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THE CATHAR COUNCIL OF SAINT-FÉLIX RECONSIDERED

BY

BERNARD HAMILTON

The most controversial document in the history of southern French Catharism is the account of the assembly of Saint-Félix published by Sieur Guillaume Besse in 1660¹. The manuscript which he used has never been found and his text has therefore to be treated as a primary source. Because it is not readily accessible it is reproduced at the end of this article to enable readers to follow the argument more easily.

The authenticity of this document has been the subject of much scholarly argument. The current debate was initiated in 1933 by M. de Lacger, who considered that the document was a forgery, because it showed a fundamental misunderstanding of the nature of Catharism². Fr. A. Dondaine replied to these criticisms in 1946³ and his contention that the document was genuine seemed to be borne out by two subsequent discoveries which he made. Both were accounts of the origins of the Cathar churches of Italy, and contained information about the crucial role played in their formation by Mark, first Cathar bishop of north Italy, and by a certain *papa* Nichetas of Constantinople, representative of the *Ordo* of Drugunthia. The earlier of these texts, dating from the early thirteenth century, the *De heresi Catharorum in Lombardia*⁴, was already partially known in the fragment published by Vignier in

¹ G. Besse, *Histoire des ducs, marquis et comtes de Narbonne*, Paris 1660, pp. 483-6.

² L. de Lacger, « L'Albigéois pendant la crise de l'Albigéisme », *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique* (RHE) 29, 1933, pp. 272-315, 586-633, 849-904, specially pp. 314-5.

³ A. Dondaine, « Les actes du concile albigéois de Saint-Félix de Caraman », *Miscellanea Giovanni Mercati* 5, *Studi e Testi* 125, Città del Vaticano 1946, pp. 324-55.

⁴ Dondaine, « La hiérarchie cathare en Italie: I. Le *De heresi catharorum in Lombardia* », *AFP* 19 (1949) pp. 280-312.

1601 in his *Receuil de l'Histoire de l'Eglise*, where he inserted it under the year 1023, believing it to be connected with other heretical outbreaks in western Europe at that time⁵. Dondaine's second text, the *Tractatus de hereticis* of the inquisitor Anselm of Alessandria, was written in c. 1266 and was not previously known⁶.

Dondaine's defence of the authenticity of the Saint-Félix document has not been accepted by everybody. Its most rigorous critic has been M. Yves Dossat, who argued that Besse is known to have forged other pieces of historical evidence and is likely to have forged the Saint-Félix document also because all the corroborative evidence which is available to us was equally available to him for use as source-material⁷. More recently Mr. R. I. Moore has drawn attention to the silence of the Italian sources about Nicetas' activities in southern France⁸. Dr. F. Šanjek examined the document in some detail in 1972 and dealt with some of the objections raised by its critics⁹, but various important problems remain outstanding and merit reconsideration.

One point which has been overlooked in recent studies is whether Besse was adequately informed about Catharism and whether, therefore, he would have been capable of forging a document which convinces at least some modern scholars of its authenticity. Dossat's hypothesis that much of the material which is available now was also available in some form to Besse is technically irrefutable even if it is not very plausible. He certainly could have obtained the names of twelfth century southern French Cathar leaders from chronicle sources, most of which were in print when he wrote; he could have used Vignier's account of *papa* Nichetas in Italy, allegedly in 1023, as a basis for his description of the activities of *papa* Niquinta in southern France in 1167; and it

⁵ N. Vignier, *Recueil de l'histoire de l'Eglise*, Leyden 1601, p. 268. Cf. Dondaine, « Les actes », loc. cit., pp. 339-43.

⁶ Dondaine, « La Hiérarchie cathare en Italie: II. Le *Tractatus de hereticis* d'Anselme d'Alexandrie, O.P.; III. Catalogue de la hiérarchie cathare d'Italie », *AFP* 20 (1950) pp. 234-324.

⁷ Y. Dossat, « A propos du concile cathare de Saint-Félix: Les Milingues », *Cahiers de Fanjeaux* 3, 1968, pp. 201-14; Dossat, « Remarques sur un prétendu évêque cathare du Val d'Aran en 1167 », *Bulletin philologique et historique du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques*, 1955-6, pp. 339-47.

⁸ R.-I. Moore, « Nicetas, émissaire de Dragovitch, a-t-il traversé les Alpes ? » *Annales du Midi* 85, 1973, pp. 85-90.

⁹ F. Šanjek, « Le rassemblement hérétique de Saint-Félix-de-Caraman (1167) et les églises cathares au XII^e siècle », *RHE* 67, 1972, pp. 767-99.

cannot be proved that he did not have access to the inquisition records to obtain the names of Pierre Pollan and Pierre Isarn mentioned in the colophon. Yet to have used this information in a way which accords perfectly with what else is known about the evolution of Catharism in Languedoc as revealed by modern scholars since the end of the Second World War argues a degree of historical insight on Besse's part which it is extremely unlikely that either he or any other seventeenth century scholar possessed.

It is clear from Besse's own works that he did not have the kind of understanding of Catharism which a successful forger of the Saint-Félix document would have needed. In his *Histoire ... de Narbonne* he writes: "En ma dissertation sur la différence de ces Heretiques [Albigeois], que ie dedie à Monseigneur l'Illustrissime Archeuesque de Tolose, ie fais voir quels estoient ces Heretiques et quelle leur croyance, et particulièrement ie monstre qu'en Languedoc ils estoient diuisez en quatre branches, appelez Arriens, Manicheens, Vaudois et Bonshommes, et que ces deux derniers estoient entre eux absolument differens, quoy qu'ils ayent esté iusques icy confondus ensemble¹⁰". Moreover, he totally misunderstood the information contained in the Saint-Félix document: he supposed that it showed that the Cathars of Languedoc had elected Niquinta as their antipope; that he had then consecrated bishops for them; that this had led Viscount Raymond Trencavel to take action against the heresy; and that the Cathars had assassinated him in Carcassonne cathedral in 1167 as an act of revenge¹¹. That interpretation has no foundation in historical fact, whereas, as Dondaine has pointed out, the document does in the main agree with the general picture of the evolution of Catharism in Languedoc which has emerged from recent studies. This would seem to rule out the possibility that

¹⁰ Besse, op. cit., pp. 325-6. In his earlier *Histoire des Comtes de Carcassonne, Béziers 1645*, p. 124, Besse showed an even greater ignorance of Catharism: « Ces Heretiques furent appelez par les Catholiques Faidits, de mesme que nous appellons d'aujourd'huy Huguenots ».

¹¹ « L'essaye en mon *Histoire des Euesques de Carcassonne*, de monstre que cet assassinat [de Raimond Trencavel en 1167] eut un plus grand motif, qui est que le Vicomte Trincauel qui estoit un tres vaillant hom[m]e, et fort bon Catholique, se trouuant en ce temps là auoir les armes à la main, il ruina ces nouueaux Heretiques, qui eurent l'impudence de s'assembler en corps de Conciliabule, où ils creerent un Antipape de leur secte, nommé Niquinta... L'ose dire de là que ce Vicomte est le premier Martyr dont les Heretiques surnommez du pays d'Albigeois ayent répandu le sang ». Besse, *Histoire ... de Narbonne*, pp. 324-5.

Besse forged it. In this connection other minor points are worth considering: if, as Dossat suggests, Vignier was Besse's source for *papa* Nicetas, why did Besse change the name of Nicetas to Niquinta and the name of the *Ordo* which he represented from Druguria to the almost unrecognisable form of Dragometia; and why did he say nothing about the rivalry between the *Ordos* of Druguria and Bulgaria which is central to Vignier's account? The answer would seem to be that the document he printed was not a forgery based on Vignier's *History*, but a genuine document relating to Nicetas' activities in the West.

It has never been denied that the document presents many difficulties of interpretation, but discussion of it has hitherto been in part obscured by the misleading titles which have been given to it. Dondaine referred to it as the Acts of the Council of Saint Félix and even went so far as to call it 'le procès verbal d'une assemblée d'hérétiques' ¹². Yet the document is plainly not a copy of the Acts of a Council in any accepted sense: it does not claim to be this, and Besse did not call it so but simply 'a charter of Niquinta'. That too is a misnomer: it is not a document issued by Niquinta, and only part of it is about him. No attention has been paid to Besse's comment: 'L'Acte que ie dois donner tout entier, et dont i'employe un extraict au fond de cette Histoire, dit que ces Euesques receurent en suite de la main de ce faux Pape, « consolamentum et ordinem episcopi » ¹³. The source has always been regarded as a straightforward transcript or a forgery, but there seems no reason to suppose that it contains more than excerpts from a longer document or set of documents.

The text which Besse printed claimed to be a copy of the original made in 1232 for the Lord Peter Isarn by Peter Pollan. Peter Isarn was Cathar bishop of Carcassonne: he is first mentioned in inquisition records in 1223 ¹⁴ and according to Vaissète, who cited a record from Montpellier which has not come down to us, he was burned in 1226 on the orders of Louis VIII ¹⁵. Peter Pollan was second in succession to Peter Isarn as bishop of Carcassonne, and, if the normal rules were followed in his case, he would, as Dondaine pointed out, have been

¹² Dondaine, « Les actes », loc. cit., p. 324.

¹³ Besse, *Histoire ... de Narbonne*, p. 325.

¹⁴ In a deposition of Raimond Aiffre to the inquisition, Doat XXIII, f. 80v, cited Dondaine, « Les actes », loc. cit., p. 347, n. 46.

