

The Idea of Medieval Heresy in Early Modern France

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PhD
University of York
History
September 2019

Abstract

This thesis responds to the historiographical focus on the trope of the Albigensians and Waldensians within sixteenth-century confessional polemic. It supports a shift away from the consideration of medieval heresy in early modern historical writing merely as literary topoi of the French Wars of Religion. Instead, it argues for a more detailed examination of the medieval heretical and inquisitorial sources used within seventeenth-century French intellectual culture and religious polemic. It does this by examining the context of the Doat Commission (1663-1670), which transcribed a collection of inquisition registers from Languedoc, 1235-44. Jean de Doat (c.1600-1683), President of the *Chambre des Comptes* of the *parlement* of Pau from 1646, was charged by royal commission to the south of France to copy documents of interest to the Crown. This thesis aims to explore the Doat Commission within the wider context of ideas on medieval heresy in seventeenth-century France. The periodization “medieval” is extremely broad and incorporates many forms of heresy throughout Europe. As such, the scope of this thesis surveys how thirteenth-century heretics, namely the Albigensians and Waldensians, were portrayed in historical narrative in the 1600s. The field of study that this thesis hopes to contribute to includes the growth of historical interest in medieval heresy and its repression, and the search for original sources by seventeenth-century savants. By exploring the ideas of medieval heresy espoused by different intellectual networks it becomes clear that early modern European thought on medieval heresy informed antiquarianism, historical writing, and ideas of justice and persecution, as well as shaping confessional identity.

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Acknowledgements

First, I am grateful to WRoCAH and the AHRC for funding my studentship, without which this research would not have been possible.

I would like to thank my supervisors Professor Stuart Carroll and Professor Peter Biller who have provided inspiration and support and I am grateful for all the direction they have given me.

I would also like to thank the Royal Historical Society for the travel grant which facilitated a period of research to various archives in Paris and Toulouse. Thank you to the helpful librarians at the Bibliothèque de Patrimoine in Toulouse, the Archives Municipales de l'Aude in Carcassonne and the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

The wider project of the 'The Genesis of Inquisition Procedures and the Truth-Claims of Inquisition Records' has provided me with colleagues who have been generous in offering advice and material to aid my research. I am grateful to Dr Lucy Sackville for her guidance, Shelagh Sneddon for sharing with me her translation of Doat and Rachael Hardstaff for her friendship and for discussing ideas.

I am also grateful to other staff from the History Department at the University of York, in particular Professor Laura Stewart for her feedback and Dr Stefan Bauer for his enthusiasm.

I am indebted to Rachel Cutler, Amy Packer and Elizabeth Kelsall for their friendship and advice. To my parents, Carol and Shaun, I owe so much to your steadfast support and encouragement.

Finally, to Brogan, thank you for the countless ways you have enabled this thesis to happen, from research "holidays" to France, discussing ideas on long walks, and constantly believing in me. Thank you for being my best friend, always.

This work was supported by the Arts & Humanities Research Council (grant number AH/1648470) and the White Rose College of Arts and Humanities.

Declaration

I declare that this thesis is a presentation of original work and I am the sole author. This work has not previously been presented for an award at this, or any other, University. All sources are acknowledged as References.

Introduction

The focus of this thesis concerns the ideas early modern writers formed of the Albigensian and Waldensian heresies in France 1550-1750, which have been substantially under examined in the secondary literature, in order to argue for a reappraisal of confessional historiography in this period.¹ This involved the careful consideration not only of the intellectual networks of early modern historians but also of the changing nature of historical writing in seventeenth-century France.² Through a critical analysis of the medieval sources chosen by early modern scholars, this thesis reveals that ideas on medieval heresy were more erudite and nuanced than previously thought and extended beyond the realm of polemical Reformation print to become a pervasive narrative in historical writing of the seventeenth century.

