one such exemplar, Peter, along with his fellow Dominican brother Viviano da Bergamo, was conferred the title of inquisitor for all of Lombardy on 13 June, 1251.²⁰⁴ Peter remained an

legend tells that Peter established friendships with the seven founders of the order and personally appealed to the Holy See for the order’s recognition. Though scholars conclude that Peter may have indeed contributed to the Servites’ formative practices, this was most likely “advisory rather than foundational.” For further discussion, see Prudlo, Donald. *The Martyred Inquisitor: The Life and Cult of Peter of Verona (1252)*, p. 50.

²⁰² As Prudlo tentatively points out, the school’s application of theological education of the laity in order to enable them to refute heresy, grouped together with the other forms of ecclesiastical pedagogy—including convents, confraternities, and roving preachers—would have constituted a fairly thorough strategy of defending Christianity. The four letters relating to the school can be found in Milan: Archivio di Stato, MS Consiglio degli Orfanotrofi e del Pio Albergo Trivulzio, cart 3. The first papal letter in 13 May 1252 from Innocent IV conceding the right to receive sacraments during interdict to the school and to the Congregation of the Virgin. There are also two letters by Humbert of Romans, 23 May 1255 and a reiteration on 8 June 1255, conceding to the school a participation in all the good works and prayers of the order. Finally a letter from Alexander IV on 14 October 1260 confirms the statutes of the school and grants them a three-year indulgence. Meersseman is ignorant of the documents alluding to the existence of the school. The bulls themselves make it clear that the *Scuola* is an entity separate from the convent of Sant’ Eustorgio, and from the Societies of the Faith and of the Blessed Virgin. Prudlo, *The Martyred Inquisitor*: pp. 53-54.

²⁰³ Christine Caldwell, “Peter Martyr: The Inquisitor as Saint,” *Comitatus: A Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, vol. 31, no. 1, 2020, p. 140.

²⁰⁴ “[T]hat you would go personally to Cremona, and with other cities and other places of Lombardy we command to be assigned for the execution of this commission,” *Cremonam persolaniter accedatis; cum et per alias Civitates, et alia loca Lombardiae discretos alios ad exequendum idem negotium duxerimus deputandos*, in Innocent IV, “*Misericors et miserator*,” [13 June 1251], *Bullarium Ordinis Praedicatorum*, 1, pp. 192-193.

inquisitor until his death, a mere nine months later. Moreover, only few and limited records remain of his activity as inquisitor during this short period, including accounts of his examination of an arrested Cathar ‘bishop’, as well as his appeal to Cathar heretics to submit to ecclesiastical authorities, which is discussed late in this chapter.²⁰⁵ On this basis alone, the attempt to define his legacy by this limited undertaking bears considerable examination.

Death

Peter’s death created a powerful instrument used by the papacy in their attempt to legitimise the position of inquisitors. While the exact motives behind Peter’s assassination can never be known, we can make likely hypotheses based on contextual evidence.²⁰⁶ The strong assertion of papal powers with the appointment of new inquisitors, combined with the previously discussed upturn in Cathar courage, along with Peter’s preaching against heresy generated hostility and, in all likelihood, contributed to the plot to have him murdered. Peter could not, after all, have represented a more abhorrent figure to the Cathars: he had not only forsaken the abstract Cathars philosophy and cause, but joined their mortal enemy and now sought to exterminate the actual community from which he had originated. Whatever the specific cause, the result was that:

... the heretics, seeing they were suffering pain, since the work of the faith strongly prospered under the champion of Christ, began to discuss the death of [Peter] and his associates, considering whether they would be able to live peacefully if they could remove such a strong prosecutor from their midst.²⁰⁷

The story of how the plot to assassinate Peter unfolded was, according to the testimony of Manfredo da Guissano, a fairly uncomplicated affair. An individual he knew named Stefano Confalonieri of Agliate had recently returned from a trip to Milan, where, upon hearing that

²⁰⁵ Gérard de Frachet et al. *Fratris Gerardi de Fracheto O.P. Vitae Fratrum Ordinis Praedicatorum*, printed by E. Charpentier & J. Schoonjans, 1896, p. 238; Thomas Agni da Lentino, *Vita Sancti Petri Martyris Ordinis Praedicatorum*, p.705.

²⁰⁶ No confession disclosing the murderers’ motives remains extant. The inquisition into Peter’s murder, further discussed below, centred primarily on the logistics of how the plot was organised, and does not include a dialogue about the conspirators’ motives.

²⁰⁷ Fragment of the Inquisition into the Murder of Peter Martyr.

Peter was soon to be made inquisitor, he solicited the opinion of several other Cathars about whether or not they should murder Peter. The general consensus was that the Cathars were eager to see Peter killed, but were unwilling to execute the deed themselves. By Easter week, Stefano and Manfredo had assembled a team of six: Stefano and Manfredo acted as the coordinators of the plans, and the intermediaries between all other co-conspirators for all practical matters.²⁰⁸ Facio da Guissano was to act as treasurer and tie up any loose ends in Gattedo.²⁰⁹ Jacopo della Clusa was the company's primary financial backer. Carino da Balsamo, a known thief and murderer, was selected by Manfredo to be Peter's assassin, who insisted upon also recruiting an associate named Alberto Porro da Lenate. In total, Stefano deposited 40 silver lire, minus their expenses, to Facio to see the act done.²¹⁰

Whilst this plan was quickly taking shape, Peter was continuing to conduct his normal inquisitorial duties. Both the *Vitae Fratrum* and Tommaso Agni's *Vita Sancti Petri* state that Peter gave a sermon on Palm Sunday (24 March, 1252) to a vast crowd at Sant' Eustorgio.²¹¹ In both sources, Peter explicitly stated to his parishioners that it had been reported to him that heretics were planning some kind of attack against him, and that money had already exchanged hands to ensure the plot was fulfilled. Rather than responding with alarm, however, Peter was resolute in his fearlessness, stating "Let them do as they will, for I shall be worse to them in death than in life."²¹² Additionally, Peter proffered a two week grace period for all those who were currently secretly assisting said heretics, stating that if they were to report themselves to the inquisition, they would receive lightened penances.²¹³ This, as Prudlo points out, was Peter's only recorded act as a formal papal inquisitor – an act, notably, not of punishment, but of leniency for heretics and their collaborators.²¹⁴

Despite Peter's offer of clemency, the band of schemers chose to forge ahead with orchestrating their plan. Stefano, after enquiring at Sant' Eustorgio, had discovered Peter's

²⁰⁸ According to my calculations, Easter week would have begun this year on March 31, and lasted until April 7.

²⁰⁹ The town was better known as Guissano, named for a prominent and powerful family who inhabited there, and is sometimes spelled as "Gluxiano"; Prudlo, *The Martyred Inquisitor*, p. 59

²¹⁰ Prudlo has calculated that in 2008, this amount would be equivalent to US \$7150. Prudlo, *The Martyred Inquisitor* p. 60. I have calculated that in 2021, this cost would be equivalent to US \$9110.

²¹¹ Ibid, Prudlo, *The Martyred Inquisitor*, p.61.

²¹² *Sed faciant quod volunt, quia deterius faciam eis mortuus quam vivas.* Agni, *Vita Sancti Petri Martyris Ordinis Praedicatorum*, 5.35, p. 698; *Vitae Fratrum Ordinis Praedicatorum* (R), p. 239.

²¹³ Ibid., *Vita Sancti Petri Martyris Ordinis Praedicatorum*, 5.35, p. 698.

²¹⁴ Prudlo, *The Martyred Inquisitor*, p. 61.

intended plans over the next few days. He and Manfredo set up in a nearby inn at Como from where they would plan out the remaining details of the murder. For three days Carino visited the Como priory, where Peter was staying, to directly enquire about Peter's upcoming date of departure to Milan.²¹⁵ On the fourth day, Saturday, Carino found out that Peter had departed early that morning. In a panic, Carino hurried to the inn to ask for Manfredo's horse in order to catch up to Peter, but Manfredo refused him; he would need his horse to flee, and he also feared authorities recognising his horse and his being immediately connected to Peter's murder. Carino wasted no time arguing, but ran to meet Alberto so that they could together pursue their increasingly lofty target.²¹⁶ The pair retreated to a clearing in the wood of Barlassina, where Peter and fra Domenico would pass after concluding their lunch, and discussed exactly how they would kill Peter. When, however, Carino and Alberto beheld the figures of Peter and Domenico in the distance, Alberto decided against the plan and fled. Alberto then ran straight into Peter and Domenico's two other travelling companions, and, in his alarm and terror, conveyed the plot to them. The two brothers immediately set off in a sprint to try and subvert the attack.²¹⁷ But alas, they were too late. By the time they arrived on the scene, Peter had been killed, and Domenico mortally wounded. They, along with a small crowd, carried Domenico and Peter's body the rest of the journey to Milan. It was in this city that Domenico would succumb to his injuries six days later. During this time, Domenico reported that Peter spoke the *Credo* as he died. Soon, however, this anecdote transformed into the more dramatic image of Peter writing *Credo in Deum* on the ground in his own blood.²¹⁸ Peter's body was temporarily laid to rest in the abbey of San Simpliciano, located on the outskirts of Milan. By August, Innocent had requested that the archbishop of Milan investigate any miracles performed by Peter.²¹⁹

²¹⁵ He most likely visited on Wednesday, Thursday and Friday. Taegio's account (*Vita Sancti Petri Martyris Ordinis Praedicatorum*, 5.36, p. 698) of this is somewhat confusing because he states that Carino was hired the day of the killing, but that he still went to the priory for three days. It seems safer to accept Manfredo's testimony that Carino had been hired previously, and that they had a discussion on the day of the killing. Prudlo, *The Martyred Inquisitor*, p. 62.

²¹⁶ Villa, "Processo," pp. 791-794.

²¹⁷ *Lettre de Frère Roderic de Atencia à Saint-Raymond de Pennafort sur le Martyre de S. Pierre de Vérone*, 1252," ed. Raymond Balme, in "Documents sur Saint Pierre Martyr," *Année Dominicaine*, 1886, 18, pp. 15-16.

²¹⁸ *Jacobi a Voragine legenda aurea vulgo historia lombardica dicta*, 2nd ed. T. Graesse, Leipzig: impensis librariae Arnoldianae, 1850, p. 281

²¹⁹ Ripoll, *Bullarium Ordinis Praedicatorum*, vol. 1, 1729, p. 216.

Pre-Canonisation Treatment of Peter's Life, Death, and Legacy

Recollections of Peter produced immediately after his assassination show how his life was reshaped to suit papal interests.²²⁰ To appreciate the immediacy of this narrative arc, let us compare three texts that emerged in the aftermath of Peter's assassination. The first two were written in the months following Peter's murder, and the third, Peter's bull of canonisation, was issued eleven months following his death.

Fragment of the Inquisition into the Murder of Peter Martyr

The first text is "Fragment of the Inquisition into the Murder of Peter Martyr," reported in the autumn of 1252, which serves as the baseline against which we can compare all future documents discussing the same event. Here, the testimonies of both Manfredo and Facio are recounted to Rainerio Sacchoni and fra Daniele of the Order of the Preachers. Here, Manfredo discusses Stefano's suggestion of assassinating Peter, the organisational details of the plot, and finally, Peter's murder.

Stefano Confalonieri of Aliate... [spoke], 'I come from Milan, and the believers in Milan have agreed among themselves, and they said to me that they wanted to bring about the death of Pietro da Verona. What do you think about that?... I replied that it pleased me, and after this we both then went to Milan [and spoke to] Guidoto de Sachella [and] Jacopo della Clusa... [who] responded that not only did he have the money ready [to finance the murder], but... added that he wished to carry another great amount of money to Pavia to have fra Rainerio [Sacchoni] killed there... After this, I went to the man who would

²²⁰ Though we see an immediate attempt to use Peter as a tool to assert the Church's stance of possessing the unique religious and moral truth, Innocent IV's eventual epiphany to use Peter as a figurehead of the inquisition appears to have been realised at a slightly later date. After receiving a letter of condolence from Innocent IV, the Dominican brotherhood organised for a group to visit Perugia, to personally appeal to Innocent to commission a party to investigate the life and miracles of Peter of Verona – indicating that Peter's rapid pathway to canonisation had not yet been conceived of as Innocent's broader strategy. Innocent did, however, evidently recognise this idea to be one of merit, as he issued the bull *Judicium Ecclesia de his* on 31 August 1252, in which he commands that an inquiry into the causes of Peter and Domenico's deaths be commenced. Because such an investigation represents the initial steps required of the canonical process of the 13th century, it seems logical to assume that it was at some point during this investigation that it must have occurred to Innocent the power of using Peter's image as a centralised point of focus that represented the cause of the inquisition. For further discussion on the motivations for canonisation, see Prudlo, *The Martyred Inquisitor*, pp. 77-9.

accomplish the evil deed, namely Carino da Balsamo, and I entreated him to do this thing for a great sum of money and he replied that he did not dare to do it alone, and he resolved to take another with him, named Alberto Porro de Lenate... And I said that this did not please me, nor did I trust him, for I told him it would cause him to be banished, and then Carino promised me that he would say nothing to him about me, but that he would hold it completely secret from Alberto, and also that he would not accuse me to any man in any manner, even if on account of this he would be tortured or killed. Then having fixed upon a day during Easter week, Stefano and I went to Como for the accomplishment of this business... The Saturday after Easter... he [Carino] sent word to us that fra Pietro was returning that morning... so he departed from us quickly... to kill the said fra Pietro, who was killed, and he gave him two wounds in the head and on the shoulder. But Stefano Confanioneri and I, having completed our business, returned to our lands... [I] asked if Jacopo had any words with him regarding this deed, he replied, "Yes he had. After the entrance of fra Daniele da Guissano into the Friars Preachers, he fearfully asked me and Facio if Daniele knew anything. To him in reply we said yes and he said, 'Do you believe he will accuse us?' And we responded, we do not believe so."²²¹

Aside from outlining in greater detail the particulars of the plot and its organisation, the account describes the group's amateurish planning, fundamental disorganisation, and a lack of comprehensive oversight – assumedly to allow for plausible deniability in the case that their plot was uncovered. The narrative additionally speaks to an underlying sense of ambivalence, fear and mistrust of not only outsiders who might report their deed to the authorities, but their co-conspirators involved in the plot as well. This is exemplified in Carino's saying that he "dare not" commit the murder alone, his needing to allay Manfredo's fears that he might be implicated should Carino's murder be foiled, as well as the group's fears that Daniele, a

²²¹ The Fragment of the Inquisition into the Murder of Peter Martyr, edited in J. S. Villa, "Processo per l'uccisione di S. Pietro Martire," *Archivio Storico Lombardo*, vol. 4, 1877, pp. 790-794.

converted Cathar, might report them to the Dominicans. The account, on balance, reflects a desperate plan created by a set of individuals who quickly realised that they were profoundly out of their depth and, in the wake of Peter's botched murder, had to manage their now-permanent paranoia of being discovered to have been involved in the plot.

*Letter from Roderic d'Attencia to Raymond of Peñafort*²²²

The letter from Roderic d' Attencia to Peñafort, written in 1252, does not differ greatly in either plot or detail to Manfredo's deposition, but significantly, frames the murder antithetically to Manfredo's own testimony as a calculated, conspiratorial and efficient act. It includes an addendum of the events that took place following Peter's murder.²²³ He describes the murder plot unfolding thus:

Among those inquisitors for Milan and Como, where he knew there was a strong army of heretics with great numbers and ill will, he placed fra Pietro of Verona... just as a vigorous warrior, having been trained from his infancy as a fighter of the Lord's battles, who diligently exercised the office of inquisitor and actively banished the heretics. Hence the heretics of Milan, Como, Bergamo, Lodi and Pavia conspired in the murder... of fra Pietro... Some of the heretics contended so strongly that they might gain victory over the Catholics. For this reason they selected two ministers of their evil plan and they agreed on an amount of money, but this was not hidden to the servants of Christ.

This language alludes to a fundamental, yet unproven insecurity central to the Church's mentality – that there existed vast networks of heretics conspiring to destroy the Church. It follows, therefore, that all members of the Church were thus engaged in a perpetual battle of principle and intrinsic Good and Evil, which, of course, is why prototypical Christians are so often characterised as warriors engaged in warfare. Attencia then discusses the murder plot at

²²² *Lettre de Frère Roderic de Atencia à Saint-Raymond de Pennafort sur le Martyre de S. Pierre de Vérone*, 1252, ed. Raymond Balme, pp. 15-16.

²²³ The Fragment of the Inquisition into the Murder of Peter Martyr was in all probability his primary, if not only, source of information.

length, describing the two hired mercenaries as “ministers of Satan” repeatedly, and describing Alberto’s reneging on his part in the murder as being “led to repent.”²²⁴

Attencia then details the public reception of the news of Peter’s death. Here he describes the whole community’s anguish at the news, and the elaborate procession including the archbishop, *podestà*, local clergy, and the entire community coming together for Peter’s funeral. “O great light of men and especially of religious,” he laments, “who they loved...just as a most tender father, so it seemed that not only men but even stones were shaken at this spectacle!” Attencia discusses Peter’s body being placed in the Piazza Commune, where the Archbishop recounted Peter’s life and exalted his memory before concluding his speech by denouncing his murderers.

Though the summary of events leading up to and including Peter’s death do not substantively change, and Attencia’s account is generally considered to be historically accurate, his second-hand retelling of the event does indeed alter the overall tone of the affair. He revises the character of the murderers’ intention, methods and resources, which in turn, feeds the existing perception of a web of imminently threatening heretics seeking to destroy the Church at any cost. Cutting to the core of the paranoia that had dominated the previous decades, Roderic’s change in presentation served to instil fear into his reader, making for a more vulnerable and reactive audience. So, within months of Peter’s death we see evidence of ecclesiastical legates reframing Peter’s murder, which would pave the way for the reformulation of Peter’s legacy as an inquisitor.