¹⁵ Cl. Devic, J. Vaissète, *Histoire générale de Languedoc*, ed. A. Molinier, 16 vols, Toulouse 1879-1904, vol. 6, p. 619.

Younger Son of the Church of Carcassonne when the document was drawn up ¹⁶. The fact that there is independent evidence for both these men holding positions of authority in the Cathar Church of Carcassonne in the 1220s strengthens the case for the validity of the Saint-Félix document, but the date is obviously incorrect, since Peter Isarn had been dead for six years in 1232.

The colophon is quite straightforward: 'Hoc translatum fecit translare Dominus Petrus Isarn. de Antiqua Carta in potestate supra dictorum facta, q. Eccl. sic. superius scriptum est dividerunt. Feria II. in mense Augusti. XIV. Die. in introitu mensis, Anno M.CC.XXXII. ab incarnatione Domini, Petrus Pollanus translavit haec, omnia rogatus ac mandatus'. Discussion of this passage has been complicated by the fact that Dondaine assumed that the abbreviation *q.* should be expanded to *que* in this passage as elsewhere in the document, but the result did not make sense: 'The Lord Peter Isarn caused this copy to be made of the old document drawn up by the authority of the above mentioned, and they divided the churches as it is written above, on Monday the 14 August in the year of our Lord 1232...' Dondaine suggested that this difficulty might be overcome if it was assumed that the punctuation of the original had been faultily transcribed, and that Monday 14 August should be taken to refer to the original division of the dioceses and 1232 to the making of the copy. He therefore paraphrased the colophon: 'Comme on l'a écrit plus haut, les arbitres divisèrent les diocèses le lundi 14 août (sous-entendu 1167) et que Pierre Pollanus en fit une copie en 1232' ¹⁷. This emendation commended itself to him partly because it made better grammatical sense, but chiefly because in 1232 August 14 had not been a Monday, whereas in 1167 it had been. When Dondaine wrote this he had not discovered Anselm of Alessandria's *Tractatus de Hereticis*, which places Nicetas' visit to the West after 1174 ¹⁸, for this called the date of the original document into question and weakened the whole argument. In any case, as Dossat pointed out, the hypothesis was implausible: 'La date exacte de l'arbitrage, lundi 14 août, se trouve insérée au milieu des formules qui se rapportent à la transcription, disposition insolite' ¹⁹.

¹⁶ Dondaine, « Les actes », loc. cit., p. 350.

¹⁷ Ibid. p. 329.

¹⁸ « Isti portaverunt heresim in Lombardiam a Neapoli: Marchus, Iohannes Iudeus, Ioseph et Aldricus, circa tempus quo currebat Mclxxiiii ». *Tractatus*, c. 13, ed. Dondaine, AFP 20, p. 319.

¹⁹ Dossat, op. cit., Cahiers de Fanjeaux 3, p. 207.

But if *q* is expanded to *qui* instead of *que* the problem of construing the colophon is solved. It would probably not have been easy for a seventeenth century transcriber to distinguish between the abbreviations of the two words in a thirteenth century document. If the form *qui* is accepted, the passage would then read: 'The Lord Peter Isarn caused this copy to be made of the ancient charter (drawn up by the aforementioned who divided the churches as is written above) on Monday 14 August 1232 A.D. Peter Pollan copied this being asked and ordered to do so'. If this emendation is accepted the colophon records only a single date, which refers to the making of the copy. For the reason already given it is clear that the document was not copied in 1232. The copy must have been made in the pontificate of Peter Isarn in a year when August 14th fell on a Monday, and this can only have been in 1223. It would have been a comparatively easy mistake for a seventeenth century copyist to have transcribed MCCXXIII as MCCXXXII, particularly if, as was customary in southern French documents of the thirteenth century, the Xs had been formed of one thick and one thin stroke, for with the passage of centuries it would become less easy to distinguish between an X and a I. It would therefore seem that Besse printed the text of a copy made on 14 August 1223.

The next problem is to establish the date at which the original was written and this involves first some consideration of the identity of *papa* Niquinta. The Saint-Félix document does not state where he came from, but his non-western name and the tenor of the speech attributed to him make it reasonable to suppose that he was a representative of one of the dualist churches of the East. The document also relates that he consecrated Mark as Cathar Bishop of Lombardy, and consecrated, or in some cases reconsecrated, five men as bishops of the Cathar churches of France, and that he reconsoled the members of all those churches who were present at the assembly. As long ago as 1676 Sandius suggested that Niquinta was the same person as *papa* Nicetas mentioned in the fragment of the *De heresi catharorum* printed by Vignier²⁰ and this argument has been generally accepted ever since. It is, indeed, persuasive: according to the *De Heresi papa* Nicetas came to Lombardy from Constantinople as representative of the *Ordo* of Dru-gunthia and reconsecrated Mark as Bishop of the Lombard Cathars, and reconsoled his followers who had previously adhered to the *Ordo*

²⁰ G. Sandius, *Nucleus historiae ecclesiasticae*, Cologne 1676, p. 391.

of Bulgaria²¹. This account is corroborated by the *Tractatus de hereticis* of Anselm of Alessandria²². It is known from a number of sources, of which the account given by the inquisitor Raynier Sacconi, who had formerly been a Cathar *perfectus*, is the most lucid, that the *Ordo* of Drugunthia to which Nicetas belonged represented the absolute dualist group among the heretical churches of the Balkans, while the *Ordo* of Bulgaria was moderate dualist in belief²³. It seems clear from all recent work on the history of Catharism in France that the movement there was originally an offshoot of moderate dualism, and that absolute dualism was introduced to the west subsequently²⁴ and it is therefore reasonable to suppose that at Saint-Félix *papa* Niquinta was reconciling *perfecti* and reconsecrating bishops, who had been moderate dualists, in the absolute dualist *Ordo* of Drugunthia which he represented, although this is nowhere explicitly stated in the document. To postulate that Niquinta and Nicetas were two separate men, both of whom came to the west as representatives of the absolute dualist *Ordo* of Drugunthia to convert the moderate dualists of western Europe to their interpretation of the Cathar faith; that both reconsecrated Mark of Lombardy; and that they had similar names, is to strain coincidence. There is every reason to apply William of Ockham's dictum, *entia non sunt multiplicanda praeter necessitatem*, in this case, and to treat Niquinta and Nicetas as the same person. In a text like the Saint-Félix document which has been transmitted to us through at least two copies, and perhaps more, it would be a relatively simple matter for the name Nicetas (perhaps written Nicheta as in the *De heresi*) to be corrupted to Niquinta.

The *Tractatus de hereticis* contains a very specific date for the formation of the first moderate dualist Cathar community in Lombardy, 'circa tempus quo currebat M c l xx iiiii'²⁵. Although Anselm of Alessandria was writing almost a hundred years later, attention must be given to such a precise detail, since as an inquisitor he was in a position to have had access to records and to oral traditions among the Cathars which have not otherwise been preserved. As both he and the earlier

²¹ Dondaine, *op. cit.*, AFP 19, p. 306.

²² Dondaine, *op. cit.*, AFP 20, pp. 308-9.

²³ Raynier Sacconi, *Summa de Catharis*, ed. Dondaine, *Le Liber de duobus principis*, Istituto Storico Dominicano, Roma 1939, p. 70.

²⁴ e.g. W.-L. Wakefield, *Heresy, Crusade and Inquisition in Southern France, 1100-1250*, London 1974, pp. 30-1; Moore, *The Birth of Popular Heresy, Documents of Medieval History I*, London 1975, p. 100.

²⁵ See note 18 above.

De heresi agree that some unspecified period of time elapsed between the initial conversion of Mark of Lombardy and his followers and the mission of Nicetas, Nicetas' visit to Italy and his presence at Saint-Félix should be placed in the years after 1174. It therefore follows that the date 1167 given in Besse's text of the Saint-Félix document is probably mistaken. This is not certain, because it could equally be argued that the date given by Anselm is mistaken and that Besse had given the correct date. The only means that there is of controlling the date is the evidence of Southern French sources: the *perfectus* Olivier and his companion, who were brought before a Church council at Lombers in 1165, were moderate dualists²⁶ whereas by 1177 absolute dualism was being preached in the Toulousain as Raymond V complained in a letter to the Chapter-General of Cîteaux²⁷. The assembly of Saint-Félix was held at some point between those two dates: this could have been as early as 1167 as the French source states, or in the period 1174-7 as Anselm of Alessandria implies. The latter date seems more satisfactory both in view of Anselm's evidence and because of the date of Raymond V's appeal to Cîteaux, for if in 1177 absolute dualism had been preached in Languedoc for ten years one would not have expected the Count to wait for so long before asking for help to combat it. One of the copiers of the document could have misread the date. A possible mistake would be this: had the original date been MCLXXVI, the copyist might have read the second X as a V and the V as a I and thus reproduced it as MCLXVII. But other possibilities exist which will readily suggest themselves to the reader and certainty cannot be reached on this matter in the light of present evidence.

As has been suggested above, Besse claimed only to have printed excerpts from a longer document, and some material appears to have been omitted at the beginning. The words *in diebus illis* which at present follow immediately after the date are not necessary to the sense of the text as it now stands. This phrase is a liturgical formula used in the Roman rite to introduce historical passages read as lessons at Mass, and as such would have been a common form known to all literate people in western Europe in the twelfth century. Its normal function was to preface an extract from some longer historical work, and its use in the

²⁶ Acta Concilii Lumbariensis. Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France, ed. M. Bouquet, 24 vols, Paris 1738-1904, vol. 14, pp. 431-4.

²⁷ Gervase of Canterbury, *Chronica*, ed. W. Stubbs, Rolls Series, 2 vols, London 1879-80, vol. I, p. 270.