The Papal Account: Magnis et Crebris

The papal bull, *Magnis et crebris*, issued on 25 March 1253, completes our triad of chronicles of Peter’s life and death.²²⁵ Here we most clearly see a dramatic departure from verified fact in the attempt to redefine Peter’s legacy. I argue that this is in large part due to Innocent’s stratagem to interlace Peter’s identity with the needs and goals of the inquisition. The document recounts Peter’s life, his virtuous qualities, his death, and crucially, publicly disseminates accounts of his performing miracles (as this conformed to Innocent III’s decree

²²⁴ The Fragment of the Inquisition into the Murder of Peter Martyr, edited in J. S. Villa, “Processo per l’uccisione di S. Pietro Martire,” *Archivio Storico Lombardo*, vol. 4, 1877, p.790-794.

²²⁵ The papal bull declaring Peter’s canonisation, meaning “great and abundant.”

that miracles were a provision of canonisation).²²⁶ The piece employs considerable poetic licence, disregarding corroborated evidence, accurate chronology, and the use of reliable sources that might vouch for the document's historical validity, as secondary to presenting Peter's holiness. Peter's life is used as a vehicle here to express God's presence in the mundane realm, and his death to further cultivate the familiar concept of a war between the holy and heretical, legitimising the Church's mission of persecution. Peter is described, for example, as "a son of truth, a child of goodness, illustrious by his manner of life, having a worthy reputation, astonishing in the depth of his belief, shining with the wonderful brightness of purity, guarding virginal integrity, having corruption of neither mind nor body, and having been touched by no feelings of mortal sin whatsoever, as is proven by the firm assertion of his confessor."²²⁷ Peter's profound faith is not only held up as both exemplary and enchanting, but his unerring loyalty to the Church is, crucially, characterised as reciprocal, as Peter

attracted others by a lavish aroma of virtue, he was likewise a lover of the Faith, her accomplished husbandman, her brilliant champion, so that she was impressed in his soul, so that in his deference he totally surrendered to her, so that his words and deeds might redound with the power of the Faith; whose sweet tongue, just as an overflowing honeycomb, eloquently trickling, always yielded agreeable teaching.

228

Peter's conduct and purpose is characterised here as not merely serving the Church's own administration, but as wholly part of the mission of the Church, to the extent that Peter can feasibly be regarded as both an extension and exemplar of this particular brand of Christianity. His death, moreover, is represented as pre-ordained; as an eternal recompense for his life's deed which Peter actively and joyously welcomed. "For this, we say, desirous to undergo death, his wish was heard by the Lord, which he demanded by frequent supplications, that he would not be allowed to leave this life by having taken up the chalice of suffering," and "by overcoming martyrdom, he happily brought his life to completion."²²⁹ The implications of

²²⁶ In fact, the bull is the oldest extant document attesting to these miracles.

²²⁷ Bull "*Magnis et crebris*," Innocent IV, issued 25 March, 1253, Ripoll, *Bullarium Ordinis FF. Praedicatorum*, vol. 1, pp. 228–30.

²²⁸ Ibid.

²²⁹ Ibid.

Peter's death are revealed more overtly in the following passage:

He [Peter] had foretold in a public sermon that certain of the heretical believers, having been induced by entreaty and reward were waiting for him. The murderer sprang upon him, pursuing him during his journey; so that a sheep against a wolf, a meek one against a savage, the pious against the impious, the tame against the raging, the modest against the unrestrained, the just against the profane, the killer was consumed with insults, trained in struggle, eager for death. He crudely attacked that holy head with a sword, and left horrible wounds on it, with the weapon sated with the blood of the just, that man to be venerated, not turning from the enemy, but immediately showed himself like an offering, sustaining his patience under the awful blows of the butcher's club, gave up his heavenly spirit to the attack, and was laid low in the place of his suffering...He commended his soul to the Lord, saying, "Into your hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit...Like the grain of seed falling to earth, having been destroyed by the hands of the unfaithful, arises as a plentiful ear of corn: so the grapes, crushed in the winepress, overflow into a multitude of juice...so through the Faith of the saints the heavenly kingdom is conquered. O how great the badge of martyrdom, that shows forth so glorious a title!"²³⁰

The most impactful details to note here are those which Innocent has moulded to common biblical motifs; particularly in his references to sheep facing wolves, Peter's sacrificial offering up of himself, and the imagery of seeds and grains. Wolves, to begin with, are commonly used throughout both the Old and New Testaments, most often as analogies for a spiritual threat. In other words, whilst Peter's physical attack is, of course, significant in and of itself, it is framed as simply being a necessary step to cut to the core of the real issue at hand – that Peter's attack is, critically, symbolic of a spiritual battle with which the Church is engaged. This is, of course, strongly connected to the carefully selected phrase of Peter

²³⁰ Ibid.

showing himself as an “offering”— an active willingness to partake in his almost ritualised death—similar to the Christological title of the ‘paschal lamb.’ Indeed, it is based on Jesus’ example that for many centuries, martyrdom came to be considered the perfection of the ideal Christian life, and is for that reason often called the “final sacrament of love.” The attempt and failure of the unfaithful to destroy the seed, only for it to take root and grow despite the attack, here arguably invokes the common biblical metaphor of seeds being God’s word. Likewise, grapes are often used as a metaphor for the children of God and His relationship with them. So here Innocent implies that Peter’s death, as a true child of God, is necessary to obtain their bounty. The repetitive use of this rich, often violent, emotionally-charged imagery, implies the existence of a grander spiritual battle at play, reframing and legitimising Peter’s death as a fated, intentional sacrifice to be used in the Church’s battle for souls.

Lastly, this text introduces the first accounts of Peter’s performing miracles both during his life and after his death. The bull recounts no fewer than nine miracles, in addition to vaguely alluding to several more cases, all of which revolve around the health of individuals, a trope often tied to the state of these individuals’ belief in Christianity or Peter’s sanctity. These accounts range from curing fistulas and cancer to the expulsion of demons from possessed women. All were cured by investing their faith in Peter’s abilities, and his laying on of hands. This coupling of these two distinct issues, one’s medical state and one’s faith, relate to endangering one’s health in body or soul. (Though it is worth noting that in many of these cases, both the problem and solution are unobservable to an outsider.) This curative theme illustrates Peter’s divine spirit and continued purview on earth. Most importantly for this discussion, however, is that these miracles function as some of the first steps in the process of mythologising Peter as a saint. The dissemination of *Magnis et Crebris* can thus be regarded as underpinning the religious and civil changes introduced on 15 May 1252 in *Ad extirpanda*, just six weeks after Peter’s murder. By rebranding Peter’s life and legacy, Innocent leveraged his death as a symbol behind which he could further rally Christian troops, effectively introducing a new political climate.

Peter as a Tool to Rehabilitate Image of the Church

Peter's paramount utility to the Church was to represent in part a specific model of holiness desired by the Church at this time. He epitomised the ideals of the relatively new mendicant orders – a life dedicated to interior contemplation, spiritual leadership, and community support. Innocent shrewdly recognised that the mendicants' popularity could be used as a weapon to counter the competing strength of the emperor and continual threat presented by heretics, and therefore posed the Church's best chance at facilitating papal centralisation.²³¹ Promoting the presence and power of the mendicant orders meant the development and growth of a loyal laity, which in turn engendered an increase in stature and influence of the Church. As Prudlo states, "Papal canonisation created a symbiotic relationship between the bishops of Rome and their saints."²³² The saints acquired proponents and protectors at the highest level of the Church, and a permanent open invitation for the Christian laity to join their cults. The papacy, in turn maintained the authority to propose models of holiness, as well as the ability to make political statements through control over canonisations.²³³ The "political statement" here of course refers to the Church's argument for the evident need for inquisition. Thus, the papacy's support of the mendicant orders was not only an effort to protect their own authority, but to extend their political purview.

The papacy set about fostering Peter's veneration to an unprecedented degree. On 8 August 1254, Innocent issued *Magnum magnalia*, in which he granted Peter a *totum duplex* feast day on 29 April.²³⁴ Pope Alexander IV (1254-1261) additionally granted indulgences to those who visited Peter's tomb on that date, and lastly, ordering that Peter's name be inscribed "with the designation of the Order of Preachers" – marking him not only a saint, but a specifically Dominican martyr.²³⁵ At the Dominican General Chapter in Milan in 1255, all

²³¹ Indeed, between 1228-1255, six of the 11 canonisations were of Mendicants: Francis (1228), Anthony of Padua (1232), Dominic (1234), Elizabeth of Hungary (1235), Peter (1253) and Clare (1255). Prudlo, *The Martyred Inquisitor*, p. 78.

²³² Ibid., p. 88

²³³ Ibid., p. 78.

²³⁴ Ibid., p. 91.

²³⁵ "With strict orders we command the whole Church by these Apostolic letters... that all Catholics should widely celebrate the feast of the same martyr as the Roman Church does, and that you observe it with all devotion and solemnity, and cause it to be celebrated with similar devotion by your subordinates... And lest any forgetfulness might intervene regarding his feast, we order... that the day of his feast, which namely occurs on 29 April, be inscribed in your calendars, there mark with care the name of the same saint, with the designation

brothers were ordered to report miracles performed by Dominic and Peter “that are not written” to convent priors.²³⁶ At the General Chapter in Paris of 1256, Dominicans were again commanded to report any further miracles or events of Peter’s life that were “worthy of memory,” to celebrate Peter’s feast day, to paint his image in “appropriate places” throughout all Dominican priories, and his name be included in all Dominican litanies, calendars, and martyrologies.²³⁷ Relics were additionally handed out in front of King Louis IX to “copious multitude[s]” of Parisian bystanders, which Humbert of Romans interpreted as a positive omen.²³⁸ Gérard de Frachet, then the prior of the Provence convent, was tasked with compiling and organising the “more praiseworthy” events and miracles of Peter’s life, which were then to be distributed throughout the Order.²³⁹ Further, when Alexander received word that the Cistercian Order had failed to celebrate both Peter and Dominic’s feast days, he sent a stern letter reproaching them to correct their behaviour.²⁴⁰ Because the canonisation of an individual is at its core a papal directive, the negligence or refusal to comply with this veneration can be interpreted as a challenge to the papacy’s authority, behoving the Pope to intervene and correct the behaviour. The Church’s simultaneous promotion and defence of Peter’s veneration moreover lasted several pontificates.²⁴¹ By encouraging Peter’s worship through these fundamentally social activities, the papacy enabled the clergy and laity alike to focus their religious energy on an approved, constructive source. Here, the Church also introduced the opportunity to unify specific factions together around the identity and causes Peter had come to represent, allowing for individuals to be drawn in more closely to religious life – and therefore the Church hierarchy itself.²⁴² With intentional and sustained forethought,

of the Order of Preachers.” Innocent, IV, *Magna magnalia*, 8 August, 1254, Ripoll, *Bullarium Ordinis FF. Praedicatorum*, vol. 1, 1729, p.172.

²³⁶ Franz A Frühwirth and Benedictus M. Reichert. *Acta Capitulorum Generalium Ordinis Praedicatorum*. Romae: In domo generalitia, 1898, pp.10, 16.

²³⁷ Ibid., p.81

²³⁸ Ibid.

²³⁹ Christine Caldwell, "Doctors of Souls: Inquisition and the Dominican Order, 1231–1331." University of Notre Dame, 2002, PhD Dissertation, p. 279.

²⁴⁰ Alexander IV, “Licet Apostolica Sedes,” [21 July 1255], Ripoll, Thomas, *Bullarium Ordinis FF. Praedicatorum*, vol. 1, 1729, p. 285.

²⁴¹ Alexander IV reissued *Magna magnalia* on 3 February 1255 and gave 40 day indulgences to Christians who visited the Dominican church in Toulouse on the feast days of either Dominic or Peter. In 1257, these rules were relaxed and indulgences were granted to anyone who visited this site at any point during the entire octave. Likewise, when Urban IV (1261–1264) commenced his papacy, he again reissued *Magna magnalia*. Clement IV (1265–1268) issued a 100-day reduction in penances to any individual who made the pilgrimage to Peter’s tomb, and later issued a letter to the archbishop of Braga and all Portuguese bishops in which he commanded that they celebrate the feasts of both Peter and Dominic. Prudlo, *The Martyred Inquisitor*, p. 87.

²⁴² Michael Goodich, “The Politics Of Canonization In The Thirteenth Century: Lay And Mendicant Saints,” *Church History*, vol. 44, no. 3, 1975, p. 294.

the papacy ran the gamut of incentives, whether through mandatory decrees, the threat of punishment or the promise of reward, the Church ensured the dissemination of Peter's reverence. These measures to officially sanction Peter's veneration constituted an overt promotion of the Dominican Order, which in turn was part of the papacy's self-aware strategy to change the essential, collective perception of itself.

Peter's Martyrdom as a Tool to Legitimise the Practice of Inquisition

Peter's canonisation also became a culturally salient event, used to forge the social identity of the inquisition, and consequently, to legitimise the practice of inquisition. From its conception, the existing inquisitorial arrangement lacked central organisation and sufficient oversight. The routine aims and modes of behaviour varied considerably from inquisitor to inquisitor and their respective contexts, resulting in local communities' growing contempt of their presence, which led repeatedly to resistance and insurrection. Peter's publicised murder and subsequent canonisation had introduced the template of the inquisitor as victim, a concept which drew particularly on the existing comparisons between Peter and Christ himself. Grado Merlo argues that this resemblance completely inverts the roles of the persecutor and persecuted: "The evident intent of the papacy and of the hagiographic tradition [is] to present a defenceless saint, victim of another's violence, [which] may be a response to the accusations turned against the Church by the heretics' party."²⁴³ Crucially, Merlo perceives the Church's attempts to popularise Peter's canonisation as a deliberate tactic to amass further political capital. On the other hand, Karen Sullivan argues that this comparison suggests that the inquisitor is elevated from a representative of the Church to an terrestrial agent of God, stating that "Such a death stressed that the conflict between heresy and orthodoxy, in which inquisition played a part, was fundamentally an earthly microcosm of the conflict between Satan and God that stretched far beyond."²⁴⁴ She claims that the promotion of Peter's sainthood was then a "natural expression" of Dominican religiosity, and fundamentally informed Dominican identity, concluding that "inquisition changed what it meant to be a martyr, to be holy, and to be an imitator of Christ."²⁴⁵ Whether Peter's canonisation was used

²⁴³ Grado Merlo, "S. Pietro Martire. Difficoltà e Proposte per lo Studio di un Inquisitore Beatificato." eds. Sofia Boesch Gajano, Lucia Sebastiani, *Culto dei santi, istituzioni e classi sociali in età preindustriale*, Roma: Leandro Ugo Japadre, 1984, pp. 473-474.

²⁴⁴ Sullivan, *The Inner Lives of Medieval Inquisitors*, p. 114

²⁴⁵ Ibid.

as calculated, self-serving political ploy or a verbalisation of the Dominican belief in their cosmic role, the fact that his martyrdom did influence Dominican self-perception is undeniable. Contrary to the spirit of Caldwell's argument, however, the historical record does not reflect an organic development of Peter's identity being subsumed into that of the Dominican Order, but rather demonstrates a continuous, concerted effort by the Order to underscore Peter's connection to the confraternity, to use his associated image to reaffirm the concept of a transformed meaning of inquisition, and to thus further validate the Order's involvement in its practice. An early example of this is the encyclical letter issued by the Master General Humbert that celebrated Peter's death as evidence of the success of Dominican ministry, which claimed that God's continued approval of the Order was demonstrated in the "unbelievable" number of conversions following his murder.²⁴⁶ Similarly, the *Vitae Fratrum*, containing Peter's first comprehensive hagiography, was explicitly intended to provide edificatory models for the Order's members about the lives and significance of exceptional brothers before them.²⁴⁷

In addition to presenting inquisition as a now sanctified activity within the Order, the Dominicans set about influencing the laity's perception of inquisitors themselves. Upon introducing the concept of the 'inquisitor saint,' the Dominicans presented an idealised entity who represented a flexible variety of functions: a custodian of divine authority and vessel for God's will, an intermediary between the laity and papacy, a source of spiritual redemption and relief, and as a reminder to the community of the active, inclusive, and fragile nature of holiness.²⁴⁸ The urban laity would have seen the images of Peter that decorated Dominican churches and priories, which advertised, according to a report from a 1314 miracle collection, "how [Peter] had been killed by a heretic for the defence of the faith and of Catholic truth."²⁴⁹ Frequently viewing these images linked Peter's own role as inquisitor with the concept of consecrated sanctity. Their physical placement and specific content, furthermore, enhanced his association with the confraternity's broader mission of the population's spiritual cleansing,

²⁴⁶ Caldwell, "Doctors of Souls: Inquisition and the Dominican Order, 1231-1331." University Of Notre Dame, 2002, p. 279.

²⁴⁷ Compiled in the immediate wake of Peter's death by Gérard de Frachet, written between 1255-1260.

²⁴⁸ For further discussion on the concept of the 'inquisitor saint', see Christine Caldwell, "Peter Martyr: The Inquisitor as Saint," pp. 137-74.

²⁴⁹ The friars *pingi fecissent beati Petri martyrium qualiter ab heretico occisus fuit ob fidei defensionem et catholicae veritatis*. József Lengyel and Ilona Duczynska, *Acta Sanctorum and Other Tales*, 7th ed, London: Peter Owen, 1970, p. 713.

reiterating this link between inquisition and holiness.²⁵⁰ The Dominican friars additionally engaged in an active campaign to share Peter's tale as part of their regular ministry, relaying to the lay population the inherent holiness of the inquisitorial process, and outlining the grave necessity of its application.²⁵¹ The laity were thus encouraged to view the inquisition as a virtuous, sacred, and necessary force. Their support, and even personal involvement in its charge, could thus be regarded as an expression of their own piety and as a contribution to the now seemingly righteous, afflicted and short-handed Church. This societal deployment of Peter's legacy, both within the Dominican Order and its conveyance to the lay population, accordingly gave further credence to individual inquisitors, as well as the broader spiritual duty they represented.