Saint-Félix document suggests that the first section of that source is taken from a history of the Cathar churches of Languedoc, perhaps written for the *perfecti*.

The source relates how *papa* Nicetas was brought to Saint-Félix by the church of Toulouse, who must therefore have been acting as hosts to the assembly. Besse identified their meeting place with Saint-Félix-de-Caraman in the Lauragais, and this has been accepted by all later scholars and seems very likely to be right²⁸. The account relates that six Cathar churches took part in the assembly: that of the Northern French, headed by their bishop, Robert de Spernone, the Church of Lombardy, headed by Mark, who is not here called a bishop, the Church of Albi, headed by their bishop, Sicard Cellarerier, the church of Carcassonne, headed by Bernard the Catalan, the Church of Toulouse and the *Ecclesia Aranensis*. The election of bishops by local congregations then took place: Toulouse elected Bernard-Raimond, Carcassonne, Gerald Mercier, and the *Ecclesia Aranensis*, Raimund de Casals. Nicetas then reconsoled the candidates and consecrated these three men as bishops. He also consecrated Mark of Lombardy, and reconsecrated Robert de Spernone and Sicard Cellarerier.

This account can be in part corroborated. According to Anselm of Alessandria the northern French Cathars were originally a church of moderate dualists in the Bulgarian *Ordo*. They had their own bishop and evangelised the Cathars of Lombardy, appointing Mark as their deacon²⁹. The *De heresi* tells a slightly different story: that Mark and his followers were converted by people unspecified to the moderate dualism of the Bulgarian *Ordo*, and that Mark was consecrated bishop of Lombardy in that *Ordo*³⁰. Both sources are in agreement that *papa* Nicetas later came from Constantinople, where, according to Anselm, he was "bishop of the heretics"³¹, the *De heresi* relates that Nicetas reconsecrated Mark as bishop in the *Ordo* of Drugunthia, while Anselm relates that he consecrated him bishop *de novo*³². The Italian sources therefore support the statement in the Saint-Félix document that Nicetas consecrated Mark as bishop for the Cathar Church of Lombardy. Moore

²⁸ A list of other places in Languedoc called Saint-Félix is in Devic, Vaissète, op. cit., vol. 8, Index geographicus, cols 2289-90.

²⁹ Dondaine, op. cit., AFP 20, pp. 308-9.

³⁰ Dondaine, op. cit., AFP 19, p. 306.

³¹ Dondaine, op. cit., AFP 20, p. 309.

³² Dondaine, op. cit., AFP 19, p. 306, AFP 20, p. 309.

points out quite rightly that there is nothing in the Italian sources to suggest that this consecration took place outside Italy³³. This is a valid objection, and it is possible that the consecration of Mark took place in Italy before the Saint-Félix assembly was held and that the author of the French account, remembering that Mark had been present at the council, assumed that he had been consecrated then together with the other bishops. Although this matter cannot be finally resolved in the light of present evidence, there is an hypothesis which fits the known facts. The Saint-Félix document implies that Mark was not a bishop before Nicetas consecrated him³⁴, while Anselm, who gives the only detailed account of the origins of the Lombard Cathars, makes it plain that they were a branch of the northern French Cathar church³⁵. When Nicetas reached Italy and tried to convert the Lombard Cathars he would necessarily have been drawn into discussions with the northern French bishop, who either still claimed jurisdiction over Lombardy, or had only just ceased to do so and who in any case was not a distant figure, but seems to have been living in Italy at the time³⁶. Catharism also seems to have entered southern France from the north³⁷ and the links between the Cathars of Languedoc and of northern France may be presumed to have been fairly close at this early stage. Nicetas called into question the effectiveness of the *consolamentum* in the Bulgarian *Ordo*, which all the Cathars of the west at that time had received³⁸, and the validity of this sacrament on which their salvation depended was always a matter of anxiety to the Cathars³⁹. It therefore seems probable that once the matter had been brought to the attention of the northern French bishop he suggested that a general assembly should be held to discuss it, since it was a matter of general concern to all the Cathar churches of the west, which were, in any case, in some sense daughter-churches of his own church.

The Saint-Félix document asserts that the northern French bishop was persuaded of the truth of Nicetas' arguments and was reconsoled

³³ Moore, *The Origins of European Dissent* (London 1977), p. 307, n. 20.

³⁴ Only Sicard Cellarerier and Robert de Sperrone are in this source called bishops before Nicetas carried out his consecrations; Mark is referred to simply as Marchus Lombardie.

³⁵ Dondaine, *op. cit.*, AFP 20, pp. 308-9.

³⁶ « Et episcopus hereticorum de Francia ... erat Neapoli », *ibid.*, p. 308.

³⁷ Wakefield, *Heresy, Crusade and Inquisition*, p. 30.

³⁸ De heresi, ed. Dondaine, AFP 19, p. 306.

³⁹ Sacconi, *Summa*, *loc. cit.*, pp. 69-70.

and reconsecrated by him. There seems no reason to doubt this. It is certainly true that when Raynier Sacconi wrote his *Summa* in about 1250 the northern French church, then living in exile in Italy, had reverted to moderate dualism⁴⁰. It is not known when they made this change, but Moore has drawn attention to a passage in the *De heresi* which may shed some light on the subject⁴¹. This relates that when dissension broke out among the Cathars of Lombardy after Mark's death they asked the advice of a bishop from beyond the Alps, who counselled them to choose a bishop and send him to the moderate dualist Church of Bulgaria for consecration⁴². This indicates that at least one of the French Cathar bishops had been disturbed by the doubts about the validity of Nicetas' consecrations which also troubled and divided the Italian Cathars, and that he had reverted to his earlier adhesion to the moderate dualist *Ordo* of Bulgaria. It is possible that this was a southern French bishop, but it is unlikely, because they remained faithful to the *Ordo* of Drugunthia until at least the mid-thirteenth century⁴³. Since the northern French Cathars had closer contacts with the Cathars of Lombardy than the southern French Cathars had, and since the northern French church is known to have reverted to moderate dualism at some later date, it seems probable that it was the bishop of the northern French who gave this advice. He would, in any case, have been the natural person for the Lombards to consult, because they had received their faith from him in the first instance. This event took place at some time in the last quarter of the twelfth century, at a date probably near 1180. It is not known whether Robert de Sperrone was still bishop of the northern French then, or whether it was his successor who reverted to the Bulgarian *Ordo*.

The evidence which the Saint-Félix document gives about the Cathar bishops of Languedoc can be substantiated in part from independent sources, but ancillary evidence of this kind is fragmentary. A full picture of the organisation of the Cathar churches of Languedoc is only provided by the inquisition records which only begin in the 1230s and which have only come down to us in any number from the

⁴⁰ « Ecclesia Franciae moratur Veronae et in Lombardia », *ibid.*, p. 70; « Ecclesia Franciae concordat cum Baiolensi », *ibid.*, p. 77. The Baiolenses, or Cathar Church of Bagnolo, were a moderate dualist group.

⁴¹ Moore, *op. cit.*, *Annales du Midi* 85, pp. 85-90.

⁴² *ed. Dondaine*, AFP 19, p. 306.

⁴³ Sacconi, *Summa*, *loc. cit.*, p. 77.

1240s. Although the inquisitors were interested in the early memories of their witnesses, virtually none of these extended before the 1190s, twenty years after the assembly of Saint-Félix. According to the Saint-Félix source the only Cathar bishop in Languedoc prior to Nicetas' visit was Sicard Cellarerier of Albi, whom Nicetas reconsecrated. It is generally thought that the Cathars of Languedoc were known as Albigensians because their first centre there was at Albi: certainly the Cathar bishops of Albi later lived at Lombers⁴⁴ and that was one of the first recorded centres of dualist heresy in southern France⁴⁵. In 1165, that is before the earliest possible date for Nicetas' visit, the Cathars of the Albigeois were moderate dualists⁴⁶ whereas by 1177 absolute dualism had become the public teaching of at least some of the Cathars of Languedoc⁴⁷ and in later sources the southern French Cathars were grouped with the *Albanenses* of Lombardy as supporters of absolute dualist teaching⁴⁸. William of Puylaurens attests that Sicard Cellarerier was Cathar bishop of Albi in the reign of the Catholic Bishop Guillaume Peyre (1185-1227)⁴⁹ and he is also listed first among the heresiarchs of Languedoc by Durand of Huesca in his anti-Cathar treatise written in 1222-3⁵⁰. This passage may, as Dossat supposes, imply that Sicard was still alive when it was written⁵¹ but it seems more likely that it is intended to mark out Sicard as the first important Cathar leader in Languedoc. This evidence suggests that the account given in the Saint-Félix document is substantially correct: that Sicard Cellarerier was originally a moderate dualist and the only Cathar bishop in Languedoc,

⁴⁴ William of Puylaurens, *Cronica Albigensium* cap. 4, ed. J. Beyssier, Université de Paris, Bibliothèque de la Faculté des Lettres 17, 1904, pp. 122-3.

⁴⁵ The scene of the dispute between the *perfectus* Olivier and his companion and Catholic prelates in 1165, see note 26 above. Moore, 'St. Bernard's mission to the Languedoc in 1145', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 47, 1974, pp. 1-10 argues convincingly that this is the earliest record of Catharism in Languedoc.

⁴⁶ This is clear from the statements which Olivier made at the Council of Lombers, see note 26 above.

⁴⁷ Raymond V's letter to Cîteaux, see note 27 above.

⁴⁸ Sacconi, *Summa*, loc. cit., p. 77.

⁴⁹ See note 44 above.

⁵⁰ C. Thouzellier, *Une Somme anti-cathare. Le « Liber contra Manicheos » de Durand de Huesca. Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense. Etudes et documents* 32, 1964, p. 78.

⁵¹ Dossat, 'Un évêque cathare originaire de l'Agenais, Vigouroux de la Bascône', *Bulletin philologique et historique du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques* 1965, p. 627.

that he was subsequently converted to absolute dualism, and that his diocese was sub-divided.

The Saint-Félix document records that Nicetas consecrated Bernard-Raimond as bishop of Toulouse, the implication being that there was already a Cathar congregation in the area but that it had no bishop of its own and was presumably under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Albi before the assembly met. There is independent evidence about Bernard-Raimond. When a papal commission came to Toulouse in 1178 to investigate the complaints which Raymond V had made about the spread of heresy, Bernard-Raimond and his companion, Raimond de Barmiac (who is named in a later part of the Saint-Félix document as a member of the Cathar Church of Toulouse), appeared before the legate as leaders of the Cathar community to undertake a defence of their faith⁵². In 1181 a new legatine mission, led by Henry, cardinal of Albano, besieged Lavaur in which the heretical leaders had taken refuge and arrested Bernard-Raimond and an unnamed companion, who was probably Raimond de Barmiac. They later recanted, made a Catholic profession of faith, and were appointed to Catholic canonries in Toulouse⁵³.

The account in the Saint-Félix document of the consecration of Gerald Mercier by Nicetas as Cathar bishop of Carcassonne cannot be verified from other sources. The first Cathar bishop of Carcassonne for whom there is independent evidence is Bernard de Simorre, who is known to have been active from about 1204⁵⁴. Evidently the foundation of the diocese antedated this, and there seems no reason to doubt the evidence of the Saint-Félix document on this score since it can be shown to contain accurate information about the other southern French dioceses.

The account of Nicetas' consecration of Raimund de Casals as bishop of the *Ecclesia Aranensis* presents a difficulty of substance. If this reading is accepted, it must refer to the Val d'Aran in the County of Comminges and Besse certainly understood it in that sense⁵⁵. Yet as Dossat

⁵² *Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Houedene*, ed. W. Stubbs, 4 vols, Rolls Series, London 1868-71, vol. 2, pp. 150-5.

⁵³ William of Puylaurens, *Chronica* cap. 2, loc. cit., p. 121.

⁵⁴ A. Borst, *Die Katharer. Schriften der Monumenta Germaniae Historica* 12, Deutsches Institut für Erforschung des Mittelalters, Stuttgart 1955, p. 233.

⁵⁵ « Niquinta ... crea encore de nouveaux Evesques; sçavoir... Raymond de Casals du pays d'Aran, territoire de Comenge ». *Histoire ... de Narbonne*, p. 325.

has pointed out, there is no evidence for the existence of a Cathar diocese there in the abundant inquisition records of the thirteenth century ⁵⁶. Mlle. Thouzellier has suggested that *Aranensis* is a corrupt reading for *Agenensis*, since Agen is known to have been a Cathar diocese in the thirteenth century, and such a mistake in transcription could easily have been made. Šanjek agrees with her about this ⁵⁷. This hypothesis would seem to be borne out by the Saint-Félix document itself, since it is clear from the text that its authors envisaged the Val d'Aran as part of the Cathar diocese of Toulouse, but I will deal with this point more fully when I discuss the section of the document which is concerned with diocesan boundaries. It is therefore probable that Raimund de Casals was first Cathar Bishop of Agen, although there is no independent evidence to corroborate this.

The account of the Council ends at this point, and a new section of the document begins with the words *Post hec vero*. What follows is part of a sermon preached by Nicetas, not to the Council, but to the Church of Toulouse. The present text is clearly only a fragment of a longer discourse. Nicetas' opening remarks refer to the *consuetudines* of the early churches, which suggests that he spoke about the whole range of church discipline, but the passage cited by Besse only deals with the matter of territorial dioceses. Nicetas takes as his exemplar of how churches should be organised the seven churches of Asia. This may be a reference to the Apocalypse of Saint John, and be intended as scriptural authority for the kind of organisation which Nicetas is advocating ⁵⁸, or it may be a reference to the Paulician churches of Asia Minor in the early ninth century ⁵⁹. He then cites the practice of the

⁵⁶ Dossat, « Remarques », loc. cit., note 7 above.

⁵⁷ Thouzellier, *Catharisme et Valdésisme en Languedoc à la fin du XII^e et au début du XIII^e siècle: politique pontificale-controverses*. Publications de la Faculté des lettres et sciences humaines de Paris. Recherches 27, Paris 1966, pp. 13-14; Šanjek, op. cit., RHE 67, pp. 786-7.

⁵⁸ Apoc. I, 4.

⁵⁹ The Paulician leader Sergius in the ninth century listed seven Paulician churches in Asia Minor, to which names of Pauline churches had been given: Corinth, Macedonia, Achaia, Philippi, Laodicea, Ephesus, Colossae. Peter of Sicily, who cites a letter of Sergius, identifies these churches with places in Asia Minor (with the exception of Corinth which he does not attempt to identify), *History of the Paulicians*, c. 163, ed. Ch. Astruc, W. Carus-Wolska, J. Gouillard, P. Lemerle, D. Papachryssanthou, J. Paramelle, *Les sources grecques pour l'histoire des Pauliciens d'Asie Mineure; texte critique et traduction*, Travaux et Mémoires 4, Centre de Recherche d'Histoire et Civilisation byzantines, Paris 1970, p. 60.

contemporary dualist churches of the Balkans, which he names as the *Ecclesiae Romanae, Drogometiae, Melenguiae, Bulgariae et Dalmatiae*. If this passage has been accurately transmitted it represents the oldest known list of eastern dualist churches, but it presents certain difficulties. The Church of Bulgaria is not controversial: this had been notorious as a centre of the moderate dualist Bogomil heresy since the middle of the tenth century. The Church of Dalmatia is evidently the same as the Church of Sclavonia, frequently referred to in thirteenth century western sources ⁶⁰, from which, according to the *De heresi*, Caloiohannes, first Cathar Bishop of Bagnolo, is said to have received consecration after the death of Mark of Lombardy, probably in c. 1180 ⁶¹. It is worth noting that Dalmatia was the name of the Byzantine theme of what is now the western coast of Yugoslavia, and the name which would naturally have been applied to that area by a Byzantine Greek like Nicetas.

Dondaine, Dossat and Šanjek all wish to amend the first church on Nicetas' list, *Ecclesia Romanae*, to read *Ecclesia Romaniae* and to identify it with the church of Philadelphia in Romania named as one of the dualist churches of the east by Raynier Sacconi in c. 1250 ⁶². As I have stated elsewhere, there are reasons for supposing that the Church of Philadelphia only came into existence after the Fourth Crusade ⁶³. The *Ecclesia Romanae* should be amended to read *Ecclesia Romana*, the church of New Rome, of which Nicetas was himself bishop. Nicetas would not have omitted this church from his list, and, as it was the capital city of the Byzantine Empire, he would naturally have given it first place. It would have been very easy for Besse or his compositor to have changed the adjective *romana* from a nominative to a genitive form to bring it into line with the female genitive forms of the place names used to describe the other four churches. No western European of any age would ever have referred to Constantinople as Rome: such a usage is clear proof that we are concerned here with a Byzantine source.

The *Ecclesia Drogometiae* is generally identified with the Church of Drugunthia, named in the *De heresi* as the source of Nicetas' *Ordo* ⁶⁴

⁶⁰ e.g. Sacconi, *Summa*, loc. cit., p. 70.

⁶¹ ed. Dondaine, AFP 19, p. 308.

⁶² *Summa*, loc. cit., p. 70; Dondaine, « Les actes », loc. cit., p. 344, n. 35; Dossat, *Cahiers de Fanjeaux* 3, p. 209; Šanjek, RHE 67, pp. 788-9.

⁶³ « The origins of the dualist Church of Drugunthia », *Eastern Churches Review* 5, 1973, pp. 122-3.

⁶⁴ ed. Dondaine, AFP 19, p. 306.

and by Raynier Sacconi as the original centre of absolute dualism⁶⁵. Although it is spelt in a variety of ways in western sources, none of them approximates to the form used in the Saint-Félix document. It is generally agreed that this church was located in the region of Dragovitsa, to the north of Thessalonika, which had been settled by a Slav tribe, the Drougouvites⁶⁶. In the ninth century they had their own Orthodox bishop, who attended a church council at Constantinople in 879. Fr. Dvornik, writing about this, remarks: 'dans les Rhodopes on trouve encore aujourd'hui les ruines d'un lieu fortifié, Dragovet, et une montagne qui porte le nom de Dragovina. Ce sont les restes de la tribu des Dragoviči et c'est là qu'il faut chercher l'emplacement de l'évêché du même nom'⁶⁷. It would appear, therefore, that the Balkan dualists had in this case taken the name of an Orthodox see for their own church, just as Western Cathars used the names of Catholic bishoprics; and that Drogometia is a Latin form of the Slav name Dragovet, whereas the form Drugunthia, more commonly used in the west, is derived from the name of the people of the region, the Drougouvites. Drogometia derives from the official, ecclesiastical name of the see, and its use by Nicetas once again shows that he came from the Balkans and was precisely informed about the situation there.