Peter as a Tool to Introduce Further Inquisitorial Legislation

Crucially, Peter's death was also used as a contrivance to usher in a collection of repressive policies directly relating to the legal development of the inquisition. Since the eleventh century, the Church had made a number of reforms attempting to control – and sporadically, avowals to completely destroy – upsurges of heresy. By the latter half of the thirteenth century, there had been put into place several fundamental canons which provided the legal precedent for the laws which were to follow Peter's death. While the Third Lateran Council (1179) addressed the issue of heresy and focused on its prolificacy in southern France, it was the drawing up of the papal bull *Ad Abolendam* (1184) which introduced a more structured framework for taking action against said heresies. The bull served several pointed purposes: to identify and condemn the Cathars, Patarines, Humiliati, the Poor Men of Lyons as well as “all heresy, by whatever name it may be called”; to consolidate and fortify existing papal policies; to introduce a more structured process of detecting, examining and judging of heretics to be used by bishops; and to reinforce the roles of secular authorities in this procedure.²⁵² This move to relate a religious crime to a secular counterpart has been

²⁵⁰ Christine Caldwell, "Doctors of Souls: inquisition and the Dominican Order, 1231–1331." University of Notre Dame, PhD dissertation, 2002, p. 312.

²⁵¹ For details on the elaboration of Peter's cult, see Prudlo, *The Martyred Inquisitor*, pp. 113- 119.

²⁵² Up until this point, bishops had been given only the vague instruction to be “watchful” of all instances of suspected heresy. The bull *Vergentis in senium* (1199), moreover, built on this legislation by officially equating heresy with the secular crime of treason. In addition to the convicted heretic facing a confiscation of their goods as well as no longer being eligible to receive any form of inheritance, their descendants would be barred from serving public office for three generations.; Prudlo, *A Companion to Heresy Inquisitions*, p.117.

interpreted as both a pronouncement of papal supremacy and sovereignty over secular law, and as a response to the continued heretical presence in the Papal States.²⁵³ Notably, both these bulls relied heavily on the cooperation of the laity—not just the secular legal arm, but the broader lay population to ensure the Church’s own strength and success. It was upon these existing ordinances, and the relationships they invoked, that *Ad extirpanda* (‘to extirpate’) was built. It was as an immediate response to Peter’s murder that the bull was promulgated.²⁵⁴

The Papal Justification for Greater Inquisitorial Powers: Ad Extirpanda

Peter’s assassination demonstrated to the Curia that all previous attempts to contain heresy had been insufficient, and that the immediate installation of far more rigorous control, force and repression was necessary to ensure papal primacy.²⁵⁵ Closely connected to this issue is the problem illustrated by Robert Le Bougre’s career – he, like Peter after him, had a very limited legal framework in which to work. The bull *Ad extirpanda*, issued on 15 May 1252, outlined how heretics were to be legally pursued and penalised by both religious and secular authorities, how those aiding heretics were to be punished, and introduced the protocol for interrogating suspected heretics.²⁵⁶ A key development here is that the inquisitor effectively had, for the first time enshrined in law, rights outside that of the bishop, traditionally the guardian of orthodoxy in a diocese. The bull was intended to be applicable to all administrative contexts, ranging from large cities to small villages.

The prescribed process was predicated on the supposition that papal constitutions condemning heresy had already been incorporated into the city’s statutes.²⁵⁷ Inquisitors were also instructed to delete any statute that in any way contradicted or hindered this bull, implying the laws

²⁵³ Ibid.

²⁵⁴ Issued on Wednesday, 15 May 1252.

²⁵⁵ Raoul Manselli argued that the generally increased institutionalisation of heretical suppression can be interpreted as an internal papal shift from persuasion to coercion. See Raoul Manselli, “De la persuasion à la coercitio” dans le Credo, la Morale et l’Inquisition,” *Cahiers de Fanjeaux* vol. 6, 1971, pp.175-197. Some historians assert that due to a period of increased conciliation between the empire and papacy, the Church was able to further develop and impose ideas relating to the control of heresy to an extent that they had not been able to previously. Prudlo argues thus that the heightened concentration on the sanctioning of heresy can be read as a change in the papacy’s ability rather than attitude. Prudlo, *A Companion to Heresy Inquisitions*. p. 110.

²⁵⁶ Meaning ‘to be extirpated.’

²⁵⁷ This often led to inquisitors’ insistence that the condemnation of heresy had indeed already been incorporated into the city’s statutes, regardless of whether it was considered to be an otherwise necessary step. Moore, *Inquisition and its Organisation in Italy, 1250-1350*, p. 39.

included in this bull superseded all civil legal codes.²⁵⁸ The selected head of state was then obliged, within three days of his being in office, to select twelve orthodox men (including two Dominicans and two Franciscans) whom he was to oversee and work in conjunction with. This unit would constitute the inquisitorial officials. Their duty was the pursuit of potential heretics, the seizure of all their effects, and turning them over to the local bishop or inquisitor. The term of these officials was to last six months, after which each member of the group was to be replaced.²⁵⁹ As payment for their services these officials were to accept one third of the heretics' fines and value of their properties.²⁶⁰ These individuals were of course given exceptional power, including the exemption from all public duties considered to be conflicting with the interests of their mission, and the ability to fine any civic authority huge sums if they did not produce their heretics on command.

Critically, the bull defines the failure to persecute heretics as being tantamount to protecting them, which is therefore deemed a punishable crime in and of itself.²⁶¹ Local lords were obligated to send aid to these officials when it was required, as was every individual citizen, lest they face heavy fines. To refuse to cooperate meant risking not only a personal fine, but one on behalf of one's land or local government, thus encouraging a climate of uniform social scrutiny and pressure to comply.²⁶² Aiding heretics would result in effective excommunication from society by denying them all civil rights, including being barred from any business dealings, public office, voting, testifying in legal matters, and prohibited from inheriting legacies or bequeathing them. This penalty would be upheld across two additional generations,

²⁵⁸ Law 37. Local civic leaders were then informed of their stringent obligations in this process, and notified that a failure to comply would result in a string of penalties (including the dispossession of his land, "eternal infamy," and disbarment from his office). Innocent IV, "*Ad extirpanda*." Issued 15 May, 1252, Ripoll, *Bullarium Ordinis FF. Praedicatorum*, vol. 1, 1729, pp. 209-12.

²⁵⁹ Though their term could be ended early or renewed by the *podestà*, Law 12.

²⁶⁰ This inevitably encouraged not only zealous pursuit of all potential heretics, but the targeting of particularly rich heretics. http://archives.sspx.org/against_sound_bites/defense_of_the_inquisition.htm, accessed 14.04.21

²⁶¹ This definition, however, does raise some clear issues. A protector, in other words, can be defined as any individual who fails to report the heretics to authorities. Theoretically, then, one person who does report the heretics then necessarily brings to light a slew of fellow society members who did not report the same heretic, thereby condemning them to punishment. And what of those who were ignorant of the heretic's religion, and therefore never reported them? According to this law, they would still stand to suffer the legal repercussions of those more actively sheltering heretics. This law therefore encouraged further surveillance, continued scrutiny and accusations of suspicion of heresy between all members of local communities.

²⁶² Similarly, any individual accused of hindering inquisitorial investigation faced the forfeiture of their property, fines, and a meeting with the head of state for a "personal interview."

as all sons and grandsons of both heretics and those who had aided them were subject to investigation for the duration of their lives.²⁶³

Once remanded in custody, heretics were to be treated as “actual robbers and murderers of souls and thieves of the sacraments of God and Christian faith.”²⁶⁴ Inquisitors were to assume the accused’s guilt, and so any protestations of their innocence were considered to be false and an unnecessary impediment to the inquisition. Should the accused refuse to admit his guilt, he would be “relaxed to the secular arm”. This was a euphemism for his being subjected to torture, provided that it did not cause loss of limb or life, was only to be used once, and the inquisitor employing it judged the evidence used against the accused to be practically certain. The inquisitor was himself forbidden from giving aid or comfort to the accused, as well as from responding to objections raised by public outcry, the advice of counsellors, or the “innate humanity of those in authority,” forcing the inquisitor to punish the accused to the full extent of the law. The inquisitor was to then deliver the accused to the State, which was bound to execute the accused within fifteen days. The head of state was then to record “the names of all men rendered infamous by heresy, or under a statute of outlawry for it, to be written in a consistent form and manner in four books,” which were then to be given to the local government, the diocesan bishop, the Dominican friars, and to the Franciscans. The names of these persons were to be read aloud three times a year in a solemn public ceremony.²⁶⁵

The result of the introduction of *Ad extirpanda* was not just that it anathematised heretical members of the community, but that it forcefully and comprehensively redressed the balance of power throughout society. The bull’s recurrent threats of punitive action against all heretics and their “protectors” ensured that all pockets of society were affected by the bull, whether that be religious or secular, high or low class, and encouraged the publicity of all private conduct therein. The bull was not only successful in creating a campaign of fear as well as re-establishing political and social repression, but it also communicated that all members of

²⁶³ Law 29. This was in accordance with the biblical precept of the sins of one’s father being visited upon their sons, Deuteronomy 5:9-10, “I, the Lord your God, am a jealous God, visiting the iniquity of the fathers on the children, and on the third and the fourth generations of those who hate Me, but showing lovingkindness to thousands [of generations, see 7:9], to those who love Me and keep My commandments.” Isaiah 65:6b-7 “I [God] will even repay into their bosom, both their own iniquities and the iniquities of their fathers together.”

²⁶⁴ Innocent IV, *Ad extirpanda*. Issued 15 May, 1252, Ripoll, *Bullarium Ordinis FF. Praedicatorum*, vol. 1, 1729, pp. 209-12.

²⁶⁵ Law 28. Innocent IV, *Ad extirpanda*. Issued 15 May, 1252, Ripoll, *Bullarium Ordinis FF. Praedicatorum*, vol. 1, 1729, pp. 209-12.

society were ultimately answerable to the Church. Whilst Peter's murder directly drove the intentional introduction of an institutionalised, oppressive legislation, it also necessarily – though perhaps incidentally – led to a new incarnation of the Church's fight against heresy: one less concerned with winning the heretics' hearts and minds (and souls), but rather ensuring their eradication through applying unyielding force across several institutional levels.

In the decades following the introduction of *Ad extirpanda*, we can track a pattern of increasingly oppressive legislation becoming incorporated into the routine practice of inquisition. *Ad extirpanda* seems to have opened the floodgates for a series of other bulls further refining how inquisitors were to conduct themselves, as well as further developing laws relating to their unique entitlements and exceptions. To put the ramifications of *Ad extirpanda* into perspective, D'Alatri counted the issuing of over eighty bulls by Alexander IV (1254-1261) on the topic of inquisition in just two years of his papacy, for instance.²⁶⁶ In 1254, inquisitors were given the power to interpret both papal and imperial constitutions in any areas of constitutional uncertainty.²⁶⁷ This was originally intended to avoid inconveniencing the pope on small matters, but inevitably could be used to better suit the inquisitors' agenda. Later bulls also relaxed the conditions associated with giving evidence; for example, testimony from anonymous witnesses, criminals, and excommunicated individuals were all considered to be admissible in inquisitorial tribunals, though not so in other secular courts.²⁶⁸ By 1256, inquisitors were given the authority to absolve the sins of each other and of their associates during the performance of their duties (used in particular in the inquisitors' eventual application of torture), and in 1261, they were authorised to absolve each other of excommunication for any cause.²⁶⁹ Papal legates were prohibited from enquiring about or interceding in their duties, and could not suspend them from their posts. Inquisitors answered directly to the pope himself. Their combination of legal exceptionalism, in both religious and secular spheres, rendered them practically untouchable.²⁷⁰

²⁶⁶ Mariano D'Alatri, *Eretici e inquisitori in Italia : studi e documenti*, 2 vols. Roma: Collegio San Lorenzo da Brindisi, Istituto storico del Cappuccini, 1, 1986-1987, p. 44.

²⁶⁷ Who included some of the most significant legal figures of their day – both well known glossators and future popes such as Clement IV (Gui Foulcques) and Boniface VIII (Benedetto Caetani). Originally, the inquisitors consulted with jurists, and then came to a conclusion jointly with diocesan bishops.

²⁶⁸ Moore, *Inquisition and its Organisation in Italy, 1250-1350*, p. 45.

²⁶⁹ Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages*; vol. 1, p. 223.

²⁷⁰ Similarly, inquisitors were not obligated to obey the orders of their provincials and generals. Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages*, vol. 1, p. 223.

By the end of the thirteenth century, the bulls addressing inquisitorial practice were mostly formalised in canon law in the bull *Liber sextus*, promulgated by Boniface VIII in 1298.²⁷¹ The former Dominican master-general who would succeed him, Benedict XI, was intimately aware of the practical issues faced by contemporary inquisitors, and issued the bull *Ex eo quod*, which both clarified laws presented in *Liber sextus*, and introduced the decrees that bishops should no longer receive any bounty of heresy confiscations, nor continue to oversee inquisitors.²⁷² In other words, as a result of the canonisation of Peter Martyr, we can see direct curial legislative intervention, which would eventually have a prodigious ripple effect on the role of inquisitors and their legal purview.

Conclusion

The widely disseminated image of Peter of Verona as a martyred inquisitor creates a misleading impression about his involvement in the prosecution of heresy. For most of his career, Peter of Verona worked primarily as a preacher. When he was eventually appointed ‘inquisitor’ nine months prior to his assassination, he, like Robert ‘le Bougre’ before him, held that post without any strong articulation of those powers. This effectively rendered both individuals autonomous free agents. Robert’s reliance on force and secular authority had made inquisitors largely despised figures amongst Cathars and Christians alike. Peter’s life’s work of encouraging conversion through preaching and persuasion, on the other hand, helped to improve the reputation of inquisitors, and proved to be a more productive means of both promoting Catholicism and impeding Catharism. It was, however, with the death of Emperor Frederick II, followed soon after by Peter’s own assassination, that Innocent IV’s plan to strengthen inquisitorial powers was accelerated. Frederick’s death had introduced a temporary political vacuum, allowing the papacy to assert its power. Further, by using Peter’s murder as the fulcrum, the papacy was able to institute a three-pronged strategy to its contemporaneous needs: to rehabilitate the image of the Church to appeal to those disillusioned by its current incarnation, to legitimise the practice of inquisition, and to introduce more centralised and rigorous inquisitorial legislation. Using Peter as an emblem for their separate but collaborative causes, both the Dominicans and the papacy relied on Peter to inform their core identities. For the Dominicans, Peter came to represent the power

²⁷¹ Moore, *Inquisition and its Organisation in Italy, 1250-1350*, p. 60.

²⁷² Ripoll, *Bullarium Ordinis FF. Praedicatorum*, vol. 1, 1729, p. 244.

of preaching and pastoral work, and for the papacy, he came to personify the ‘inquisitor saint.’ In considering the impact of Peter’s life and legacy, therefore, we are thus able not only to trace the dramatic steps in the papacy’s creation of the organised institution of inquisition, but to see how Peter of Verona can be conceived of as a central figure in this process. The irony of this, of course, is that despite his formidable successes on behalf of the papacy in his lifetime, Peter’s most important contribution came in the way his memory was invoked after his death. In this chapter of events, we can therefore appreciate that the most important elements at play are not the events, developments or facts of Peter’s life, but the way in which they were presented, and, like Peter’s image itself, actively utilised. At the same time, simply invoking the memory of a saint was not sufficient in the practical task of pursuing heretics. It was necessary for inquisitors to learn more about the movement they were hunting out, in both ideological and logistical terms.

Chapter 3

Rainerio Sacchoni: The Informed Inquisitor

Introduction

Alongside Peter of Verona, Rainerio Sacchoni, also known as Reynerius de Piacenza, played a key role in shaping inquisitorial practice through the writing of his manual on Cathars, the *Summa de Catharis et Leonistis, seu Pauperibus de Lugduno*. By his last historical sighting in 1262, Sacchoni had become an inquisitor of substantial repute, and fostered relationships with several popes. In the last letter addressed to him, Pope Urban IV (1261-1264) wrote to Sacchoni in both a personal and pressing tone, commanding that Sacchoni “come quickly to me, and, in order for you to be quicker... I grant you the permission to avoid your order’s prohibitions and ride freely.”²⁷³ This letter neatly highlights just how entrenched in the process of inquisition Sacchoni had become, how much the papacy itself had come to rely on him, and subsequently, how much his role within the Church had come to define Sacchoni’s identity.

Our focus thus far has been on Dominican inquisitors who had only inadvertently had an effect on the evolving bureaucracy of the inquisition (profound though these effects had been). This chapter, however, discusses Rainerio Sacchoni, who, like his predecessors, was an ex-Cathar himself. Unlike his predecessors, however, he actively attempted to shape inquisitorial perspective and protocol from within the slowly-establishing movement. Much of this chapter is devoted to analysing Sacchoni’s magnum opus, the *Summa*, a text based on his intimate familiarity with Catharism, and the first of its kind in scope and depth. I contend that in creating an informative report on Cathar beliefs and modes of conduct, Sacchoni created a learned template that could greatly assist the inquisition in carrying out its fundamental mission of eradicating ‘heresy,’ and thus dramatically shaped inquisitorial culture and practice. I argue that Sacchoni’s treatise demonstrates a shift in the evolution of the inquisition – transforming the orthodox perception of a previously nebulous Cathar movement to one with much clearer parameters, seats of power, and modes of functionality.

²⁷³ The letter is dated 21 July, 1262. Caterina Bruschi, “Converted-Turned-Inquisitors and the Image of the Adversary: Rainier Sacconi Explains Cathars,” *Cathars in Question*, ed. Sennis, p. 187.

²⁷⁴ Additionally, I show that Sacchoni's conduct as a practicing inquisitor himself (including independently establishing key relationships with several popes) facilitated the inquisition's increasingly firm grasp over the Church. Hence, in examining the life and career of Rainerio Sacchoni, I demonstrate how he directly implemented a more coherent framework for coping with heresy than anything that either Robert 'le Bougre' or Peter of Verona had attempted to effect before him. Of these three figures, Sacchoni was the most able to further the cause of, empower, and serve the needs of inquisitors. By combining Robert's experience of working in the field, and reinforcing Peter's theological capacity to validate the inquisitorial process, Sacchoni was able to significantly contribute to the systematisation of the inquisition.