The *Ecclesia Melenguiae* is not recorded in any other eastern or western source about dualism. Professor Obolensky suggested that it took its name from Melnik in Macedonia⁶⁸ and Šanjek accepts this hypothesis⁶⁹, but Dossat is surely right to associate this church with the Slav tribe of the Milingui, settled on the slopes of Mount Taygettus in the Peloponnese. His conclusion that the *Ecclesia Milinguae* is an example of 'l'hérésie impossible' is not convincing⁷⁰. The reasons he gives for this are twofold: first, the Milingui were remote from other dualist

⁶⁵ Sacconi, *Summa*, loc. cit., p. 70, concludes his list of the dualist churches of east and west: « *Ecclesia Burgariae. Ecclesia Dugunthiae. Et omnes habuerunt originem de duabus ultimis* ». Bulgaria is known to have been the source of moderate dualism, therefore Drugunthia must have been the source of absolute dualism.

⁶⁶ Šanjek, RHE 67, pp. 789-91, discusses the literature about this very fully.

⁶⁷ F. Dvornik, *Les Slaves, Byzance et Rome au IX^e siècle*, Paris 1926, p. 236.

⁶⁸ D. Obolensky, *The Bogomils. A Study in Balkan Neo-Manichaeism*, Cambridge 1948, pp. 156-71.

⁶⁹ Šanjek, RHE 67, pp. 791-3.

⁷⁰ Dossat, *Cahiers de Fanjeaux* 3, pp. 209-13; his view, though not the conclusions he draws from it, is shared by J. Duvernoy, *Le registre de l'Inquisition de Jacques Fournier, évêque de Pamiers (1318-25)*, 3 vols, Toulouse 1965, vol. I, p. 28.

centres in the Balkans. This is true in terms of communication by land, but they were easily accessible by sea from Constantinople and from the western Balkans, in both of which areas dualism was to be found in the twelfth century. His second reason is naïve: that the Milingui had been converted to Orthodoxy in the tenth century and that 'ainsi l'orthodoxie des Milingues ne peut être mise en doute' ⁷¹. If this argument were rigorously applied elsewhere it would rule out any possibility that dualism had spread to Constantinople, Lombardy or France, all of which had been orthodox Christian for centuries. The Milingui are known to have remained Slav speaking in the twelfth century and later ⁷² and this would have made them more accessible to missionaries from the other Slav dualist churches of the Balkans than their Greek-speaking neighbours.

The only reasonable objection to the acceptance of a dualist church of the Milingui is that it is mentioned in no other source. One possible reference to it may be contained in Joachim of Fiore's commentary on the Apocalypse, in which he remarks on the presence of Cathars in Calabria in the late twelfth century who 'apostolicum cui omnes obediunt se fatentur habere' ⁷³. The Calabrian Cathars do not seem to have had any connection with the Cathar churches of northern and central Italy, about which we are reasonably well-informed, and they may have been a mission from the Church of the Milingui sent to the former Byzantine province of Calabria which still contained a high proportion of Greek speakers in the twelfth century. In that case, the *apostolicus* to whom Joachim refers may have been the Bishop of the Milingui, whom the Cathars called *papa*, a term which Joachim, like many other Catholic writers of the period, may have misunderstood.

Twelfth century sources about the dualist churches of the Balkans are so slight that the absence of any other mention of the church of the Milingui is not decisive. Thirteenth century western sources are much fuller, and Raynier Sacconi, in particular, claims to give a complete list of the dualist churches of east and west which existed in his day, c. 1250 ⁷⁴. The absence of a Church of the Milingui from this list more probably reflects the change in political conditions in the Peloponnese

⁷¹ Dossat, Cahiers de Fanjeaux 3, p. 212.

⁷² A. Bon, Le Péloponnèse byzantin jusqu'en 1204, Bibliothèque byzantine. Etudes I, Paris 1951, pp. 63, 63 n. 3, 102.

⁷³ Joachim of Fiore, Expositio in Apocalypsim III, 9, 11, Venice 1527, fol. 133^r.

⁷⁴ Summa, loc. cit., p. 70.

which had occurred since the Council of Saint-Félix than the fact that there had never been such a church. For the Franks had conquered this region after the Fourth Crusade, and, as the *Chronicle of the Morea* shows, the Milingui were strong opponents of Latin rule and were almost constantly at war with the Franks until William of Villehardouin built a chain of fortresses to contain them in 1248/9⁷⁵. If dualism survived among the Milingui its links with the outside world would have been effectively cut by Frankish and Venetian control of the ports of the Peloponnese, and this may account for Sacconi's ignorance of this church. The fact that it had either collapsed or become isolated by the middle of the thirteenth century does not make it any less probable that there had been a dualist community there seventy years before, as the Saint-Félix document claims. It is, of course, possible that Besse chose the name Milingui at random from the Leyden edition of the *De Administrando* of Constantine Porphyrogenitus as Dossat supposes, but why should he have invented a church for whose existence there was no warrant in any of his sources? It is much more likely that the name was used, in its correct form, by the dualist bishop Nicetas of Constantinople.

Indeed, a detailed examination of the information in the sermon attributed to Nicetas inspires confidence that this text is genuine. The names are those which a Byzantine Greek of the twelfth century would naturally have used, and there is no likelihood that they could have been invented by a westerner of that or any later period.

The third and final part of the Saint-Félix document, beginning '*Eccl. vero Tolosana eligit...*', is an account of the demarcation of boundaries between the Cathar dioceses of Toulouse and Carcassonne, agreed by eight assessors elected by each church. Again, only part of this document has been reproduced: no date, for example, is given, yet it seems to have been drawn up before the consecration of bishops for the two sees. Each group of assessors is headed by the man named as bishop in the first section of the Saint-Félix document, Bernard-Raimond in the case of Toulouse and Gerald Mercier in the case of Carcassonne, yet neither of them is given the title of bishop. There is nothing remarkable about this, since it would be normal practice in any church to set up a new diocese before appointing a bishop to govern it.

⁷⁵ *Chronique de Morée*, 205^e-207, ed. J. Longnon, *Livre de la conquête de la princée de l'Amorée: Chronique de Morée (1204-1305)*, Société de l'histoire de France, Paris 1911, pp. 74-5.

There is independent evidence that Cathar dioceses elsewhere had territorial boundaries⁷⁶, and it was a practical necessity to carry out this work in Languedoc at a time when the former Cathar diocese of Albi was being subdivided. Presumably similar agreements were made by all the Cathar churches of Languedoc which had contiguous boundaries, but only this text has been preserved. The assessors decided to use the boundaries of Catholic dioceses when making their arrangements, presumably because these were well-known to all their adherents. The northern demarcations of the two dioceses are quite clear: the Cathar bishop of Toulouse should control the Catholic bishopric of Toulouse, and the Cathar bishop of Carcassonne should control the Catholic diocese of Carcassonne and the Catholic archdiocese of Narbonne, and the boundary between the two is set out in detail from Saint-Pons to the area between Montréal and Fanjeaux. No attention has been paid by modern scholars to the definition of the southern boundaries of the two Cathar dioceses. The crucial passage reads: 'Quod sicut alii Episcopati diuiduntur ab exitu redensis usque ad Leridam sicut pergit apud Tolosam, ita Eccl. Tolos. hab. in sua potestate ...' Lerida is in northern Spain, and the *alii episcopati* referred to must be those which lie to the south of Toulouse and Narbonne, in the Pyrenees and in northern Spain. In this geographical context the phrase 'sicut pergit apud Tolosam' does not make sense. It cannot mean "as it goes towards Toulouse" because Toulouse is in the opposite direction from Lerida; nor can it refer to the Spanish Tolosa near San Sebastian, because that is remote from the area under discussion in this settlement. It seems probable that the text originally read *sicut pergit apud Tortosam*. Tortosa was a cathedral city in the twelfth century and formed a natural boundary mark near the mouth of the Ebro, and at the southern end of the province of Catalonia. A seventeenth century copyist could easily have transcribed Tortosam as Tolosam in a document in which the latter word occurs several times: this requires only the omission of an *r* (which may have been a contraction in the original) and the reading of a *t* as an *l*.

It may help to clarify the argument if I give what I believe to be the correct translation of the part of the Saint-Félix document which relates to diocesan boundaries:

⁷⁶ Cod. Casanat. A IV 49, fol' 287 gives part of the boundary of the Cathar diocese of Florence, ed. I. von Döllinger, *Beiträge zur Sektengeschichte des Mittelalters*, 2 vols., Munich 1890, vol. 2, n. XXI, p. 324.

That the [Cathar] churches of Toulouse and Carcassonne be divided on the lines of the [Catholic] bishoprics. That as the [Catholic] bishopric of Toulouse marches with the [Catholic] Archbishopric of Narbonne in two places and with the [Catholic] bishopric of Carcassonne from Saint-Pons along the line of the mountains between Cabaret and Hautpoul as far as the boundary between Hautpoul and Saissac, and then passes between Montréal and Fanjeaux; and as the other [Catholic] bishoprics march with each other from the Gap of the Razès as far as Lerida as the way leads to Tortosa, the [Cathar] Church of Toulouse shall have [that area] under its jurisdiction and authority; similarly, the [Cathar] Church of Carcassonne, having these boundaries, shall have in its jurisdiction and under its authority the whole [Catholic] diocese of Carcassonne and the [Catholic] archdiocese of Narbonne and the other territory as far as Lerida, bounded by the sea, which has been defined and named [above].