Sources Relating to Rainerio Sacchoni

The critical literary source for this chapter is the only extant text attributed to Sacchoni himself, the *Summa de catharis et leonistis, seu pauperibus de Lugduno* (a summa about the Cathars and the Poor of Lyons).²⁷⁵ This document is a testimony written in 1250, in northern Italy, as the Church contended with the fact that all Cathars had not, in fact, been annihilated by the close of the Albigensian crusade, twenty-one years prior. Sacchoni openly wrote it as an ex-Cathar, using his prior position within the movement as a mark of his authority on the religion's beliefs, morals, and practices. Perhaps most importantly, he contributed details of various Cathar sects and their internal structures, locations of their churches, as well as some discussion of the movement's internal dynamics. The treatise is written in the contemptuous and brusque tones of an ex-convert who is now repelled by his former co-religionists. Though never explicitly stated, the document is ostensibly written for Sacchoni's fellow inquisitors, who would have assumedly weaponised the information provided to the fullest extent possible, as well as his fellow Dominicans, who likely read the document to increase the effectiveness of their mission of proselytisation. It is moreover worth noting that Sacchoni penned his treatise in 1250, and therefore may have then influenced Innocent IV's (1243-1254) introduction of the watershed bull of *Ad extirpanda* in 1252, which enabled the development of a more refined bureaucratic and judicial framework within the papacy.²⁷⁶

²⁷⁴ This text laid in stark contrast to the Church's pre-existing corpus of texts defining and criminalising heresy, which included Biblical, patristic and Roman legal texts to provide guidance in the treatment of heretics.

²⁷⁵ Throughout this chapter I cite Evans and Wakefield's translation in *Heresies of the High Middle Ages*, pp. 329-345, unless stated otherwise.

²⁷⁶ Sacchoni's *Summa* was claimed to have been discovered by Claudius Coussard in Paris, in 1548, but seems to have been originally edited and annotated by an individual known as Yvonetus in 1260. Matthias Illyricus

Secondary Literature

In 1937, Antoine Dondaine discovered the *Liber de duobus principiis*, written by John of Lugio, in the National Library in Florence. It was based on this finding that Dondaine published, in 1939, *Un traité neo-manichéen du XIIIe siècle : le Liber de duobus principiis* – in which he translated Sacchoni's *Summa*, and which examined the Dominican suppression of heresy in the first century of its establishment. This discovery enabled him to map out a potential trajectory of Catharism's progress in Italy, leading to new schools of thought on the nature of heresy within the West. Amongst other revelations, Dondaine's work contributed to the ongoing debate about the framework of Catharism. He propounded, contrary to previous studies, that Catharism should not be thought of as one monolithic religion, but rather a series of "dualist sects, as much in the East as in Lombardy, which had no more in common than a more or less related doctrinal inheritance... The Cathar churches, the Cathar dioceses, were quite distinct entities, with no hierarchical ties and probably in the beginning no communication between one and another."²⁷⁷ Additionally, Dondaine's work focused specifically on the central role of the inquisitor's manual in the development of the inquisition. Within this discussion, Dondaine differentiated several developmental stages in the formulation of inquisitorial manuals themselves; beginning with manuals that were *sans formulaire*, which, after obtaining supplementary material became *manuels avec formulaire*, which ultimately developed into more systematised *traités raisonnés* (reasoned treaties). His decades of dedicated study have ensured a legacy of transforming obscure legend into verifiable, comprehensive historical accounts which have formed the basis for abundant scholarly debate in the field of medieval religious history.

Caterina Bruschi similarly focuses on thirteenth century Cathar heresy, and engages closely with core debates that revolve around the relevance of specific texts that provide insight into Catharism. Bruschi draws particularly from Sacchoni's treatise in arguing whether Catharism should be considered one overarching religious movement, or a series of interconnected yet

Flacius additionally claimed to have a copy of the text in his own book, entitled *Catalogus Testium Veritatis*, 1666. More recently, the text was rediscovered and translated by Antoine Dondaine in *Un Traité Neo-Manichéen du XIIIe siècle: Le Liber de duobus principiis*, Rome: Istituto Storico Domenicano, 1939, and perhaps most well-known is the version translated by François Šanjek O.P., "Raynerius Sacconi O.P. Summa De Catharis." *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, vol. 44, 1974, pp. 31–60.

²⁷⁷Ibid (Dondaine, *Un Traité Neo-Manichéen du XIIIe siècle*, pp. 292-3.)

separate heretical groups, differentiated based on both their doctrine and organisation. Moreover, Bruschi underscores the importance of contextualising the nuanced political, familial, communal and personal relationships in our attempt to understand Cathars, and thus their relationship with inquisitors. In a chapter dedicated to the analysis of Sacchoni's work, for example, she states that her approach to this subject "takes into account Rainerio and his work together, and considers that in anybody's life experience both past and present contribute to building up a whole individual, and that this individual's writings are necessarily – at least to some extent – the expression of this entirety."²⁷⁸ Bruschi's work is consistently written from a humanistic perspective and is conceptually creative, making her work anomalous, and hence particularly valuable in the study of individuals within the context of the growing bureaucracy that is the inquisition. Throughout her studies, Bruschi works towards disproving the 'top-down' model that contends that inquisitors worked towards a prepared, comprehensive, and coercive agenda.

My argument builds on this position, suggesting that Sacchoni's *Summa* reveals that the inquisition began as a grassroots process with little oversight, and that it was only after years of active organisation – to which Sacchoni substantially contributed – that the inquisitorial framework as we now think of it was formed. Only subsequent to this series of events could a 'top-down' model be utilised in order to refine inquisitorial rules and practices.

Sacchoni's Biography

Sacchoni's life and career exemplifies, microcosmically, the organic evolution of the inquisition. Through the course of his life Rainerio Sacchoni not only lived through, but actively contributed to the introduction of more formalised inquisitorial structure and protocol. Like Peter of Verona before him, Sacchoni was born in Piacenza, in northern Italy in the early thirteenth century. By way of introducing himself as an expert on the current state of Catharism, Sacchoni states that he lived with the Cathars for seventeen years prior to his conversion, though does not furnish the reader with much further detail regarding his heritage.²⁷⁹ By the time of his conversion, c.1245, Sacchoni was already an established

²⁷⁸ Bruschi, "Sacconi Explains Cathars," in *Cathars in Question*, ed., Sennis, pp. 185–186. Of course, I would also recommend that anyone interested in Sacchoni's biography and work also read Bruschi's complete chapter.

²⁷⁹ Bruschi has, however, calculated that in the year of his probable conversion, 1245, Sacchoni's likely age was around twenty-three. For her specific method of calculating his age, see *ibid.*, p. 192.

heresiarch of his sect.²⁸⁰ His choice to convert, it seems, can potentially be attributed to the influence of Peter of Verona, as evidence suggests that Sacchoni was likely to have known Peter personally.²⁸¹

After joining the Dominican Brotherhood, Sacchoni worked as an inquisitor throughout Lombardy, including the cities of Bergamo, Como, Lodi, Milan and Pavia, gaining substantial experience in the practice of inquisition. Indeed, according to Thomas Kaeppli, Sacchoni and Peter worked directly together, with Peter acting as the main inquisitor, and Sacchoni as his assistant in the period immediately following Peter's residence in Florence from 1244-1245.²⁸² Bruschi holds that Sacchoni was promoted to the fully-fledged position of independent inquisitor by c. 1250.²⁸³

It was in this same year in which Sacchoni apparently penned and presumably began to circulate his treatise.²⁸⁴ As we know, Sacchoni's conduct was sufficient to render him a target of the conspiracy in which Peter of Verona was eventually murdered on 6 April 1252. It seems logical to assume that this is due to both his growing activity and power as an inquisitor, as well as his writing of the treatise, which would likely have resulted in the consolidation of inquisitorial knowledge and understanding of Cathar practices and beliefs, and therefore, streamlined their ability to effectively convert Cathars open to persuasion.²⁸⁵ As luck would have it, Sacchoni narrowly avoided the same fate as Peter due to his working in Pavia at the time.²⁸⁶

²⁸⁰ Though whether, and to what extent, this role implies pragmatic leadership in addition to spiritual leadership is unclear.

²⁸¹ Bruschi, "Ranier Sacconi Explains Cathars." *Cathars in Question*, ed. Sennis, p. 192. Though no explicit extant evidence exists, some scholars hold that Sacchoni's conversion likely took place in Florence. This conclusion is perhaps most easily explained by Peter's residence there in the same period that Sacchoni's conversion took place.

²⁸² Ibid.

²⁸³ 1250 being the estimated date of Sacchoni's penning the treatise.; Using his own treatise to illustrate this point, Bruschi highlights a sentence he writes in discussing Waldensian customs; "and I also think that they say the same of women [that they can consecrate the Host] because they [the Waldensians] did not deny it *to me*." She reads the phrase "to me" as potential proof revealing that Sacchoni was, by this stage, acting in the capacity of an inquisitor. Bruschi's emphasis. Ibid., p. 188.

²⁸⁴ *Anno Domini MCCL compilatum est fideliter per dictum fratrem Raynerium opus superius annotatum. (Deo Gratias)* ('In the year of the Lord 1250 the work above listed[?] has been compiled faithfully by the said brother Ranier. [Thanks be to God]'), Šanjek, "Raynerius Sacconi O.P. Summa de Catharis." p. 60.

²⁸⁵ Interestingly, Bruschi argues that despite Sacchoni's writing his treatise roughly two years prior to the murder plot, she does not consider it to be a factor in his being targeted by the Cathars. Bruschi, "Ranier Sacconi Explains Cathars." *Cathars in Question*, p. 188.

²⁸⁶ Some 55 kilometers from Barlassina, the location of Peter's attack. Ibid.

Although Sacchoni worked in the field as an inquisitor for roughly twenty-two years, his true power lay in the information he was able to provide, which both empowered other inquisitors and, in turn, strengthened the process of institutionalising the inquisition. Following Peter's death, Sacchoni seems to have stepped neatly into the role of heir to his mission. Sacchoni immediately replaced Peter as the head of inquisition throughout Lombardy, and five months later, he was entrusted with the inquest investigating the murders of both Peter and fra Domenico.²⁸⁷ It was in this new role that Innocent IV granted Sacchoni immediate, operative help, assigning him the services of eight new inquisitors to work within Lombardy. In 1253, Sacchoni castigated Roberto da Guissano, the lord of the town Gattedo for the alleged crime of heresy, and Innocent IV commanded that his castle be razed to the ground. The order was ignored for two years, until Sacchoni had in his employ these additional inquisitors, after which the Milanese did indeed see through Innocent IV's order.²⁸⁸ This event was particularly significant for Sacchoni on several accounts: the Milanese Catholics exhumed and burned the bones of all known heretics who had been buried in the town, including the Cathar bishops Nazarius and Desiderius.²⁸⁹ Sacchoni had personally heard Nazarius preach about the Cathar tenets of faith he had learned in Bulgaria some sixty years prior, and we can only assume that some degree of an emotional connection for the man and the faith he represented remained with Sacchoni.²⁹⁰ Additionally, this verve with which the Milanese took to their task has been attributed to the city's devotion to Peter of Verona; after all, Gattedo was home to several of those involved in his murder, and served as the setting for their organisation of the deed. This arguably further bound Sacchoni's new religious mission to Peter's already-entrenched legacy.

²⁸⁷ Marina Benedetti, *Inquisitori Lombardi Del Duecento*, Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 2013, pp. 41–42; 65–68.

²⁸⁸ Giovanni Treccani degli Alfieri, *Storia di Milano*. Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1995, p. 282.; Malcolm Lambert, *Medieval Heresy*, Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2002, p. 124.

²⁸⁹ Treccani degli Alfieri, Giovanni. *Storia di Milano*, p. 282.

²⁹⁰ *Nazarius vero quondam eorum episcopus et antiquissimus coram me et aliis multis dixit [...] et dixit quod habuit hunc errorem ab episcopo et filio maiore ecclesie Bulgarie iam fere elapsis annis LX* ('Nazarius, in truth once their bishop and very old, in front of me and many others said [...] and said that he got this error from a bishop and elder son of the church of Bulgaria nearly sixty years ago already'); Šanjek, "Raynerius Sacconi O.P. Summa De Catharis." p. 58.

In the following years, Sacchoni's connection to and association with the papacy strengthened, further giving the impression of increased inquisitorial bureaucracy. In at least five letters to Sacchoni between 1256 and 1257, Pope Alexander IV (1254-1261) sent words of encouragement to him, and additionally implored Lombard prelates to assist the inquisitors in whichever manner had been deemed fit.²⁹¹ The conspicuousness of Sacchoni's activities was eventually his undoing: in 1258, the *podestà* of Milan and stout defender of heretics, Oberto Pallavicino, expelled Sacchoni from the city.²⁹² In response, Alexander IV entreated Church prelates to safeguard Sacchoni and his associates following this event. As we have seen, the last appearance of Sacchoni in extant historical records is in a letter from Pope Urban IV, dated 21 July 1262. Urban here commands Sacchoni from Viterbo, where he is apparently stationed, to appear before him urgently in Urbino to report on the state of the inquisition in Lombardy. He writes:

Since I wish to have a discussion with you about some present things that need doing in regard to the business of Catholic faith, and since – for this reason, your presence is to me very much appropriate [to discuss] about this matter... I command that you... come quickly to me, and, in order for you to be quicker... I grant you the permission to avoid your order's prohibitions and ride freely.²⁹³

From this bull, we can infer that Sacchoni was likely at this time still the head inquisitor of Lombardy and the Genoese March. Five years later, however, on 26 January 1267, Brother Anselm of Alessandria was promoted to this post. This suggests that Sacchoni left his position at some point in these intervening years, most likely due to his age or death. It seems, therefore, that right up until his death, Sacchoni was working tirelessly and to the best of his capabilities to ensure the steady gubernatorial development of the inquisition. Thus, if Peter of Verona can be conceptualised as the saint defining Innocent IV's reign, Sacchoni can

²⁹¹ For further details, see Benedetti, *Inquisitori Lombardi del Duecento*, pp. 40-45, 66-73, and p. 68n.106, for a full record.

²⁹² Pallavicino had significant history with the inquisition. He had supported Emperor Frederick II since the 1230s, and after Conrad IV's death in 1254, became *podestà* in Pavia, Cremona, and Piacenza, before ostracising the inquisitors of Piacenza. For further information, see Caterina Bruschi, "Dissenso e presenza ereticale in Piacenza e nelle città Padane tra gli anni cinquanta e settanta del duecento," ed. Roberto Greci, *Studi Sul Medioevo Emiliano: Parma e Piacenza in Età Comunale*, Bologna: Clueb, 2009, pp. 241-242.

²⁹³ Bruschi, "Ranier Sacconi Explains Cathars." *Cathars in Question*, ed. Sennis, p.187.

perhaps be thought of as his most prominent inquisitor – both individuals vastly different in emphasis and speciality, yet both functional and complementary to the development of the inquisition under the Pope.

Sacchoni's Summa

The defining factor setting Sacchoni apart from 'le Bougre' and Peter of Verona is his intellectual mapping of the Cathar counter-church, thereby contributing to the formulation of an educational process within the inquisition's ranks. Sacchoni wrote his treatise, the *Summa de catharis et leonistis, seu pauperibus de Lugduno*, during what we might think of as the first wave of enthusiasm for inquisitorial manuals. This trend began to emerge partly in response to the recent advent of mendicant sainthood, which enhanced the generalised zeal of the mendicant orders, consequently, the response of heretics to this growing mendicant power. As John Arnold writes, "As one might expect from a procedure that had appeared from a conglomeration of existing juridical and religious ideas, there is almost a sense... that the inquisitors were beginning to discover the need for an abstract statement of their task."²⁹⁴ The inquisitorial process was beginning to represent a wholly new, legitimate field of knowledge offering a bounty of original legal and religious discourse. We can therefore regard the development of these manuals as a mixture of the inquisition's mission statement, a means of understanding local heresies, of further crystallising the boundaries of what constituted 'heresy', as well as a how-to guide for dealing with heretics in both a group and personal context. This attempt to collate and communicate this information between inquisitors is also indicative of the inquisition's further evolution, transcending beyond any single inquisitor's jurisdiction and moving towards an overarching autocratic body.²⁹⁵

By the time Sacchoni had begun to pen his treatise, he had a substantial body of work to use as his set of resources. This trend of writing inquisitorial manuals gathered further momentum with the introduction of increased legislation, as well as deepening expertise of heresy. The earliest of these tractates is likely that of Bonacorso of Milan, an ex-Cathar himself, who produced his work sometime between 1176 and 1190. Two texts had also been disseminated throughout Lombardy of which Sacchoni might have read – the *Manifestatio*

²⁹⁴ Arnold, *Inquisition and Power: Catharism and the Confessing Subject in Medieval Languedoc*, p. 49.

²⁹⁵ Ibid., p. 51.

heresis Catharorum, c. 1190 and the anonymous *De heresi Catharorum in Lombardia*, c. 1190-1214, which is also possibly written by an ex-Cathar. It is likely Sacchoni would have been aware of, if not read, Alan of Lille's famous *De fide Catholica*, written prior to 1202.²⁹⁶ He may have also known the *Liber suprastella*, written in 1235 by a Piacenzan notary, as well as the *Summa* attributed to Pseudo-James Capelli, written post 1234. Considering his personal connection, it seems likely that Sacchoni had read Peter of Verona's *Summa contra hereticos*, c. 1235. The most extensive of these writings is Moneta of Cremona's *Summa contra Catharos*, written c.1240.²⁹⁷ There additionally existed a manual of procedures compiled by the Dominican inquisitor, Friar Ferrier, in 1244.²⁹⁸ The first guide exhibiting a model later consistently adopted throughout most conventional inquisitorial manuals is that of the *Ordo processus Narbonensis*, written by the inquisitors Bernard of Caux and John of St-Pierre between 1248-1249. It is not known, however, whether or not Sacchoni had access to this work. We do know for certain that Sacchoni possessed "a large volume of ten quires" attributed to a John of Lugio, which he quotes at length and had read "over and over again".

299

The interest in producing these manuals had bloomed in conjunction with the new Church councils and tribunals that had begun to occur with increasing frequency throughout northern Italy and southern France. These manuals varied widely in focus and prototypes, including everything from explanations of inquisitorial roles and the way in which their administration should be run to descriptions of heretics, their beliefs and customs.³⁰⁰ In writing during this specific period, Sacchoni was in the fortuitous position of both being able to build substantially on existing information provided by his Christian antecedents, as well as to help define the longstanding purpose and structure of these manuals.