If this emendation is correct it follows that the Cathar diocese of Carcassonne comprised the Catholic dioceses of Carcassonne, Narbonne, Elne, Gerona, Barcelona, Tarragona, Vich and Urgel, and thus included the whole of Catalonia. That there was an important Catalan element in this church seems implicit in the fact that its representatives at the Saint-Félix assembly were led by Bernard the Catalan. The Cathar diocese of Toulouse would have comprised the Catholic dioceses of Toulouse, Couserans, Huesca and Lerida. This area included the Val d'Aran, and, if this interpretation is correct, then the reference to the *Ecclesia Aranensis* in the first part of the source must be a corrupt reading, and this supports the hypothesis that that passage refers to the erection of a Cathar diocese of Agen.

It remains to consider why these three related but separate sources, a history, a sermon and the official record of a boundary commission, came to be assembled together in such a way that Besse could treat them as a single source and edit extracts from them. For Besse obviously copied from a single document, which he calls *une acte*⁷⁷ yet it can surely not have originally been drawn up in that form. For Nicetas' discourse was not pronounced to the Council, but to the Church of Toulouse alone, which suggests that it was originally preserved in a separate source, while the account of the boundary settlement can only

⁷⁷ See note 13 above.

have been one of a number of documents defining the boundaries of the new dioceses, and must have been separate from the history.

This suggests that the three texts were first assembled in a single document in 1223 when the copy which Besse used was drawn up. As the colophon makes clear that copy was made for Peter Isarn, Cathar bishop of Carcassonne, but the documents on which it is based seem to have belonged to the Cathars of Toulouse. In the account of the Council at Saint-Félix the role of the Church of Toulouse is emphasised: they are the hosts of *papa* Nicetas, and the appointment of a bishop of Carcassonne is done "at the request and on the orders of the church of Toulouse"⁷⁸; the sermon of Nicetas is said to have been preached to the Church of Toulouse alone; and the Church of Toulouse and its assessors are named before the assessors of the church of Carcassonne in the account of the boundary commission, which suggests that we are dealing with Toulouse's copy of the agreement.

There were good reasons why Peter Isarn should have borrowed these records from the Cathars of Toulouse in 1223 and had a copy made of them. It would appear that he had just succeeded Bernard de Simorre as bishop⁷⁹; the northern French crusaders, who had occupied most of his diocese for fourteen years, were rapidly losing ground, and the Cathars of Carcassonne were able to practice their religion openly for the first time since 1209⁸⁰. The new bishop therefore had to re-establish normal diocesan life after a long period of violent disruption in which the records of his church had almost certainly been destroyed, while many of his senior *perfecti*, who would have preserved its traditions in their memories, had been burned in some of the great holocausts which marked the early years of the crusade. He needed authoritative records because he was faced by two serious problems: a threat to doctrinal orthodoxy, and an uncertainty about the geographical limits of his jurisdiction.

⁷⁸ «...et Consilium Eccl. Carcassensis rogatus ac mandatus ab Eccl. Tolosana... elegerunt Guiraldum Mercerium».

⁷⁹ Bernard de Simorre is mentioned by Durand of Huesca in his *Liber contra Manicheos* written in c. 1222/3, ed. Thouzellier, *Une Somme*, p. 78. Dossat, «Un évêque cathare», loc. cit., p. 627, interprets the passage as meaning that Bernard was still alive when it was written. Peter Isarn is first mentioned in the deposition of Raimond Aiffre to the Inquisition, relating to events in 1223, Doat XXIII fol. 80v, cited Dondaine, «Les actes», loc. cit., p. 347, n. 46.

⁸⁰ E. Griffe, *Le Languedoc cathare au temps de la Croisade (1209-1229)*, Paris 1973, pp. 205-16.

In July 1223, a month before the copy of the Saint-Félix document was made, Conrad, cardinal bishop of Porto and papal legate, wrote to the archbishop of Rouen and other French prelates inviting them to attend a church council at Sens. The cardinal reported that an antipope of the heretics had arisen in "the regions of Bosnia, Croatia and Dalmatia, next to the nation of Hungary" and that "the Albigensians flock to him so that he may answer their inquiries". He had appointed as his vicar in Languedoc Bartholomew of Carcassonne, who was working in the diocese of Agen. "To this Bartholomew" the cardinal continued, "Vigorousus de Bathona, bishop of the heretics, showing a regrettable respect, has conceded his office and his see in the town of Pujors and has gone to the Toulousain. Bartholomew meanwhile writes letters in which he describes himself as *servus servorum hospitalis sanae fidei* and he consecrates bishops and seeks to organise heretical churches"⁸¹.

Little serious attention has been paid to this report, chiefly because it is generally, and rightly, assumed that there was no pope of the heretics in the sense of a single, jurisdictional head of the Cathar Church⁸². Probably the cardinal misunderstood the way in which the term *papa* was used by the Balkan dualists and the pope to whom he refers was bishop of the dualist church of Bosnia, to which western sources of the thirteenth century refer as the church of Sclavonia⁸³. But the letter should, nevertheless, be treated seriously, for the cardinal was in a position to be well-informed about dualism. He had formerly been abbot of Clairvaux and in that capacity had taken part in the Albigensian

⁸¹ J.-D. Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, 31 vols, Florence-Venice 1759-98, vol. 22, col. 1204, prints the text of this letter from the MS of Mont-Saint-Michel, which is generally agreed to be a more accurate text than that of Gervase, Abbot of Prémontré in C.-L. Hugo, *Sacrae antiquitatis monumenta historica, dogmatica, diplomatica*, Etival 1725, vol. I, pp. 115-7. Cf. Dossat, « Un évêque cathare », loc. cit., pp. 636-7.

⁸² Borst, op. cit., p. 210, n. 38, lists the sources relating to a Pope of the heretics. It is noteworthy that none of these was written by a Cathar, or by a Cathar convert to Catholicism, who would have been well-informed about the organisation of the sect.

⁸³ A document of 1404 states that the dualist bishop of Bosnia had his see in the north-east of the country at Janiči. E. Fermeđžin, ed., *Acta Bosnae, Monumenta Spectantia Historiam Slavorum Meridionalium*, Zagreb 1892, vol. 23, no CCCLXXIX p. 71. Cf. S. Runciman, *The Medieval Manichee*, Cambridge 1947, p. 107. If the bishops lived there in the early thirteenth century this would be additional evidence of Conrad's accuracy, since Janiči could be described as „in the borders of Bosnia, Croatia and Dalmatia next to the nation of Hungary”.

crusade, and when he wrote his letter in 1223 he had been papal legate in Languedoc for four years⁸⁴. As a member of the Sacred College he would also have known what was happening in Bosnia (which had acknowledged the papal primacy in the reign of Innocent III), for Honorius III had sent his chaplain Accontius there in 1221 and when Conrad wrote Accontius was trying to organise a crusade against the numerous heretics whom he had found there⁸⁵. Conrad's report cannot therefore be dismissed as ill-founded rumour.

The church of Bosnia was moderate dualist in doctrine and had founded a daughter-church in the late twelfth century among the Cathars of Lombardy, that of Bagnolo. The Cathars of Languedoc had remained absolute dualists, like the Albanenses of Lombardy, and maintained the traditions brought to them from the Church of Drugunthia by Nicetas⁸⁶. Conrad's report implies that the moderate dualists were taking advantage of the end of persecution in Languedoc, coupled with the disorganisation of the absolute dualist churches there resulting from a long period of war, to win over the southern French Cathars to their own beliefs. His evidence can in part be corroborated from other sources.

Dossat has assembled much valuable information about the two leaders of the pro-Bosnian faction whom Conrad names. He suggests that Bartholomew of Carcassonne should be identified with Bartholomew of Na Lauressa, the only Cathar known to have had this Christian name, who appears in various inquisition records and is last mentioned in c. 1227⁸⁷. More information exists about Vigoureux de la Bacone (Conrad's Vigorosus de Bathona), although I am not in full agreement with Dossat about the way in which it should be interpreted⁸⁸. In his *Liber contra Manicheos*, written in c. 1222/3, Durand of Huesca names the leaders of heresy in Languedoc as Sicard Cellarerier, who is known to have been bishop of Albi, Gaucelm, who is known to have been bishop of Toulouse, Bernard de Simorre, who is known to have been bishop of Carcassonne, and Vigoureux de la Bacone⁸⁹. Dossat argues,

⁸⁴ Devic, Vaissète, op cit., vol. 7, Note XXI, pp. 63-5.

⁸⁵ Acta Bosnae, loc. cit., n. XXXV, p. 7. Cf. Runciman, op. cit., pp. 105-6.

⁸⁶ For the filiation of the Cathars of Bagnolo from the Church of Bosnia see De Heresi, ed. Dondaine, AFP 19, p. 310; Anselm of Alessandria, Tractatus, ed. Dondaine, AFP 20, p. 310. Sacconi, Summa, loc. cit., p. 77 notes: « Cathari Tholosanae et Albigensis et Carcassonensis tenent errores ... antiquorum Albanensium ».

⁸⁷ « Un évêque cathare », loc. cit., p. 638.

⁸⁸ Ibid. pp. 623-39.

⁸⁹ Thouzellier, Une Somme, p. 78.

I think quite rightly, that this means that Vigoureux was bishop of the fourth Cathar church, that of Agen, at the time when Durand was writing. But a problem arises because of two depositions made to the inquisition after the fall of Montségur in 1244 to which Dossat has drawn attention. In one of them Raimond de Perelha, lord of Montségur, recalls how "Guilhabert de Castres, bishop of the heretics, carried out ordinations at Montségur and consecrated Tiento as bishop of the heretics of Agen and Vigoros de la Bacona elder son of the heretics of Agen ... As to the time that was fifteen years ago or more" ⁹⁰. This places the event in c. 1229. The second deposition, that of Berenger de Lavelanet, a member of the garrison, relates how: "Guilhabert de Castres, bishop of the heretics ... and Hugonis (sic) de la Bacona, Elder Son of the heretics of Agen ... and Tiento, Bishop of the heretics of Agen and many other heretics came to the castle of Montségur so that the church of the heretics might have its home and headquarters within that castle ..." ⁹¹.