²⁹⁶ Wakefield, *Heresies of the High Middle Ages*, pp. 336-337.

²⁹⁷ Bruschi, "Ranier Sacconi Explains Cathars." *Cathars in Question*, p. 198.

²⁹⁸ P. François Balme and Adolphe Tardif. *Processus per inquisitionem et de l'inquisitio heretice pravitatis*. 1883, pp. 669-678.

²⁹⁹ Bruschi, "Ranier Sacconi Explains Cathars." *Cathars in Question*, p. 198.

³⁰⁰ Ibid., p. 192. For dating and attribution, see trans. Wakefield, *Heresy, Crusade and Inquisition in Southern France 1100-1250*. Appendix 6, pp. 250-258, as well as Lothar Kolmer, *Ad Capiendas Vulpes: Die Ketzerbekämpfung in Südfrankreich in der ersten Hälfte des 13. Jahrhunderts und die Ausbildung des inquisitionsverfahren*, Bonn: Röhrscheid, 1982, pp. 198-203.

Sacchoni uses his extensive knowledge of Catharism to inform orthodox Christians, and particularly inquisitors, of the movement's fundamental elements. His description of Catharism includes discussions of Catharism's history, beliefs, practices, cultural idiosyncrasies, church structure, and current geography. Though Sacchoni made some attempt to discuss separately the beliefs, practices, and structure of Catharism, it is soon evident in his treatise that, like in all organised religions, belief informs both practice and church structure, and thus there are areas in which these categories overlap or become inextricably bound up with each other. Sacchoni's depth of complicated Cathar cosmological knowledge is of unique and exceptional historical value, as it provides us with an understanding of both Cathar and inquisitorial demographic knowledge, as well as rare insight into the Cathar manual of theology, the *Liber de duobus principiis*.

Sacchoni's piece begins with a discussion of the varying belief of the Cathars, which is predicated on the specific sect to which each individual belongs. Here he draws a distinction between the absolute dualists, making specific reference to the older Cathar beliefs and the Albanenses who continue to follow them. These individuals, in addition to believing in twin deities representing good and evil and who hold equal power, also deny the humanity of Christ and Mary, believing them to be illusions conjured by the evil god. They similarly consign all figures of the Old Testament, most prominently John the Baptist, as "enemies of God and ministers of the devil," who they believe to be the real author of the Old Testament. Mitigated dualists, here described as belonging to the Church of Concorezzo, are portrayed as believing in one God, whose evil counterpart is the fallen angel, Satan, believing in the real humanity of Christ, that the Old Testament was written by the devil (save for a few phrases carried into the New Testament) in a belief akin to that of Original Sin, and recently coming to "accept correctly about John the Baptist."³⁰¹ As Prudlo points out, this last detail is especially significant, as "the Baptist had long been their standard bearer for the Evil Principle."³⁰²

³⁰¹ More specifically, this belief was that the devil formed the body of the first man and into it infused an angel who had already sinned slightly. Evans and Wakefield, *Heresies of the High Middle Ages*, pp. 343-44.

³⁰² Donald Prudlo, *Certain Sainthood: Canonization and the Origins of Papal Infallibility in the Medieval Church*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, Ithaca, 2015, p. 105-7.

Sacchoni recounts the general beliefs of all Cathars early on in the document, confirming the principles covered by both Robert and Peter of Verona before him. These include that: everything in the tangible world has been made by the evil element; that the orthodox sacraments offer no true salvation; that all contracts tying oneself to the physical world are mortal sin; that eating products of coition is too a mortal sin; and lastly, that the concept of the Second Coming is a falsehood. Furthermore, these beliefs necessitate an emphasis on orthopraxis over personal belief, in polar opposition to orthodox creed, where belief is considered to be of paramount theological value.³⁰³

The Four Sacraments

Despite referring to the group simply as ‘Cathars’, Sacchoni goes to some pains to provide both the orthodox and non-orthodox names for each sect, as well as their religion’s four rituals. Here he makes mention of three distinct theocratic societies within the Cathar community, including the Albaneses, Concorezzenses, and Bagnolenses, citing that they live throughout Lombardy, Tuscany, the March of Trevisio and Provence. He then describes their four rituals. The first of these is ‘the imposition of the hand’, which is “called by them *consolamentum* and spiritual baptism, or also baptism of the Holy Spirit", and necessarily performed before death by a minister in order to ensure all mortal sins they have committed are forgiven. This rite was believed to free the recipient’s soul from its earthly, evil confinement and guaranteed that they would return to the realm of the good God when they died. This specific ritual was believed by the Cathars to be traceable directly to Christ and his apostles. Yet as Sacchoni explains, the legitimacy of the ritual is dependent on the virtue of the specific minister. If, for example, the minister was to commit a mortal sin after performing the *consolamentum*, all rituals he had overseen would be invalidated. This could

³⁰³ Prudlo in fact goes as far as to argue that the beliefs of individual Cathars did not matter, as “their belief was made manifest in their practice, an assumption made by orthodox Christians explicitly and by the heretics at least implicitly, for their rejection of these material signs was itself a material sign, a negative ritual act with profound theological and social implications.” Ibid, p. 106. I believe, however, that whilst belief is certainly usually made manifest in practice, there are a variety of theological and social reasons why one might partake in prayer and not believe, and vice-versa. While individual Cathars likely would have argued for distinction between belief and practice, I do agree that Sacchoni and his co-inquisitors, set on the extermination of Catharism, would have used the principle of *Legem credendi lex statuat supplicandi* (the law of praying establishes the law of believing) to their advantage.

lead to serious consequences for entire communities, which made Cathar churches particularly vulnerable to schisms on the basis of this belief.³⁰⁴

The next ritual, the ‘breaking of bread’, which is called by orthodox ‘the blessing of bread’, is performed at morning and evening meals. After standing and saying the Lord’s Prayer, the highest-ranking individual present holds the loaf, recites the prayer, “May the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be always with us all” before breaking the bread and distributing it to all present.

The following ritual is simply referred to as “penance” or “confession,” and by the orthodox as the “false penance,” which Sacchoni describes as “false... vain, deceptive and poisonous,” and which entails “contrition of the heart,” “confession of the lips,” and “satisfaction by works”.³⁰⁵ Sacchoni maintains, however, that in his seventeen years of experience with the Cathars, “not one of these three appears among the Cathars or in their penance.” The “poison of their error,” he continues, “which they have sucked from the mouth of the old serpent,” is fourfold. They believe that:

eternal glory is not lessened for any penitent by any sin, that the punishment of hell is not increased thereby for the impenitent, tht for no one is purgatorial fire reserved, and that guilt and penalty are blotted out by God through the imposition of the hand. Judas the traitor will be punished no more severely than a child of one day old, all will be equal in glory as well as in punishment.³⁰⁶

Sacchoni continues to recount that Cathar confession is insufficient in making the necessary spiritual reparations, or “satisfaction by works,” on three bases. He states that

The first is that guilt and punishment are totally wiped out by their imposition of the hand and by prayer... The second is that God inflicts

³⁰⁴ Bernard Hamilton, “Cathar Links with the Balkans and Byzantium,” *Cathars in Question*, ed. Sennis, p. 139.

³⁰⁵ “Satisfaction by works” here means ‘atonement’.

³⁰⁶ Evans and Wakefield, *Heresies of the High Middle Ages*, p. 332.

on no one purgatorial punishment, the existence of which they totally deny, or temporal punishment, which they think is inflicted by the devil in this life... The third is that everyone is bound of necessity to perform these works as if they were the commands of God. For instance, a boy ten years old who had never committed any moral sin at all before he became a Cathar is in the same class as an old man who had never ceased from sinning.³⁰⁷

Based on this mindset – what Sacchoni interprets here as pale, perverted imitations of Catholic truth – he confirms that the vast majority of Cathars use this effective loophole to indulge their basest fantasies and impulses. He states that the Cathars “do not feel contrition for sins committed before the confession of their heresy... [which is proved as] they make restitution to no man for usury, theft, or rapine.”³⁰⁸ He claims that many “grieve when they recall that they did not indulge their passions more frequently when they had not yet professed the heresy of the Cathars.”³⁰⁹ Moreover, Sacchoni cites this belief as being the reason that many believers go so far as to commit incest, though conceding that some are perhaps restrained by “horror or... a natural human feeling of shame.” He states, furthermore,

During the seventeen years when I was in intimate converse with them, I did not see one of them pray secretly, apart from others, or show himself contrite for his sins, or weep, or beat his breast and say, “Be gracious, O Lord, to me, a sinner,” or anything of this sort, which might be a sign of contrition. Never do they implore the aid of intervention of angels, or of the Blessed Virgin Mary, or of the saints, nor fortify themselves by the sign of the Cross...³¹⁰

He thus concludes that functionally, “Cathars perform no penance, especially since they do not feel contrition for their sins or confess them or do works in satisfaction of them (although they do greatly afflict themselves), and that for their errors they will be heavily punished

³⁰⁷ Ibid., p. 334.

³⁰⁸ Ibid., p. 332.

³⁰⁹ Ibid.

³¹⁰ Ibid.

throughout eternity.” For Sacchoni, this is perhaps the definitive difference between Cathars and orthodox Christians: not simply that they practice heresy based on a distorted interpretation of the Old and New Testaments, but that they remain, at their core, unconcerned about the morality of their decisions, or as Christine Caldwell more potently puts it, “the fact that their sins were crimes against God.”³¹¹ For Sacchoni, this served as further evidence of Catharism being a ‘false’ religion, and therefore proved the veracity and purity of Catholicism.

The last of these sacraments, known as ‘consecration’, refers to the function of each office of the Cathar church. Sacchoni differentiates the two distinct forms of dualism into sixteen distinct Churches. Each of these churches are specifically named, and maintain separate, though often overlapping doctrine. Sacchoni provides a brief sketch of each church’s history, the number of devotees, their geography, and their theological idiosyncrasies. He ties together the Cathar churches of the West and the Bogomil churches of the East as belonging to a single religious tradition. In the West, he names the Churches of the Albanenses, the Concorezzenses, the Bagnolenses, and those of Vicenza, Florence and the valley of Spoleto in Lombardy and Tuscany; the Church of (northern) France, which, when he was writing, had its headquarters in exile in Lombardy; and the southern French Churches of Toulouse, Carcassonne and Albi. Those east of the Adriatic Sea include the Churches of Sclavonia, the Church of the Latins in Constantinople and the Church of the Greeks in Constantinople, the Church of Philadelphia in Romania (that is, in the Byzantine Empire of Nicaea), the Church of Bulgaria and the Church of Drugunthia.³¹² He tells his audience that based on multiple computations, the Cathars themselves estimate fewer than four thousand religious perfects between them.³¹³ In outlining the diversity of Cathar beliefs, Sacchoni performs several functions. Most fundamentally, he organises previously scattered information about the

³¹¹ *Tria namque requiruntur in vera penitentia, scilicet cordis contritio, oris confessio, et operis satisfactio. Ego autem frater Rainerius olim heresiarcha, nunc dei gratia sacerdos in ordine predicatorum licet indignus, dico indubitanter et testificor coram deo, qui scit quod non mentior, quod aliquod illorum trium non est inter Catharos sive in penitentia eorum.* Šanjek, “Raynerius Sacconi O.P. Summa de Catharis.” p. 44.

³¹² Located in modern-day Istanbul, potentially Alaşehir or near İmşi Ören, as well as Croatia. “Pseudepigraphic and Parabiblical Narratives in Medieval Eastern Christian Dualism, and their Implications for the Study of Catharism,” in *Cathars in Question*, ed. Sennis, p. 150.

³¹³ Evans and Wakefield, *Heresies of the High Middle Ages*, p. 337. For additional information relating to specific Cathar churches and their individual censuses, see Barber, *The Cathars*, p. 74.

Cathars, which were derived from scattered depositions and hearsay.³¹⁴ He thus leads an original discourse which takes into account Cathar doctrinal and systemic change over time, noting a distinction between the “old” and “new way” in which clergy members were ordained.³¹⁵ Where an inquisitorial outsider relying on second-hand information might only recognise a disparity in ritual, Sacchoni provides a precise explication of the specific variation, who is responsible for, and involved in enacting the rite, and the theological explanation for making such changes.³¹⁶ Using Sacchoni’s understanding of each division’s theology, as well as their relationship to all other Cathar groups, Sacchoni provides information that rounds out inquisitorial understandings of the movement, which could be used to marshal these communities into manageable groups, and which could then be formulaically addressed by inquisitors.³¹⁷

In his explanation of the internal church hierarchy, Sacchoni highlights the Cathars’ intrinsic spiritual vulnerability. He first explains the church order: a Cathar bishop was appointed in territories where there was deemed to be a sufficient number of adherents, and he would be assisted in his duties by a *filius maior* and a *filius minor* (an ‘Elder’ and ‘Younger’ son). Upon his death, the Elder son would succeed him, and the Younger would succeed the Elder, and a new Younger son would be elected by Cathar perfects. These three individuals were additionally assisted by Cathar deacons.³¹⁸ Because each of these positions are conferred by the ‘imposition of the hand’, their validity is dependent on the individual who has performed the rite. If, however, “their prelate... may have secretly committed some mortal sin – and many such persons have been found among them in the past – all those upon whom he has imposed his hand have been misled and perish if they die in that state.”³¹⁹ The solution here is to allow the *consolamentum* to be performed twice, or even thrice, by different individuals to avoid this outcome. This solution does not, however, address the endemic sense of secrecy

³¹⁴ “We can trace the Cathars’ desire to number themselves, as reported by Sacchoni, to the same attitude. The witness detailing the decisions of the council of Pieusse in the Doat inquisitorial depositions shows the same desire.” Bruschi, “Ranier Sacconi Explains Cathars.” *Cathars in Question*, p. 203n89.

³¹⁵ Sacchoni here uses past and present tense to make this differentiation. “Used to happen” (*‘consueverat fieri’*), features in opposition to the present tense, “seems that ... he institutes” (*‘videtur quod ... instituat’*). Evans and Wakefield, *Heresies of the High Middle Ages*, p. 336.

³¹⁶ Bruschi, “Ranier Sacconi Explains Cathars.” *Cathars in Question*, ed. Sennis, p. 198.

³¹⁷ Ibid, p. 204.

³¹⁸ Evans and Wakefield, *Heresies of the High Middle Ages*, p. 336.

³¹⁹ Ibid. Meaning, more specifically, that their souls will be condemned to return to the Evil earthly plane through reincarnation and be denied the opportunity to join the Good God.

and distrust amongst the community, or as Sacchoni puts it, “All Cathars labour in the greatest doubt and danger of the soul,” implying that the segmentation of the religion into smaller groups could be interpreted as evidence of theological weakness.

This leitmotif of deception is further discussed as an integral way of being in the Cathar faith, and underscores the need for duplicity to both outsiders, and far more significantly, within the movement itself. Somewhat predictably, Sacchoni describes the Cathar practice of almsgiving as being performed only to “avoid scandal among their [orthodox] neighbours,” rather than as a selfless act being carried out for its own sake. Sacchoni spends considerably more time expounding on the secrecy engaged within Catharism itself. This is explored in the context of the Cathar, John Lugio, and his teachings, which Caterina Bruschi has described as “represent[ing] the acme of Cathar radical dualistic thought.”³²⁰ It is worth noting here that it is John of Lugio’s writings exclusively to which Sacchoni refers, where one might expect quotations from the Bible, documents from the Fourth Lateran Council, or perhaps some specific papal bulls in defence of orthodoxy. In any case, Sacchoni here argues that John of Lugio – and therefore, we can extrapolate this to include other Cathar prelates – intentionally mislead their followers, stating “this John and his associates do not dare to reveal to their believers the errors described, lest their own believers desert them on account of these novel errors.” He further qualifies this in asserting that it is “the simpler people to whom particular points were not revealed,” and that if any Cathar denies these claims, “that he utters lies in hypocrisy, which is a characteristic of the Cathars ... unless perhaps that person be someone simple or a novice among them, for to many such they do not reveal their secrets.”³²¹ Whilst this description of a definite boundary and cordoning off of knowledge between Catharism’s senior *bonhommes* and unbaptised *credentes* is potentially credible, Sacchoni takes this concept a significant step further – or what we might describe as a contortion of this information. Stripped down, Sacchoni is arguing here that Cathar initiates knowingly engage in a fraudulent religion in the interest of holding power over the religion’s adherents. This is, by far, Sacchoni’s most extreme claim throughout this work. More importantly, it is one that we can conclude is false, though patently made with the intention of Sacchoni further insinuating himself with his fellow inquisitors. This statement is also clearly intended to both

³²⁰ Bruschi, “Ranier Sacconi Explains Cathars.” *Cathars in Question*, ed. Sennis, p. 202.

³²¹ Evans and Wakefield, *Heresies of the High Middle Ages*, pp. 345.

confirm the inquisitors' suspicions and general low opinions of Cathars, and further, provide them with an additional, appreciable basis for pursuing Cathars.³²²

In highlighting those who followed their own marginalised spiritual authorities, Sacchoni's treatise exemplifies the need for the Order to define 'orthodoxy' more tightly. Considering the precarious state of the society that was threatening to come apart, especially in the urbanised north of Italy, the inquisition offered above all a means of imposing civil control. Throughout his *Summa*, Sacchoni accuses the Cathars of both heretical theology and practice. Thus like Robert 'le Bougre' and Peter Martyr before him, Sacchoni views the Church as being under perpetual attack by those heretical groups which deny the Church's dogma. Opposition to that heresy is not only equated to the defence of orthodoxy and its doctrinal boundaries, but can also be considered an expression of the Dominican Order's purpose, and even a demonstration of the inquisitor's sanctity.³²³

The next crucial component in discussing Sacchoni's *Summa* is, of course, its influence on localised social formations.. To borrow from the school of structural sociology, we can conceive of power as not necessarily belonging to one particular individual or party, but as a dynamic relationship which results in these power differentials within a complex social construct. The renowned philosopher Michel Foucault argues that the dissemination of power

³²² Though how Rainerio Sacchoni explained away his long involvement with the movement considering this claim, and whether his fellow inquisitors concluded that this assertion compromised the integrity of all his other contributions is beyond the scope of this thesis.

³²³ This idea is reflected (and indeed taken a step further) in Moneta of Cremona's treatise *Summa contra Catharos* (c.1240). Moneta argues at length that the Bible made theological justifications for executing heretics. He cites examples of killing as punishment, vengeance, and correction in both the Old and New Testaments, making reference Abrahams's willingness to sacrifice Isaac, as well as the killing of Ananias and Saphira (*Ego invenio quod deus occidit aliquos ad correctionem; sic etiam debet facere iudex...ergo occisio unius a deo sit ad correctionem alterius: vides igitur quod vindicta non sit ad correctionem patientis.*) Moneta of Cremona, *Adversus Catharos Et Valdenses*, ed. Tommaso Agostino Ricchini, *Ex Typographia Palladis Excudebant Nicolaus, Et Marcus Plearini*, 1743, p. 523. Moneta then states "divine love is to be imitated by us....[but] the Lord punishes whom he loves and he afflicts, rather he also kills them, whether they like it or not." (*"Dilectio divina nobis imitanda...Dominus quos diligit punit et velint nolint eos affligit imo etiam occidit... Occidere licitum est, et potest bene fieri, alioquin sicut deus nec per se, nec per alium peccat, ita nec per se, nec per alium occideret."*) Moneta of Cremona. *Adversus Catharos Et Valdenses*, pp. 516, 542. As Christine Caldwell then argued, "A syllogism could then be constructed that as God does not sin, but God kills, therefore killing is not necessarily a sin." Caldwell, "Doctors of Souls: inquisition and the Dominican Order, 1231–1331." p.221. Moneta therefore argued that heretics should be "vomited out" of the Church, "because incessantly they strive for [its] desolation." Moneta here intends to show that the execution of heretics was a manifestation of God's justice, and even in keeping with the tradition of the way in which God typically treated those who spurned the Church's teachings. Ipso facto, Moneta portrays the death penalty as a means of upholding, rather than undermining, the inquisition's claim of being the caretakers of God's truth.

necessitates an “economy of discourses of truth,” which not only moulds the way in which individuals view reality, but makes any alternative impossible to imagine or accept. He states that “We are forced to produce the truth of power that our society demands, of which it has need, in order to function: we *must* speak the truth; we are constrained or condemned to confess or to discover the truth: it institutionalises, professionalises and rewards its pursuit.”

³²⁴ This interpretation of power as a live entity unto itself pulls into focus two assertions upon which this section builds. Firstly, that all members of society were (and continue to be, for that matter) engaged in this dissemination of power – all of whom are simultaneously passively subjected to, and actively exercise this power. This further reinforced the juxtaposition of the empowered, namely, the inquisitors and by extension, the Holy Office they represented, and the disenfranchised Cathar community. Secondly, that Sacchoni’s ‘truth,’ as represented by his *Summa*, led to the organic development of the formalisation, refinement, and thus professionalisation of an educational process which contributed to the evolution of the inquisition's strategy of persecution.

Effect on Inquisitors, Mendicant Orders and the Papacy

Sacchoni’s *Summa* had an immediate and substantial influence on all Catholic bodies associated with the undertaking of inquisition. To ascertain the extent of the *Summa*’s influence on the Church, we can look to the text’s circulation as a reliable metric of its cultural permeation. According to the *Enciclopedia Treccani*, Sacchoni’s text was copied and shared extensively: “*paragonabile a un best seller dal momento che ne sono sopravvissuti circa 50 esemplari*” (“comparable to a best seller since about 50 copies have survived”).³²⁵ In the most recent survey by Kaeppeli, however, he counts only nineteen extant manuscripts.³²⁶ Both surveys still speak to the text’s exceptional prevalence; as two points of comparison, the treatise attributed to Peter of Verona (c.1235) exists in only two copies today, and the

³²⁴ Michel Foucault and Colin Gordon, *Power/ Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972-1977*, New York: Pantheon Books, 1980, p. 93.; James Given discusses this concept with a slightly different emphasis in *Inquisition and Medieval Society: Power, Discipline, and Resistance in Languedoc*, pp. 3-4.

³²⁵ See Marina Benedetti, “Sacconi, Raniero,” in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Istituto dell’Enciclopedia Italiana, 2017, [https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/raniero-sacconi_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/raniero-sacconi_(Dizionario-Biografico)/), accessed 06.07.21. The estimate of fifty copies in is based on nineteen manuscripts of Sacconi, the single manuscript of his follower Anselm of Alessandria’s *De hereticis*, and the copies of Sacconi’s work inside the compilation on heresy by the Anonymous of Passau (c. 1260-1266) and its later recension, the ‘Pseudo-Reinerius’ treatise.

³²⁶ *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum Medii Aevi*, ed. T. Kaeppeli and E. Panella, Rome: 1970–1993, vol. 3, pp. 293-294, and IV, 249-250 n. 3430, where they update the old survey by Šanjek, (the details of which can be found in “Raynerius Sacconi O.P. *Summa De Catharis*,” p.31) and add two manuscripts.

Tractatus of Anselm of Alessandria (c.1267-1270) exists in only one.³²⁷ These manuals were likely dispersed to other inquisitors for their personal edification, and were perhaps also housed in Dominican convents throughout Italy. By 1260, the manuscript had already been closely studied and elaborated on in the Anonymous of Passau treatise, inferred to be the work of an inquisitor working in Germany.

The *Summa*'s influence is perhaps most clearly reflected in the writings of Sacchoni's immediate successor, the Dominican friar, Anselm of Alessandria. When Anselm assumed Sacchoni's role as inquisitor in 1267, he took over both his task and personal effects, including, in all probability, the contents of Sacchoni's library. His own treatise was written to complement Sacchoni's *Summa*. Like Sacchoni's treatise, Anselm's is addressed to inquisitors, and thus written with the intention of further honing their practice of identifying and punishing heretics. To this end, Anselm inserts a section on the origins of the Cathars and their subsequent migration to western Europe, adds further discussion of the Concorezzan Church, includes additional information on the Waldensians, writes a detailed section on Cathar ritual (which seems to have been garnered while carrying out inquisitorial duties), builds a list of ministers of Albanenses and Concorezzans, and most significantly, creates an efficient template for charting Cathar hierarchies within Italy.³²⁸

For inquisitors, Sacchoni's text offered both conceptual and practical education in engaging with Cathars. As we have seen, Sacchoni's explanation of religious doctrine, commonly-held beliefs and rituals offered inquisitors an insight in the Cathars' particular patterns of logic, which therefore informed Cathar practice and behaviour. In pragmatic terms, this intelligence enabled local inquisitors to further build and hone their cache of existing strategies and resources (in both oral and written forms). More specifically, the *Summa* provided information that allowed inquisitors to more deftly interact with Cathars, and increased their ability to either ensure their conversion, or better understand Cathar communities' networks and inner workings to more efficiently practice inquisition.

³²⁷ Kaepelli, Peter Martyr(?), *Summa*, pp. 320-325; Anselm of Alessandria, "Tractatus de hereticis," ed. Antoine Dondaine, O.P. *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, vol. 20, 1950, pp. 234-324.

³²⁸ Bruschi, "Ranier Sacconi Explains Cathars." *Cathars in Question*, ed. Sennis, p. 202.

For the broader Dominican Order, Sacchoni's work would have similarly informed their approach and conduct towards 'heretics', as well as educating those individuals associated with the administrative work of inquisition. The effect of Sacchoni's *Summa* on the papacy is more complex, however, though still warrants some explanation. Because the circulation of Sacchoni's text so closely overlaps with the much more popularised murder and canonisation of Peter of Verona, it is difficult to untangle the historical impact of Sacchoni's *Summa* as opposed to Peter's martyrdom. I argue, however, that we can deduce that the popularity of Sacchoni's text undoubtedly contributed to making him a target in Peter's murder plot. This of course became a watershed event in the course of the papacy's relationship to Catharism, leading to a significantly intensified attitude of intolerance to the movement and its perceived threat to the Church.³²⁹ In all three subdivisions directly responsible for the incipient process of inquisition, one clear pattern emerges: Sacchoni's *Summa* provided an unprecedented depth of education on Catharism, which begot further interest and understanding of the movement, and which inquisitors, the Dominican Order, and papacy alike then used as leverage to ultimately eradicate Catharism entirely.

Effect on the Cathar Community

Sacchoni's *Summa* exposed the deep rifts already present in the wider Cathar community, and his revelation of these circumstances to inquisitors only divided these factions further, which would eventually contribute to the movement's demise. The details of these feuds are similarly explored in Anselm of Alessandria's *Tractatus de hereticis*, as well as the *Liber suprastella*.³³⁰ Each text highlights the identical theme of individuals being torn between their loyalty to their own families and community, and their personal doctrinal beliefs, leading to religious and physical rifts throughout the north Italian Cathar movement. Sacchoni's discussion of a Cathar 'census' indeed underscores this topos of "a broken community which tries to make sense of itself, both doctrinally and numerically, and to re-establish its own

³²⁹ In addition to the introduction of *Ad extirpanda*, issued on 15 May, 1252, it is worth mentioning here the closely connected bull instituted by Pope Alexander IV, *Ut negotium* (1256). The bull was addressed to Dominican inquisitors, and is often interpreted as de facto permission for inquisitors to engage in torture. Ripoll, *Bullarium Ordinis FF. Praedicatorum*, vol. 1, 1729, p. 430.

³³⁰ This text was an anti-heretical book (focusing on both Cathars and the Poor of Lombard heretics), composed in 1235 by a nobleman named Salvo Burci. Several extracts are well known to historians of this era through the extracts published by Johann Joseph Ignaz Döllinger, and later by Ilarino da Milano as well as the small excerpt translated into English by Wakefield and Evans. The most recent and comprehensive edition is that of Salvo Burci, *Liber suprastella*, ed. Caterina Bruschi. 2002.

identity.”³³¹ Sacchoni’s providing of this information, and especially highlighting Catharism’s prevailing internal weakness, furnished inquisitors with two means of intervening in the movement’s survival and growth. The first of these was that Sacchoni enabled inquisitors to logistically find these various Cathar factions; which was an issue that had long proven to be a continuous challenge to inquisitors. Secondly, this information allowed inquisitors to differentiate between these factions. Based on Sacchoni’s description and their personal contact, inquisitors would be able to better discern each group’s respective religious priorities, sensibilities, and concerns. This exposure would then be used to either convert Cathars to orthodoxy, or begin the formal process of inquisition (which would have included the procedure of extracting further information from their deponents before handing them over to the secular arm for punishment). Some of the most significant evidence of this process is the eventual removal of heretical leadership. This included the attempted attack in 1252 on Egidio da Cortenuova, a known heretical leader, and the seizure of the castle of Mongardo, which he was occupying and from where he was supporting fellow heretics. Sacchoni condemned Egidio, and Innocent IV ordered the Catholic citizens of Milan to destroy the castle.³³² Of similar magnitude is the aforementioned event of the following year, when Innocent IV, again following Sacchoni’s tip-off, condemned the entire town of Gattedo.³³³ This event is now considered to be a crucial blow to the Cathar movement, and one which closely precedes their steep decline in Western Europe.³³⁴ Considering the town’s relatively small size, this can perhaps be ascribed not to the destruction of a particularly populous foothold, but to the cultural erosion brought on by this combination of deepening factional differences and the inquisition’s apparent tightening control of satellite Cathar communities.

³³¹ Bruschi, “Ranier Sacconi Explains Cathars.” *Cathars in Question*, ed. Sennis, p. 206. The *Liber suprastella* indeed argues that for some, the inability to reconcile one’s beliefs with one’s specific sect of Catharism was the reason for a wave of conversions to the Church. For further discussion of the scandal of internal Cathar division, see *ibid.*, (Burci and Bruschi), pp. 204-206.

³³² The Milanese refused, however, citing the technicality that the castle was subject to Cremona. The castle was, however, destroyed in 1269, after Egidio’s ally, Uberto Pallavicino and prior *podestà* of Milan, had died. Treccani degli Alfieri, *Storia di Milano*, Istituto Della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1995, pp. 281-282.

³³³ See p. 62 of this thesis.

³³⁴ Though this falls outside the purview of this study, it is worth mentioning the development of the ‘Fournier Register’, which became integral to the continued sourcing and removal of heretical leadership. This was developed by the inquisitor Jaques Fournier, who later became the Bishop of Pamiers (1318-25), and went on to become Pope Benedict XII (1334-1342).

Conclusion

Sacchoni's intellectual mapping of the Cathar movement, and indeed, his active years as an inquisitor (1233-1263) was based on his own experience of having been raised in a Cathar family. This facilitated a broader practice that focused on the education of his fellow inquisitors, Dominicans, and papal legates. Aimed at creating a more stable religious orthodoxy, Sacchoni exemplifies a process that would help to fundamentally hone the inquisition's strategy of persecution of heretics. Sacchoni's *Summa* provided insightful insider intelligence, allowing his fellow inquisitors to better understand their targets, collect further information, and thus cultivate a more effective organisational process in dealing with local Cathar factions. Additionally, by modelling and encouraging systemic record keeping as well as closer communication between inquisitors, Sacchoni's treatise helped to develop essential elements of inquisitorial bureaucracy. In doing so, Sacchoni can be seen as advancing the practical, religious, and administrative developments initiated by his preceding kinsmen, Robert 'le Bougre' and Peter of Verona. In both building upon and refining Robert and Peter Martyr's contributions before him, Sacchoni contributed significantly to the framework by which the inquisition organised its hierarchy, and with which it would later impose its monopoly of Christian 'truth' across the Papal States.

Conclusion

In the church of Santa Maria Novella, Florence, Dominican involvement in the inquisition is visualised in one of the most famous extant religious medieval frescoes. Entitled *The Church Militant and the Church Triumphant*, it was painted by Andrea da Firenze, in c. 1365 (see fig. 1). The painting is overwhelming in size, detail, and beauty. It was clearly meant as an homage, not simply to the Dominican Order or even the papacy, both of which it depicts, but to God Himself. In the top of three clear strata, at the apex of the fresco, we see God, flanked by his angels and hovering above the paschal lamb of Jesus Christ, who sits on his heavenly throne. In the middle ground, we see faithful Christians being blessed and ushered towards the Gates of Heaven, where St. Peter oversees their welcome. Finally, at the bottom level, we see the backdrop of the Florentine Duomo, in front of which sit both the pope and emperor, at whose feet sit a group of sheep. These figures are surrounded by crowds of laypeople, interspersed by Dominican priests engaging with individuals. Black and white hounds weave in and out of the groups, and attack wolves that threaten the crowds.³³⁵ Irrespective of one's ability to comprehend the more subtle symbols, the overall meaning of the narrative is abundantly clear: the Order of Preachers is charged with urging heretics to embrace orthodox teaching about Christ and the Church if they are to be assured of spiritual peace of mind in this life, and closeness to God in the world to come.

The earliest ideological and organisational developments of the medieval inquisition were largely shaped by its first roving inquisitors, as opposed to a top-down, centralised approach orchestrated by the popes themselves (as the popular imagination so often conceives of it). This thesis has examined the conduct and legacy of three early, prominent inquisitors, active between c.1231 and 1263: Robert, nicknamed 'le Bougre' (active c.1231-1241), Peter of Verona (c.1228-1252), and Rainerio Sacchoni (c.1250-1263). It has explored how each of these individuals used their status as former Cathars to further their goals of heretical persecution on behalf of the Church. It has, moreover, investigated the ways in which these individuals directly contributed to the inquisition's incremental procedural advancement. The bottom level of the fresco in Santa Maria Novella invokes many of the themes this thesis has

³³⁵ These dogs are known as *domini canes*, or hounds of God (in an excellent and rare example of religious wordplay), and are symbolic of the mission of their namesake; guarding the 'flock' of true Christians from the wolves, which symbolise heretics.

investigated: the boundaries between orthodoxy and heresy, the nature of personal agency, the power of an individual inquisitor's legacy, the interplay between individual actors and the institution, the early development of the inquisition, the attempts to represent the inquisition as a holy mission, and the refinement of the inquisition's character and methodology.

The inquisitorial process was instituted in a piecemeal fashion, as a measure devised by Pope Gregory IX to deal with the perceived need for an evolution in the way in which the Church dealt with heretics driven underground through the course of the Albigensian Crusade. In southern France, this translated to the effective continuation of war. Regardless of the region's significant losses and trauma, the publicity associated with this campaign elevated a "comparatively local heresy into something like a 'national religion,'" highlighting not only Cathar theology, but the fact that they had been raised amongst their Christian supporters, were related to them, and had a reputation of living honourably.³³⁶ In addition to combating existing heretics, the Crusade had potentially drawn new adherents, ironically, *because* of its brutal quest. In France, Catharism had its main bases of support in a number of small towns as well as in the countryside, and proved nigh impossible to police effectively. These factors, combined with the steadfast unity of Languedocian Cathars, explains Pope Gregory IX's speculation that the heresy had not been entirely snuffed out but, merely driven underground, and his insistence on introducing a syndicate of inquisitors. Moreover, as I have shown, by supplanting bishops with Dominicans in the duty of seeking out heresy, Gregory effectively removed a complete bureaucratic tier within the papacy, leaving free-floating Dominican agents who were not tethered to any supervising administration to act with ground-breaking authority. This strategic modification introduced a degree of papal centralisation, and consequently, established a precedent for increased papal surveillance and intervention. Yet, the change also became the cause of serious tension between the bishopric and mendicant orders. Covert surveillance and violence had become the tried-and-true methods of monitoring and controlling heresy throughout the politically fractious south of France. Correspondingly, there is a strong correlation between the inquisition in southern France and the Church's earliest and crudest forms of inquisitorial control.

³³⁶ Andrew Roach, "The Relationship of the Italian and Southern French Cathars, 1170-1320." Oxford University, PhD Dissertation, 1990, p.50. It is also worth noting here that in France, the enforcement of religious orthodoxy was closely tied to the expansion of royal authority in regions as far apart as Languedoc and Flanders.