The Elder Son of a Cathar church was senior coadjutor of the bishop, with automatic rights of succession to the see ⁹². If Vigoureux de la Bacone was bishop of Agen in 1222 why should he have been consecrated Elder Son of that same church in 1229? Dossat suggests that the deposition of Raimond de Perelha, which exists only in a seventeenth century copy in the *Fonds Doat*, may have been wrongly transcribed, and may in reality have referred to events which took place twenty-five years earlier, in 1219. This would allow time for Vigoureux to have succeeded to the bishopric in 1222 ⁹³. But such an amendment would require also a redating of the evidence of Berenger de Lavelanet, which refers to Vigoureux as Elder Son of Agen when Guilhabert de Castres

⁹⁰ « quod Guilbertus de Castris, episcopus hereticorum, fecit ordinationes apud Montem Securum, et ordinavit Tiento episcopum hereticorum in Agennensi et Vigoros de la Bacona filium majorem hereticorum in Agennensi ... de tempore, quod sunt 15 anni et amplius ». Doat XXII, fols 226^v, 227, cited Dossat, « Un évêque cathare », loc. cit., p. 633, n. 3.

⁹¹ « ... Guilbertus de Castris, episcopus hereticorum, et ... Hugonis de la Bacona (sic), filius maior hereticorum Agennensium, et ... Tiento, episcopus hereticorum Agennensium, et multi alii heretici venerunt in castrum Montis Securi et postulaverunt ... Ramundo de Perella ... quod receptaret dictos hereticos infra Castrum Montis Securi ad hoc ut in ipso castro posset ecclesia hereticorum habere domicilium et capud... » Doat XXIV, fols 43^v-44, cited Dossat, « Un évêque cathare », loc. cit., p. 634, n. 1.

⁹² Sacconi, *Summa*, loc. cit., p. 69.

⁹³ « Un évêque cathare », loc. cit., p. 634.

was bishop of Toulouse, an office to which he succeeded in c. 1223 or later ⁹⁴.

If Cardinal Conrad's letter is taken into account the various pieces of evidence about Vigoureux make sense. Conrad relates that in 1223 Vigoureux, who had been Cathar bishop of Agen, had recently vacated his see in favour of Bartholomew of Carcassonne. This implies his conversion to the moderate dualist views which Bartholomew represented, but such a change of faith would have led him to consider his earlier consoling and consecration in the absolute dualist *Ordo* as invalid, and he would therefore have been reconsoled in the *Ordo* of Bosnia and have become a simple *perfectus*. There is ample evidence from Italy that the absolute and moderate dualists did not accept the validity of each others' consecrations or *consolamenta* ⁹⁵ and, indeed, the first act of Nicetas at Saint-Félix had been to reconsole, and where necessary re-consecrate, his converts from moderate dualism. To judge from the silence of later sources the moderate dualist schism in Languedoc did not last beyond the death of Bartholomew of Carcassonne in c. 1227. In c. 1229, as the testimony of Raimond de Perelha shows, Guilhabert de Castres restored an absolute dualist hierarchy to the church of Agen. Vigoureux was not reconsecrated as bishop, but was appointed Elder Son, perhaps to ensure harmony in a community which had recently been divided. The intervention of the bishop of Toulouse in the affairs of the church of Agen inspires confidence in the accuracy of cardinal Conrad's information, for in the normal course of events the succession to the see of Agen on the death of its bishop would have been automatic: the Elder Son would have become bishop, the Younger Son would have become Elder Son, and a new Younger Son would have been elected without the intervention of any other church ⁹⁶. The removal of the see of Agen to Montségur in 1232, which Berenger de Lavelanet's testimony records, may have been made necessary by political events. Conrad states that the Cathar bishop of Agen lived at Pujors, which was probably Pugeolium, a town which Molinier has suggested may be

⁹⁴ Griffe, *Le Languedoc cathare au temps de la Croisade*, pp. 166-8, concludes that Guilhabert de Castres became Bishop of Toulouse in c. 1223.

⁹⁵ Such controversies occupy a large place in the *De Heresi*: the moderate dualists considered *consolamenta* stemming from Nicetas to be invalid because his consecrator, Bishop Simon of Drugunthia, was alleged to have committed mortal sin. It is nowhere stated why Nicetas considered *consolamenta* in the Bulgarian *Ordo* to be defective, but he clearly did. Dondaine, *AFP* 19, pp. 306-12.

⁹⁶ Sacconi, *Summa*, loc. cit., p. 69.

Pujols in the Department of Lot et Garonne⁹⁷. By the terms of the Treaty of Paris in 1229 Raymond VII of Toulouse was required to dismantle the walls of Pugeolium, perhaps because it was known to be the centre of heresy in the Agenais, and this may have rendered the town unsafe for the Cathar hierarchy and have driven them to seek refuge at Montségur.

In 1233 Alberic des Trois Fontaines reported that: "Magnus princeps hereticorum, Vigorosus de Baconia, qui dicebatur episcopus eorum, captus fuit et in Tholosa combustus"⁹⁸. The degree of hyperbole in this description may simply reflect the fact that Vigoureux was at that time the best-known of all the Cathar leaders in Languedoc as a result of cardinal Conrad's letter, which had been sent to all the bishops of France. Vigoureux may, by the time of his death, have succeeded Tento and resumed his earlier position as bishop of Agen, but that is not a necessary inference from Alberic's report, since in the thirteenth century it was customary for Elder Sons to be consecrated bishops during the life-time of their predecessors⁹⁹.

I have examined this problem, which is only peripheral to the main concern of this paper, at some length, in order to establish that Conrad of Porto is a trustworthy and well-informed source. There is no reason to doubt his assertion that Bartholomew of Carcassonne consecrated bishops and organised churches in Languedoc. This was an attempt to create a rival moderate dualist alternative to the absolute dualist Cathar establishment. There is one piece of evidence known to me for the operation of Bartholomew's followers in the Cathar diocese of Carcassonne in the 1220s. R.W. Emery cited it, though not in connection with this problem. In 1225 a man from Castelnaudry in the Cathar diocese of Toulouse was among a group of hostages being held at Narbonne. While in prison he was taken ill, but when two *perfecti* came to console him he refused their ministrations because they were "not of the faith of the heretics of Toulouse"¹⁰⁰. Narbonne was in the diocese of Peter Isarn, Cathar bishop of Carcassonne, who was an absolute

⁹⁷ Devic, Vaissète, vol. 8, Index geographicus, col. 2288. cf. Dossat, « Un évêque cathare », loc. cit., p. 637.

⁹⁸ Chronica Alberici monachi Trium Fontium a monacho novi monasterii Hoiensis interpolata, ed. P. Scheffer-Boichorst, MGHSS, vol. 23, p. 931.

⁹⁹ Sacconi, Summa, loc. cit., p. 69.

¹⁰⁰ Cited R.-W. Emery, Heresy and Inquisition in Narbonne, New York 1941, p. 93.

dualist like the bishop of Toulouse, Guilhabert de Castres. These two *perfecti* who held a different faith were presumably members of the schismatic church which Bartholomew was setting up in Languedoc.

Bartholomew of Carcassonne was evidently, as his name shows, a native of Carcassonne, and for that reason he must have had contacts and influence in Cathar circles there. Peter Isarn needed to combat this schismatic movement which threatened the unity of his church, and it would seem that he asked the church of Toulouse for copies of records about the establishment of absolute dualism in Languedoc and received the account of the Council of Saint-Félix and the consecrations which had been carried out there, and also a text of Nicetas' sermon which gave some account of his teaching. These proofs would have helped Peter Isarn to establish his position as the lawful successor of Gerald Mercier, first Cathar bishop of Carcassonne and as the guardian of the traditions of faith and order first brought from Constantinople to Languedoc by *papa* Nicetas.

But he also needed information about a practical matter: the territorial limits of his diocese. It is clear from the inquisition records that the *perfecti* moved about a good deal during the crusade and did not always stay within their own dioceses. This was certainly true of the Cathars of the Carcassonne diocese. Bernard Oth of Niort told the inquisitors that his brother Gerald had offered asylum to the *perfecti* of Cabaret, when that stronghold surrendered to the Crusaders in 1211, in various castles which belonged to him in the Pays de Sault¹⁰¹. Not all the lands of Niort were in the Cathar diocese of Carcassonne, part of them were in the diocese of Toulouse, but it seems likely that the refugee *perfecti* were allowed to pay canonical obedience to their own bishop, irrespective of the diocese in which they were living, until the war was over. It would seem, however, that after the Cathar bishop returned to Cabaret in 1223, some of his followers continued to live in the diocese of Toulouse and this created problems about canonical jurisdiction. In 1225 a Cathar synod was held at Pieusse to deal with complaints made by the Cathars of the Razès that they did not know whether they belonged to the diocese of Toulouse or that of Carcassonne. Guilhabert de Castres, bishop of Toulouse, solved the problem by creating a separate bishopric in the Razès and consecrating Benedict

¹⁰¹ Doat XXIV fols 84 ff, cited J. Guiraud, *Cartulaire de Notre-Dame de Prouille*, 2 vols, Paris 1907, vol. I, p. cclvii.

of Termes as its first bishop¹⁰². Dondaine suggested that the copy of the Saint-Félix document had been made by Peter Isarn for use at the Council of Pieusse¹⁰³ but as it was written two years earlier this hypothesis is not tenable. Nevertheless the section of the document which deals with diocesan boundaries would seem to have been copied in response to the same problem. The new bishop of Carcassonne wanted an authoritative ruling about the limits of his jurisdiction after his return to Cabaret but he did not succeed in solving the problem satisfactorily, so two years later the more radical solution was implemented of setting up a new diocese in the disputed area.