Our case studies of Lombardy, on the other hand, illustrate Innocent IV's realisation of the need for inquisitorial practices that were more spiritually oriented, and for the benefits of its practitioners to be more demonstrably righteous. By the 1200s, Lombardy had established a system in which the area was divided into numerous autonomous city states, despite being formally under the authority of the Holy Roman Empire. The communes had become comparably affluent, allowing them to challenge traditional feudal power structures. The towns of northern Italy were far more politically independent than their counterparts in the south of France. Lombardy propagated and encouraged a completely different atmosphere. With the waning of the bishops' authority, the influence of the mendicant orders began to augment throughout Lombardy and the Emilia-Romagna region. The Dominicans in particular emphasised the erasure of heresy as part of their founding mission, and the development of their procedure had been clarified with the input of legal experts throughout the 1240s. By the 1250s, inquisitors had explicitly inherited the powers of heretical investigation bishopric as a separate administrative entity.³³⁷ Rather than relying on approximate, theoretical precepts, inquisitorial procedure became more thoroughly outlined, which helped to define both the character of the inquisition's specific brand of *cura animarum* (literally the 'curing of souls'), as well as the measures by which they set out to achieve this amongst the laity. Inquisitors soon became engaged in what has been described as both "the campaign of interior reconquest," or, in more bellicose terms, "semiotic warfare."³³⁸ It is noticeable, however, that there are no records of mass burnings of heretics in the towns of northern Italy in these decades, comparable to what happened in France in the 1230s under Robert 'the Bougre'. The decentralized urban culture of northern Italy was very different from that of France, in which the crown used the repression of heresy as a means of extending its power.

³³⁷ *Ille humani generis*, 20 April 1233, *Respiciens autem quod et in turbine tuo diversa defertur vix munia sunt, ut respirare possit inter impressionem concitati ferre curis tuorum, et propter hoc maxime factum puto, quod turba succreverit: erit igitur mihi et divisit inter alios mittit in Fratrum Praedicatorum ... cum hereticis in regno Galliae proximas per provincias quaesitam*. Translated in Dossat, *Les crises de l'inquisition Toulousiane au XIIIe siecle (1233-1273)*, pieces justificatives, no. 1. English translation by Albert Cement Shannon, *The Popes and Heresy in the Thirteenth Century*, Villanova: Augustinian Press, 1949, pp. 61-62.

³³⁸ Arnold, *Inquisition and Power: Catharism and the Confessing Subject in Medieval Languedoc*, p.73n121; Klaniczay coined the phrase, which was then borrowed by Arnold, p. 37n78); Sackville, "The Church's Institutional Response to Heresy in the 13th Century," p. 134

It is from the perspective of geography, localised secular and religious politics, and the considerable disruptions to the papacy that we have evaluated the significance of the three inquisitors being Cathar converts. The story of Robert ‘the Bougre’, who lived as a heretic for at least ten years in Milan (c. 1215-1225) before becoming a Dominican, illustrates how religious zeal, initially pursued within a dissenting circle, could become transformed into commitment to orthodoxy. His upbringing during the Albigensian Crusade seems to have bred familiarity, and even comfort, with a chaotic environment of war. The impression we are able to gather from our variety of sources is that he expressed these factors of his personal history through his attempts to wipe out Catharism by violent means, as seen in his predilection for controlling local communities with terror, and using violence to see his will done. Indeed, we could argue that Robert had such a strong preference for this approach that he preferred to operate not in the cities of Lombardy, but rather in France, where he knew he could operate with less scrutiny and with an iron fist. Moreover, his campaign helped support the establishment of royal authority from Flanders to Champagne and Languedoc, in a way that had no parallel in Lombardy. Robert’s fervour in watching over mass executions of heretics during the 1230s, coupled with the controversy that led to his ultimate demise as an inquisitor, suggests that by the 1240s his profligate and extreme conduct, and the version of the Church he claimed to represent, had become an indefensible embarrassment to the papacy. By way of a cautionary tale, Robert’s legacy was to prompt the Church to refine its inquisitorial objectives, *modus operandi*, and catalyzed the Church to create a saintly inquisitorial figure to counteract the damage Robert had done while in office.

The origins of Peter of Verona (1206-1252) as a Cathar heretic in the early decades of the thirteenth century had very different consequences. He took a more spiritual, intellectually and socially conscious approach, based on preaching. His murder was a direct result of his carefully constructed identity: he was singled out as a target not only for turning his back on Catharism, but for turning others against it with such charismatic effectiveness. His death was quickly used as an opportunity to reinvigorate the image of the Church and to legitimize the practice of inquisition. The Church further codified its laws, and critically, paved the way for Peter’s inquisitorial heirs.

The transition of Rainerio Sacchoni from Cathar heresiarch to Dominican defender of orthodoxy seems to have been a process of spiritual adjustment and clarification. Like both Robert and Peter before him, this change seems to have galvanised him to express this newfound devotion to orthodoxy as a service to the Church, and perhaps as a means of atoning for his ‘sins’ as a past heretic. Sacchoni used his experience as an ex-Cathar to produce the *Summa de catharis et leonistis*, incorporating his knowledge of the sect’s beliefs, customs, and the movement’s demographic data of unparalleled detail, to be used for the express purpose of inquisitorial edification. The fact of these three early inquisitors being ex-Cathars is thus not only an interesting common thread between them, but demonstrates how fundamentally their identities as ex-heretics shaped their behaviours as inquisitors, and eventually, their collective legacy.

This thesis has contributed to several of the ongoing debates that centre on Catharism and the early developments of the medieval inquisition. By moving away from the dominant historiographical emphasis on the universal overview of the inquisition as a whole, towards a focus on individual inquisitors, the thesis has provided original insights into the complexity of its development. It has also exposed the limitations of papal power. While the pope certainly shaped the structure and mission of the inquisition, its development was also determined by the inquisitors engaged in localised, active religious oversight. The most essential intervention of this thesis, however, is its contribution to the debate provoked by Mark Pegg as to whether Catharism really did exist prior to the appointment of these inquisitors, or if it was indeed a movement exaggerated, or even created, based on the inquisitors’ need to justify their mission of persecution. Based on my research, I share the outlook of both Claire Taylor and Caterina Bruschi in arguing that while there was a degree of invention in clerical accounts of heresy, there was a genuine movement in this period of individuals rejecting orthodox Christianity. The fact that three individuals each personally and independently attested to and outlined the details of existing Cathar churches, prior to the more ‘sophisticated’ procedure of inquisition through both interrogation and torture, demonstrates, as reliably as can be expected from fragmentary sources, that the movement did indeed exist outside of the imagination of inquisitors. That this information is further corroborated by numerous sources outside of these three individuals demonstrates this version of events as inviolably legitimate. What this viewpoint underscores, furthermore, is

that precious information pertaining to heretics can be found in the works of their enemies, as well as in their own communities. To better reconstruct the lives of these heretics, we need to also look at the very process of persecutory enforcement itself. Future study and discussion, however, will hopefully build on these elemental theories, and over time, further refine these ideas, and perhaps even offer new approaches.

This project has challenged the binary concept of medieval society being neatly divided between an orthodoxy majority and heretical individuals. It has further demonstrated the influence and legacy of those who had a foot in both of these camps. Traditionally, these individuals have not been considered as seriously as their strictly orthodox counterparts, those who inhabited higher positions within the inquisitorial organisation, or those who later made clear structural changes to the medieval inquisitorial structures that, by then, already existed. They have made us reconsider both the intentionality and the intensity of their behaviour, which, irrespective of how we think of their personal moral codes, demonstrates their being bureaucratic, and even political, trailblazers in their own right. In doing so, this thesis has reconsidered pre-existing notions about the inception of the inquisition. It has recontextualized the power of particular individuals, along with their own complex identities, into the broader framework of what we often think of as the sweeping and faceless machine of the medieval inquisition. It has also explored the social nuances of each of these individuals, and by extension, the societies which they inhabited.

There is, however, a great need for further scholarship on both the early inquisition and the way in which individuals influenced the enterprise's trajectory. Other areas of study for future research may include, for example, the changing perceptions of heresy within the context of the established inquisition, identity politics within this context, and how those within the frameworks of heresy/ orthodoxy challenged these traditional boundaries.

The leading argument of this thesis has been that these three inquisitors, all ex-Cathars, reveal the ad-hoc character of the process commonly called "the beginnings of the inquisition." But more importantly, it has argued that the fact that these inquisitors were all ex-Cathars irrevocably forged the intensity of their reactions to the continued existence of these heretics. Each helped to lay the foundation for the official narrative of the inquisition, as exemplified

in the fresco of *The Church Militant and the Church Triumphant*. If we look closely at the fresco, we can see at the beginning of the narrative three sainted Dominicans – St. Dominic Guzman, St. Peter of Verona, and St. Thomas Aquinas – who embodied the values of the Order of the Preachers. As this study has shown, however, these three figures present only a partial image of what was a far more complex story.



Figure 1. The Church Militant and the Church Triumphant, Andrea da Firenze, c. 1365. Basilica of Santa Maria Novella, Florence.

Bibliography

Abbreviations

BnF Bibliothèque nationale de France
MGH SS Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptores

Manuscripts

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, collection Doat, vols. 21-26.

---- MS. nouv. acq. lat. 1274 *Cartulary of the Chapter of Bourges*)

---- MS. lat. 5993 A (Cartulary of Champagne known as *Liber Pontificum*), fol. 412.

---- MS. lat. 14626, fol. 339 (Jean de St. Victor, *Memoriale Historiarum*)

Printed Primary Sources

Alberic of Troisfontaines *Chronica Albrici Monachi Trium Fontium*, ed. Paulus Scheffer-Boichorst, in MGH SS XXIII, Hanover: Hahn, 1874, pp. 631-950.

Annales St Medardi, Soissons MGH SS XXVI, Hannover: Hahn. 1882, pp. 518-22.

Annales Erphordenses fratrum praedicatorum. In *Monumenta Erphesfurtensia saec. XII, XIII, XIV*, ed. O. Holder-Egger, MGH SS rerum germanicarum, Hannover: Hahn, 1899, pp.

Bri  le, L. and E. Coyecque (ed.), *Les Archives de l'H  tel- Dieu de Paris, (1157-1300)*, Paris : Imprimerie nationale, 1894..

Cellan, Pierre, and Jean Duvernoy (ed.) *L'inquisition En Quercy: Le Registre Des P  nitences De Pierre Cellan, 1241-1242*. Castelnau la Chapelle: L'Hydre, 2001.

Dondaine, Antoine (ed.), *Un Trait   neo-Manich  en du Xiii   Si  cle: Le Liber de duobus principiis*, Rome: Istituto Storico Domenicano, 1939.

Duvernoy, Jean (ed. and trans), *Chronique de Guillaume Pelhisson (1229 - 1244), suivie du r  cit des troubles d'Albi (1234)*, Paris: CNRS, 1994.

Etienne de Bourbon, *Anecdotes Historiques*, ed. Lecoy de la Marche, Paris: Renouard, 1877.

Fr  d  ricq, Paul (ed.), *Corpus Documentorum Inquisitionis Haereticae Pravitatis Neerlandica*, 2 vols., Gent: Vuylsteke, 1896.

G  rard de Frachet et al. *Fratr   Gerardi De Fracheto O.P. Vitae Fratrum Ordinis Praedicatorum*, Louvain : E. Charpentier & J. Schoonjans, 1896.

Gonnet, G. (ed.), *Enchiridion fontium Valdensium*, Torre Pellice: Claudiana, 1958, pp. 50-53.

Gregory IX, Auvray, Lucien (ed.), *Les Registres de Grégoire IX*, 1, Paris: A. Fontemoing, 1896.

Hallam, Elizabeth M. (ed.) *Chronicles of the Crusades : Eye-Witness Accounts of the Wars between Christianity and Islam*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1989.

Inventaire sommaire des archives départementales antérieures à 1790 : Nord : archives civiles, série B, Chambre des comptes de Lille, ed. by Alexandre Desplanque and Chrétien Dehaisnes, Lille: L. Danel, 1865.

Jacobi a Voragine legenda aurea vulgo historia lombardica dicta, 2nd ed. T. Graesse, Leipzig: impensis librariae Arnoldianae, 1850.

Léglu, Catherine, et al. (eds), *The Cathars and Albigensian Crusade: a Sourcebook*, Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2014.

Matthew Paris, trans. Richard Vaughan, *Chronicles of Matthew Paris: Monastic Life in the Thirteenth Century*. ed. A. Sutton, Manhattan: St. Martin's Press, 1984.

Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, ed. H. R. Luard, Rolls Series 57, 7 vols, London: Longmans, 1872-84.

Matthew Paris, *Historia Anglorum*, ed. F. Madden, *Matthaei Parisiensis Historia minor*, Rolls Series 44, 3 vols, London: Longmans, 1866-69; ed. Felix Liebermann, in MGH SS XXVIII, Hanover: Hahn, vol. 3, 1975, pp. 390-434.

Moneta of Cremona, *Venerabilis Patris Monetae Cremonensis ... Adversus Catharos Et Valdenses Libri Quinque*, ed. Tommaso Agostino Ricchini. Rome, 1743, repr. Ridgewood: Gregg, 1964.

Peter of Verona, *Summa de hereticis*, ed. Thomas Kaepelli, Une Somme contre les hérétiques de s. Pierre Martyr (?),” *Archivium Fratrum Praedicatorum*, 17, 1947.295-335.

Peters, Edward (ed. and trans.), *Heresy and Authority in Medieval Europe Documents in Translation*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1980.

Philippe Mouskés, *Chronique rimeé*, ed. Baron Frédéric Auguste Ferdinand Thomas de Reiffenberg, 2 vols., Brussels: Hayez, 1838.

Pio, Michele., O.P., *Della nobile et generosa progenie del padre san Domenico in Italia*, Bologna: Sebastino Bonomi, 1615.

“Recepta et expensa anno 1234 inter Candelosam et Ascensionem,” in *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, ed. Martin Bouquet, vol. 21, Paris: V. Palmé, 1840, pp. 226-251.

Reichert, Benedikt M, and Frühwirth, Franz A. *Acta Capitulorum Generalium Ordinis Praedicatorum*. Rome: In domo generalitia, 1898.

Reichert, Maria. *Acta Capitulorum Generalium Ordinis Praedicatorum*. Ex Typographia Polyglotta S.C. De Propaganda Fide, 1898.

Richer of Senones, *Gesta Senonensis Ecclesiae*, ed. G. Waitz, MGH SS XXV, Hannover: Hahn, 1880, pp. 249-345.

Roderic of Attencia, *Lettre de Frère Roderic de Atencia à Saint-Raymond de Pennafort sur le Martyre de S. Pierre de Vérone*, 1252, ed. Raymond Balme, "Documents sur Saint Pierre Martyr," *Année Dominicaine*, 1886, pp. 5-22.

Rutebeuf, *Oeuvres complètes de Rutebeuf, trouvère du xiii^e siècle*, ed. Achille Jubinal, 2 vols, Paris: E. Pannier, 1874.

Salvo Burci, ed. Caterina Bruschi. *Liber suprastella*, Rome: Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo, 2002.

Sbaraglia, Giovanni Giacinto. *Bullarium Franciscanum Romanorum Pontificum, Constitutiones, Epistolas, ac Diplomata Continens*, Rome, 1898.

Sedan, Pierre. "Le Pouvoir de l'inquisition à travers ses peines. Le cas de Montauban (1241)." *inquisition et Pouvoir*, ed. G. Audisio, Aix-en-Provence: Presses universitaires de Provence, 2003.

Stephen of Bourbon. "Tractatus de septem donis spiritus sancti." *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum*, ed. J. Quétif and J. Echard, Paris, vol. 1, 1719.

Stephani de Borbone. *Tractatus de diversis materiis predicabilibus*, ed. Jacques Berlioz and Jean-Luc Eichenlaub. Turnhout: Brepols, 2002.

Villa, J. S. (ed.), "Processo per l'uccisione di S. Pietro Martire," *Archivio Storico Lombardo*, 4, 1877.

Tanner, Norman (trans.), *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, London: Sheed & Ward, 1990.

Tommaso Agni da Lentino, *Vita Sancti Petri Martyris Ordinis Praedicatorum*, Florence : Il Rosario, 1952.

Secondary Works

Anselm of Alessandria. "Tractatus de hereticis," ed. Antoine Dondaine, *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, vol. 20, 1950, pp. 234-324.

Arnold, John. *Inquisition and Power: Catharism and the Confessing Subject in Medieval Languedoc*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001.

Arnold, John, and Biller, Peter. "Letters and papal bulls", *Heresy and Inquisition in France, 1200-1300*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017.

Arnold, John, and Biller, Peter. eds and trans, *Heresy and Inquisition in France, 1200-1300* Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016.

Arnold, John. "The Cathar Middle Ages as a Methodological and Historiographical Problem." *Cathars in Question*, ed. Antonio Sennis, Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2016, pp.53-78.

Bailey, M.D. *Fearful Spirits, Reasoned Follies: The Boundaries of Superstition in Late Medieval Europe*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2013.

Barber, Malcolm. *Cathars: Dualist Heretics in Languedoc in the High Middle Ages*, London: Taylor & Francis, 2014.

Barber, Malcolm. *The Cathars in Languedoc*, London: Longman, 2000.

Benedetti Marina. *Inquisitori Lombardi del duecento*. Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 2013.

Biller, Peter. "Goodbye to Catharism?," *Cathars in Question*. ed. Antonio Sennis, Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2016, pp. 274-312

Bruschi, Caterina. "Dissenso e presenza ereticale in Piacenza e nelle città Padane tra gli anni cinquanta e settanta del duecento," ed. Roberto Greci, *Studi Sul Medioevo Emiliano: Parma E Piacenza In Età Comunale*, Bologna: Clueb, 2009, pp.925-10007.

Bruschi, Caterina and Biller, Peter. *Texts and the Repression of Medieval Heresy*, York: York Medieval Press, 2003.

Buschbell, Christina. *Die Inquisition im Hochmittelalter: Wurzeln, Bedeutung, Missbräuche*, Hamburg: Diplomica Verlag, 2010.

Cabié, Edmond, "Date du concile de Béziers tenu par Gautier, légat du Saint-Siège, et itinéraire de ce légat de 1231 à 1233," *Annales du Midi: Revue archéologique, historique et philologique de la France méridionale*, vol. 16, no. 63, 1904, 349-57.