From Besse's description of his source as "the act" it seems probable that Peter Pollan copied all three documents in a single transcript, perhaps without separate headings. What Peter Isarn needed was an authentic account of the origins of his see, its territorial limits, and the tradition in which it stood.

In conclusion, this re-examination of the Saint-Félix document suggests that Besse published extracts from a genuine document drawn up for Peter Isarn, Cathar bishop of Carcassonne, on 14th August 1223. This was a copy of three records from the archive of the Cathar church of Toulouse: one was an extract from a history of the origins of absolute dualism in Languedoc, and contained an account of the creation of four Cathar dioceses there at an assembly held at Saint-Félix, presided over by Nicetas, bishop of the dualist church of Constantinople, and attended also by representatives of the Cathar communities of northern France and of Lombardy. The date of this assembly cannot be determined precisely, but the combined evidence of the French and Italian sources suggests that it took place after 1174 and before 1177, perhaps in 1176. The second record was the text of a sermon preached by Nicetas to the Cathars of Toulouse; the third record was an official agreement about the definition of the boundaries of the Cathar dioceses of Toulouse and Carcassonne. Of these three documents only the account of the boundary commission need be considered as strictly contemporary evidence: it seems probable that both the account of the council and the text of the sermon were drawn up at a later date from the memories of eye-witnesses. This does not mean that they are valueless as historical evidence:

¹⁰² Deposition made by Raymond-Jean d'Abia to the Inquisition, Doat XXIII, fols 259^v, 270, cited Griffe, *Le Languedoc cathare au temps de la Croisade*, pp. 216-9.

¹⁰³ « Les actes », loc. cit., p. 349.

no text survives of the speech of pope Urban II at Clermont, which launched the whole Crusade movement, but which is only known through later reports¹⁰⁴. There are, of course, several faults in the transmission of the Saint-Félix document, some of them of substance, but this should not surprise us. There were at least three opportunities for mistakes to have been made in the transmission of the text: Peter Pollan could have copied parts of it wrongly in 1223; Besse could have misread or miscopied it, and finally Besse's compositor could have made mistakes in the printed text. There may be other links in the transmission of which we are ignorant, which would increase the possibility of errors in the text. But at all points where it can be tested against independent evidence this source can be shown to be consistent with what else is known about the development of Catharism in western Europe, and specially in southern France, and its relations with Balkan dualism. It may, indeed, be claimed that Nicetas' activities in southern France proved more enduring than the rest of his work in western Europe, for whereas in Lombardy schisms developed among the Cathars after his death and were never subsequently healed, the churches of Languedoc remained faithful to his teaching and *Ordo* and "kept peace among themselves" as he exhorted them to do, until at least the middle of the thirteenth century¹⁰⁵.

THE SAINT-FÉLIX DOCUMENT

Besse's text is reproduced here, but I have divided it into sections and supplied headings for them so that the reader may follow my argument more clearly. In the original there are no subdivisions. I have made no change to Besse's punctuation.

Besse's heading

CHARTRE DE NIQUINTA, Antipape des Heretiques Albigeois, contenant les Ordinations des Euesques de sa secte, par luy faites en Languedoc, à moy communiquée par feu M. Caseneuve, Prebendier au Chapitre de l'Eglise de Saint Estienne de Tolose, en l'an 1652.

The Date

ANNO M C.LXVII. Incarnationis Dominice, in mense madii,

¹⁰⁴ D.-C. Munro, "The speech of Pope Urban II at Clermont", *American Historical Review* 11, 1906, pp. 231-42.

¹⁰⁵ Sacconi, *Summa*, loc. cit., p. 77.

The account of the Council

in diebus illis Ecclesia Tolosana adduxit Papa Niquinta in Castro Sancti Felicii et magna multitudo hominum et mulierum Eccl. Tolosanae, aliarumque Ecclesiarum vicine congregauerunt se ibi, ut acciperent consolamentum quod Dominus Papa Niquinta coepit consolare. Postea vero Robertus de Sperrone Ep. Eccl. Francigenarum venit cum consilio suo: q. Marchus Lombardie venit cum consilio suo similiter, et Sicardus Cellarerius Eccl. Abbiens. Ep. venit cum consilio suo, et B. Catalani venit cum consilio Eccl. Carcassensis, et Consilium Eccl. Aranensis fuit ibi. Quod omnes sic innumerabiliter congregati, homines Tolos. Eccl. voluerunt habere Episcopum et elegerunt Bernard. Raimundum: similiter vero et Bernardus Catalanus et Consilium Eccl. Carcassensis rogatus ac mandatus ab Eccl. Tolosana et cum consilio et voluntate et solucione Domini S. Cellarerii elegerunt Guiraldum Mercerium; et homines Aranensis elegerunt Raimundum de Casalis. Postea vero Robertus d'Esperrone accepit consolamentum et ordinem Episcopi a Domino Papa Niquinta ut esset Ep. Eccl. Francigenarum; similiter et S. Cellarerius accep. consolamentum et ordinem Episcopi ut esset Ep. Eccl. Albiensis: Similiter vero Marchus consolamentum et ordinem Episcopi ut esset Ep. E. Lombardiae: similiter vero Bernardus Raimundus accepit consolamentum et ordinem Episcopi ut esset Ep. Eccl. Tolosanae: similiter et Guiraldus Mercerius accepit consolamentum et ordinem Episcopi ut esset Ep. Eccl. Carcassensis: similiter et Raimundus de Casalis accep. consolamentum et ordinem Ep. ut esset ep. Aranensis.

Nicetas' Sermon

Post hæc vero Papa Niquinta dix. Eccl. Tolosanae. Vos dixistis mihi, ut ego dicam vobis, consuetudines primitiuar. Ecclesiarum sint leues aut graues, et Ego dicam vobis septem Eccl. Asiae fuerunt diuisas et terminatas inter illas, et nulla illarum faciebat ad aliam aliquam rem ad suam contradictionem. Et Eccl. Romanae, et Drogometiae et Melenguiae, et Bulgariae, et Dalmatiae sunt diuisas et termin. et una ad altera non facit aliq. rem ad suam contradictionem et ita pacem habent inter se. Similiter et vos facite

The settlement of diocesan boundaries

Eccl. vero Tolosana eligit Bernardum Raimundum, et Guillermum Garsias, et Ermengaudum de Forest, et Raimund. de Beruniaco et Guilabertum de Bono Vilario, et Bernardum Guillermum Contor, et Bernard. Guillermum Bone ville, et Bertrand. de Auinone, ut essent diuisores Eccl. vero Carcassensis elegit Guiraldum Mercelium, et Bernard. Catalanum, et Gregor. et Petrum Calidas manus, et Raimundum Pontium, et Bertrandum de Molino, et Martinum de Ipsa sala, et Raimundum Guibertum, ut essent diuisores Eccl. q. isti congregati et bene consiliati dixerunt, quod Eccl. Tolosanae, et Eccl. Carcasen-

sis sint diuisas propter Episcopatos, quod sic. Episcopatum Tolosae diuiditur cum Archiepiscopato Narbon. in duobus locis, et cum Episcopato Carcasensis a Sancto-Poncio, sicut montana pergit inter Castrum Cabarecii et Cast. Altipulh. et usq. ad diuisionem Castri Saxiaci et Castri Verduni et pergit inter Montem-regalem et Fanumjouem; Quod sicut alii Episcopatī diuiduntur ab exitu Redensis usque ad Leridam sicut pergit apud Tolosam, ita Eccl. Tolos. hab. in sua potestate et in suo gubernamento; similiter et Eccl. Carcasensis sicut diuiditur et terminatur habeat in sua potestate et in suo gubernamento omnem Episcopatum Carcasensis et Archiepiscop. Narbonens. et aliam terram sic. diuisum est, et dictum usque ad Leridam sicut vergit apud mare. Quod ita Eccl. sunt diuisas sic. dictum est, ut habeant pacem et concordiam adinuicem et iura ad altera non faciat, aliquid ad suam contradicionem. Huius S. Testes rei et defensores, Bernard. Raimund. et Guill. Garsias, et Ermen-gaudus de Forest, et Raimundus de Bauniaco, et Guilabertus de Bono Vilario, et B. Guillermi Contor, et B. Guill. Bone Ville, et Bertrand. de Auinone et Eccl. Carcasensis Guiraldus Mercerii, et B. Catalani, et Gregor. et Petrus Calidas manus, et Raim. Poncii, et Bertrand. de Molino et Martinus de Ipsa sala, et Raimund. Guiberti; quod omnes isti mandauerunt et dixer. Ermen-gaudo de Forest ut faceret dictatum et Cartam Tolosanae Eccl. similiter et Petro Bernardo mandauerunt et dixerunt ut faceret dictatum et Cartam Eccl. Carcasensis, et ita fuit fact. et impletum.

The transcription formula

Hoc translatum fecit translatare Dominus Petrus Isarn. de Antiqua Carta in potestate supra dictorum facta, q. Eccl. sic. superius scriptum est diuiserunt. Feria II. in mense Augusti, XIV, Die, in introitu mensis, Anno M.CC. XXXII. ab incarnatione Domini. Petrus Pollanus translatauit haec, omnia rogatus ac mandatus.