Caldwell, Christine. "Peter Martyr: The Inquisitor as Saint," *Comitatus: A Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, vol. 31, no. 1, 2000, pp.1-17.

Caldwell, Christine. "Doctors of Souls: Inquisition and the Dominican Order, 1231–1331." University of Notre Dame, PhD Dissertation, 2002.

Caldwell Ames, Christine. *Righteous Persecution*. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009.

Caldwell Ames, Christine. "Does Inquisition belong to Religious History?" *The American Historical Review*, vol. 110, no. 1, 2005, pp.11-37.

Cantor, Norman F., *The Civilization of the Middle Ages*, New York City: Harper Perennial, 1994.

Cassidy-Welch, Megan. *Imprisonment in the Medieval Religious Imagination, c. 1150-1400*. 1st ed, 2011.

Chapotin, Marie D. *Histoire des Dominicains de la Province de France*, Paris: Lecoffre, 1896.

Clement, Geoffrey Ward. "A Franciscan Inquisitor's Manual and its Compositional Context: "Codex Casanatensis" 1730," PhD Dissertation, Fordham University, 2013.

Cosgrove, Walter. "Clergy and Crusade: The Church in Southern France and the Albigensian Crusade," Saint Louis University, PhD dissertation, 2012.

D'Alatri, Mariano. *Eretici e inquisitori in Italia : studi e documenti*, Roma: Collegio San Lorenzo da Brindisi, Istituto storico del Cappuccini, 2 vols.,1986.

Davenport, Anne A. "The Catholics, the Cathars, and the Concept of Infinity in the Thirteenth Century," *Isis*, vol. 88, No. 2, 1997, pp. 263-295.

Despy, Georges. "Les débuts de l'inquisition dans les anciens Pays-Bas dans le XIIIe siècle," *Problemes d'histoire du Christianisme*. Hommages à Jean Hadot, ed. by Guy Cambier, Brussels: Ed. de l'Université libre de Bruxelles, 1980, pp. 71-104.

Dondaine, Antoine. "Saint Pierre Martyr: Etudes," *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, vol. 23, 1953, pp. 66-162.

Dossat, Yves. *Les Crises de l'inquisition Toulousaine au XIIIe siècle (1233-1273)*, Bordeaux: Imprimerie Bière, 1959.

Dossat, Yves. "Remarques sur la légation de l'évêque Gautier de Tournai dans le Midi de la France (1232-1233)," *Annales du Midi: revue archéologique, historique et philologique de la France méridionale*, vol. 75, no. 61, 1963, pp. 77-85.

Dossat, Yves. *Le Crédo, La Morale, Et L'Inquisition*, Toulouse: E. Privat, 1971.

Eiffler, Matthias, "Annales Erphordenses Fratrum Praedicatorum," *Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle*. ed. Graeme Dunphy, Leiden: Brill, 2010 [on-line]

Eliav-Feldon, Miriam *Renaissance Impostors and Proof of Identity*, Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.

Eliav-Feldon, Miriam and Herzig, Tamar, et al. *Dissimulation and Deceit in Early Modern Europe*, London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015.

Evans, Austin P and Wakefield, Walter L. *Heresies of the High Middle Ages*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1991.

Foley, Clement, O.P. "Saint Peter Martyr," *Dominicana Journal*, vol. 16, no.4, pp. 303- 312.

Foucault, Michel and Gordon, Colin. *Power/ Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972-1977*, New York: Pantheon Books, 1980.

Frederichs, Jules. *Robert Le Bougre, premier inquisiteur général en France, première moitié du XIIIe siècle* (ed., 1892), Paris: Hachette, 2020.

Fudge, Thomas A. *Medieval Religion and Its Anxieties*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016.

Fudge, Thomas A. "Review: Orthodoxy and Controversy in Twelfth-Century Religious Discourse: Peter Lombard's 'Sentences' and the Development of Theology by Clare Monagle," *Parergon*, vol. 32, no. 1, 2015, pp. 262–264.

Given, James Buchanan. *Inquisition and Medieval Society: Power, Discipline, and Resistance in Languedoc*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997.

Goodich, Michael. "The Politics of Canonization in the Thirteenth Century: Lay and Mendicant Saints". *Church History*, vol. 44, no. 3, 1975, pp. 294–307.

Grisart, Maurice. "Les Cathares dans le Nord de la France," *Revue du Nord*, vol. 49, no. 194, 1967. pp. 509-519.

Ham, Edward B. "Review:Philip Mouskés and the Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle by Ronald N. Walpole" *Romance Philology*, vol. 1, no. 2, 1947, pp.159-160.

Hamilton, Bernard. "Perfection and Pragmatism: Cathar Attitudes to the Household." *Studies in Church History*, vol. 50, 2014, pp. 86–96.

Hamilton, Bernard. "Review: Inquisition and Power: Catharism and The Confessing Subject In Medieval Languedoc by John Arnold," *The Catholic Historical Review*, vol. 89, no. 3, 2003, p. 548.

Haskins, Charles Homer. "Robert le Bougre and the Beginnings of the Inquisition in Northern France I," *The American Historical Review*, vol. 7, no. 3, 1902, 437-57.

Haskins, Charles Homer. "Robert le Bougre and the Beginnings of the Inquisition in Northern France II," *The American Historical Review*, vol. 7, no. 4, 1902, pp. 631-652.

Havet, Julien. "l'hérésie et le bras séculier: Au Moyen Âge jusqu'au treizième siècle." *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes*, vol. 41, 1880, pp. 570–607.

Hinnebusch, William A. *The History of the Dominican Order*, New York: Alba House, 2 vols, 1966.

Horowitz, Michael C. "Long Time Going: Religion and the Duration of Crusading," *International Security*, vol. 34, no. 2, 2009, pp. 162–193.

Kelly, Henry Ansgar. "Inquisition and the Prosecution of Heresy: Misconceptions and Abuses." *Church History*, vol. 58, no. 4, 1989, pp. 439–451.

Kaelber, Lutz. "Weavers into Heretics? The Social Organization of Early-Thirteenth-Century Catharism in Comparative Perspective," *Social Science History*, vol. 21, no. 1, 1997, pp. 111–37.

Kaeppli, Thomas, and Panella, Emilio. *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum Medii Aevi*, 4 vols, Roma: Istituto storico Domenicano, 4 vols., 1993.

Kieckhefer, Richard. "The Office of Inquisition and Medieval Heresy: The Transaction from Personal to Institutional Jurisdiction" *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 46, No. 1, 1995, pp. 36-61.

Kieckhefer, Richard. *Repression of Heresy in Medieval Germany*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, Incorporated, 2016.

Kolmer, Lothar. *Ad Capiendas Vulpes: Die Ketzerbekämpfung in Südfrankreich in der ersten Hälfte des 13. Jahrhunderts und die Ausbildung des inquisitionsverfahren*, Bonn: Röhrscheid, 1982.

Kolmer, Lothar. "Ad Terrorem Multorum Die Anfänge der inquisition im Frankreich," , in *Die Anfänge Der inquisition im Mittelalter. Mit einem Ausblick auf das 20. Jahrhundert und einem Beitrag über Religiöse Intoleranz im Nichtchristlichen Bereich*, ed. Peter Segl, Cologne: Böhlau, 1993.

Koudelka, Vladimir J, O.P. "La fondazione del convento domenicano di Como (1233-1240)," *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, vol. 36, 1966, pp. 395-427.

Krahenbuhl, Kevin. "The Albigensian Crusade: A Twist in the Story of the Crusades," *Medieval Warfare*, 3, no. 4, 2013, pp. 6–11.

Kurtz, Lester R. "The Politics of Heresy," *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 88, no. 6, 1983, pp. 1085-1115.

Lambert, Malcolm. *The Cathars*, Oxford: Wiley, 1998.

Lambert, Malcom. *Medieval Heresy*, Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1991.

Laursen, John C, et al. "General Introduction: Political and Historical Myths in Toleration Literature," in *Beyond the Persecuting Society*, ed. Cary Nederman, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998, pp.169-177.

Laursen, John C, Nederman, Cary J, and Hunter, Ian. *Heresy in Transition: Transforming Ideas of Heresy in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, Aldershot, Hants: Ashgate Publishing Group, 2005.

Lea, Henry Charles. *A Formulary of the Papal Penitentiary in the Thirteenth Century*, Philadelphia: Lea Bros. & Co., 1892.

Lea, Henry Charles. *A History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages*; 3 vols., Project Gutenberg, 2012.

Lengyel, József, and Duczynska, Ilona. *Acta Sanctorum and Other Tales*, 7th ed, London: Peter Owen, 1970.

Lerner, Robert. *Heresy of the Free Spirit*, Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1972.

Linde, Cornelia. *Making and Breaking the Rules: Discussion, Implementation, and Consequences of Dominican Legislation*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018.

Lower, Michael. "The Burning at Mont-Aimé: Thibaut of Champagne's Preparations for the Barons' Crusade of 1239," *Journal of Medieval History*, vol. 29, no. 2, 2003, pp. 95-108.

Madden, Thomas F. *The New Concise History of the Crusades*, Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2005.

Maier, Christoph T. *Preaching the Crusades: Mendicant Friars and the Cross in the Thirteenth Century*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

Mazo Karras, Ruth. (ed.) *Law and the Illicit in Medieval Europe*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010.

McGlynn, Sean. *Kill Them All: Cathars and Carnage in the Albigensian Crusade*, Stroud: The History Press, 2015.

McLelland, Joseph. *Peter Martyr Vermigli*. Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1980.

Meersseman, Gilles Gérard. *Ordo fraternitatis: Confraternite e pietà dei laici nel medioevo*, Rome: Herder, 1977.

Merlo, Grado. "Federico II, gli eritici, i frati," *Federico II e le nuove culture: Atti del XXXI convegno storico internazionale*, Spoleto, 1994.

Merlo, Grado. "S. Pietro Martire. Difficolta e Proposte per Lo Studio Di Un Inquisitore Beatificato." eds. Sofia Boesch Gajano, Lucia Sebastiani, *Culto dei santi, istituzioni e classi sociali in età preindustriale*, Roma: Leandro Ugo Japadre, 1984.

- Mews, Constant, and Monagle, Clare. "Peter Lombard, Joachim of Fiore and the Fourth Lateran Council." In R. Quinto (Ed.), *Filosofia e teologia nel XII secolo e nei primi decenni del XIII*, (Medioevo: rivista di storia della filosofia medievale), Padova: Il Poligrafo, 2010, vol. 35, pp. 81-122.
- Moore, Jill. *The Inquisition and its Organisation in Italy, 1250-1350*, Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2019.
- Moore, Robert I. *The Formation of a Persecuting Society*, New York: Basil Blackwell, 1987.
- Moore, Robert I. *The War on Heresy*, Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 2012.
- Moore, Robert I. "The Origins of Medieval Heresy," *History*, vol. 55, no.183, 1970, pp. 21-36.
- Mulchahey, M. Michèle, et al. *"First the Bow Is Bent in Study..."*. Toronto: Pontifical Institute for Medieval Studies, 2000.
- Murphy, Cullen. *God's Jury: the Inquisition and the Making of the Modern World*. London: Allen Lane, 2012.
- Nielsen, Donald A. "Rationalization in Medieval Europe: The Inquisition and Sociocultural Change." *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society*, vol. 2, no. 2, Springer, 1988, pp. 217–241.
- Oldenbourg, Zoé. *Massacre at Montségur : a History of the Albigensian Crusade*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1961.
- Pacaut, Marcel. "Robert le petit dit Robert le bougre (XIIIe s.)" *Encyclopædia Universalis*, accessed 20.09.21 [Encyclopédie Universalis](#)
- Paden, William D. "The Troubadours and the Albigensian Crusade: A Long View," *Romance Philology*, vol. 49, no. 2, 1995, pp. 168–191.
- Pegg, Mark Gregory. "Albigenses in the Antipodes: An Australian and the Cathars," *Journal of Religious History*, vol. 35, 2011, pp. 577-600.
- Pegg, Mark Gregory. 'Historiographical Essay: On Cathars, Albigenses, and Good Men of Languedoc', *Journal of Medieval History*, vol. 27, 2001, pp. 181-195
- Pegg, Mark Gregory. *A Most Holy War: The Albigensian Crusade and the Battle for Christendom*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.
- Pegg, Mark Gregory. *The Corruption of Angels: The Great Inquisition of 1245-1246*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001.
- Pernoud, Régine. *Those Terrible Middle Ages: Debunking the Myths*, San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2000.

Peters, Edward. *Torture*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1985.

Peters, Edward. *Inquisition*, London: Collier Macmillan, 1988.

Peters, Edward. ““Quoniam Abundavit Iniquitas’: Dominicans as Inquisitors, Inquisitors as Dominicans.” *The Catholic Historical Review*, vol. 91, no. 1, 2005, pp. 105–121.

Potthast, August. *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum (1198-1304)*, Berlin: Monumenta Germaniae Historica, 1874.

Prudlo, Donald. *Certain Sainthood: Canonization and the Origins of Papal Infallibility in the Medieval Church*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, Ithaca, 2015.

Prudlo, Donald. *A Companion to Heresy Inquisitions*. Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers, 2019.

Prudlo, Donald. *The Martyred Inquisitor: The Life and Cult of Peter of Verona (1252)*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008.

Prudlo, Donald. “The Friars Preachers: The First Hundred Years of the Dominican Order.” *History Compass*, vol. 8, no. 11, 2010, pp. 1275–1290.

Ripoll, Thomas, *Bullarium Ordinis FF. Praedicatorum*, Rome: ex Typographia Hieronymi Mainardi, 1, 1729.

Roach, Andrew. “Occitania Past and Present: Southern Consciousness in Medieval and Modern French Politics” *History Workshop Journal*, vol. 43 (Spring, 1997), pp. 1-22.

Roach, Andrew P. *The Devil's World : Heresy and Society, 1100-1300*. 1st ed., New York City: Pearson Education Ltd., 2005.

Roach, Andrew. “The Relationship of the Italian and Southern French Cathars, 1170-1320.” Oxford University, PhD Dissertation, 1990.

Sackville, Lucy J. "The Church's Institutional Response to Heresy in the 13th Century," in *A Companion to Heresy Inquisitions*, ed. D. Prudlo, Leiden: Brill, 2019, pp. 108-40.

Sackville, Lucy J. *Heresy and Heretics in the Thirteenth Century: The Textual Representations*, York: York Medieval, 2011.

Šanjek, François, O.P. “Raynerius Sacconi O.P. Summa De Catharis.” *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, 44, 1974, pp. 31–60.

Scheeben, H. C. "Constitutiones Antiquae Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum," *Analecta Sacri Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum II*, 1895.

Segl, Peter, *Die Anfänge der Inquisition im Mittelalter: mit einem Ausblick auf das 20. Jahrhundert und einem Beitrag über religiöse Intoleranz im nichtchristlichen Bereich*. Cologne: Böhlau, 1993.

Sennis, Antonio. (ed.) *Cathars in Question*, Rochester: Boydell and Brewer, 2016.

Shannon, Albert Cement. *The Popes and Heresy in the Thirteenth Century*, Villanova: Augustinian Press, 1949.

Sherwood, Jessie. "The Inquisitor as Archivist, or Surprise, Fear, and Ruthless Efficiency in the Archives." *The American Archivist*, vol. 75, no. 1, Society of American Archivists, 2012, pp. 56–80.

Snyder, Jon R. *Dissimulation and the Culture of Secrecy in Early Modern Europe*. 1st ed., Oakland: University of California Press, 2009.

Stone, Lawrence. "Prosopography," *Daedalus*, vol. 100, no. 1, 1971, pp. 46-79.

Stoyanov, Yuri. *The Other God: Dualist Religion from Antiquity to the Cathar Heresy*, New Haven: Yale Nota Bene/Yale University Press, 2000.

Sullivan, Karen, *Truth and the Heretic*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005.

Sullivan, Karen, "Disputations, Literary And Inquisitorial: The Conversion Of The Heretic Sicart Of Figueiras," *Medium Ævum*, vol. 78, No. 1, 2009, pp. 58-79.

Sullivan, Karen. *Inner Lives of Medieval Inquisitors*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011.

Sumption, Jonathan. *The Albigensian Crusade*, London: Faber, 1999.

Tanon, Louis. *Histoire des tribunaux de l'inquisition en France*, Paris: Larose & Forcel, 1893.

Taylor, Claire. "Evidence for Dualism in inquisitorial Registers of the 1240s: A Contribution to a Debate." *History*, vol. 98, (331), no. 3, 2013, pp. 319-45.

Thouzellier, Christine. *Catharisme et Valdésisme en Languedoc à la fin du XIIe et au début du XIIIe siècle*. 2nd ed., Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1969.

Thompson, Augustine, O.P. *Revival Preachers and Politics in Thirteenth Century Italy: The Great Devotion of 1233*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992.

Treccani degli Alfieri, Giovanni. *Storia di Milano*. Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1995.

Trembinski, Donna. "Insensate Saints: Contextualizing Non-Suffering in Early Dominican Legendaries". *Florilegium*, vol. 23, no. 2, June 2006, pp. 123-42.

Van Engen, John. "Dominic and the Brothers: Vitae as Life-forming exempla in the Order of Preachers" in *Christ Among the Medieval Dominicans*, ed. Kent Emery, Jr and Joseph Wawrykow, Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1998, pp. 7-25.

Visser, Nils. "A Church of Wolves: Terror as Amaury's Weapon of War." *Medieval Warfare*, vol. 3, no. 4, 2013, pp. 26–33.

Wakefield, Walter. *Heresy, Crusade and inquisition in Southern France 1100-1250*, London: Allen & Unwin, 1974.

Walpole, Ronald, *Philip Mouskés and the Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle*, University of California Publications in Modern Philology, 26, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1947.

Waugh, Scott L., and Diehl, Peter D. *Christendom and Its Discontents : Exclusion, Persecution, and Rebellion, 1000-1500*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

Zagorin, Perez. *Ways of Lying: Dissimulation, Persecution, and Conformity in Early Modern Europe*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990.

Zagorin, Perez. "The Historical Significance of Lying and Dissimulation." *Social Research*, vol. 63, no. 3, 1996, pp. 863-912.