This systematic reconsideration of the ideas of medieval heresy in early modern France is significant as it reveals how indivisible the concept of medieval heresy was from confessional identity. The Albigensians and Waldensians were characterised as forerunners of Protestantism, as part of a continuum from the “true” early church to early moderns’ contemporary understanding of Christianity.³ The geographical correlation between thirteenth-century Albigensians and the strongholds of seventeenth-century Calvinists across the south of France was often given as proof of an inherited tradition of unorthodoxy.⁴ This overarching narrative of continuity was reinforced between the French Wars of Religion (1562-1598) and the early eighteenth century, and helped early modern scholars make sense of religious upheaval and explained the schism of the Reformation.⁵ This thesis will uncover the enormous influence these ideas gained after the Revocation of Edict of Nantes (1685)

¹ Y. Krumenacker, “The use of history by French Protestants and its impact on Protestant historiography.”, in *History and Religion: Narrating a Religious Past*, ed. B-C. Otto, S. Rau, and J. Rüpck, 189-204 (Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter, 2015).

² For a general overview of the historiographical changes see A. Grafton, *The Footnote: A curious history* (Cambridge Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1999); D. Kelley, *Versions of History from Antiquity to the Enlightenment* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991); G. Huppert, *The idea of perfect history: historical erudition and historical philosophy in Renaissance France* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1970). For the importance of intellectual networks in this period - A. Goldgar, *Impolite Learning Conduct and Community in the Republic of Letters, 1680-1750* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995).

³ S. Barnet, “Where Was Your Church before Luther? Claims for the Antiquity of Protestantism Examined.” *Church History* 68, no.1 (March 1999):17-18.

⁴ L. Racaut, *Hatred in Print: Catholic Propaganda and Protestant Identity During the French Wars of Religion* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), 100; Y. Krumenacker and W. Wang, “Cathares, vaudois, hussites, ancêtres de la réforme?”, *Chrétiens et Sociétés XVIe - XXIe siècles* 23, (2017): 27, accessed Sept 9, 2018, <https://journals.openedition.org/chretienssocietes/4108>.

⁵ Barnet, “Where Was Your Church before Luther?”, 14.

when the mass migration of Huguenot refugees added pressure to the development of a Calvinist confessional identity in exile.⁶ One vital aspect of the idea of a continual inheritance from medieval heresy was the system of meaning it provided for an oppressed minority unable to practice or worship openly without facing opposition, and the Huguenot extirpation in the 1680s brought these ideas to the fore across Europe.⁷

Ideas of medieval heresy in early modern France are important because they highlight the tension between origin myths and the advance of scientific historical writing. This thesis will re-evaluate the polemical trope of Protestant ancestry in the Albigensians and Waldensians by re-examining the intellectual context of the dramatic changes in the nature of historical writing and circulation of medieval sources in seventeenth-century France. Epistemological change in early modern France is evident in historians' analytical approaches to under-used medieval sources, philological techniques and transcription of inquisitorial sources as part of large state-led projects.⁸ Medieval heresy became a scholarly subject with knowledgeable researchers rewriting history based on their interpretations of inquisitorial registers.⁹ Yet, the persevering story of a link between the Albigensians, Waldensians and Calvinists remained pervasive and was reinforced by misinformation and intentional misinterpretation.¹⁰

In early modern views of the Albigensians and Waldensians we can note that what initially began as a Catholic polemical insult became an erudite subject of study and, yet, despite historical evidence to the contrary, still formed a central tenet of the narrative of the origins of the Huguenots. This thesis seeks to prioritise the evidence of early modern writings on

⁶ B. Van Ruymbeke, "Minority Survival: The Huguenot Paradigm in France and the Diaspora." In *Memory and Identity: The Huguenots in France and the Atlantic Diaspora*, ed. R. Van Ruymbeke, B. Van Ruymbeke, R. J. Sparks (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2003), 6-8.

⁷ D. Van der Linden, "Histories of Martyrdom and Suffering in the Huguenot Diaspora.", in *A Companion to the Huguenots*, edited by R. A. Mentzer and B. van Ruymbeke (Leiden: Brill, 2016) 348-70; G. Cerny, *Theology, Politics and Letters at the Crossroads of European Civilization: Jacques Basnage and the Baylean Huguenot Refugees in the Dutch Republic* (Springer Science & Business Media, 2012).

⁸ On increased use of medieval sources in the sixteenth century see C. Nauert, *Humanism and the Culture of Renaissance Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 169. Edelman wrote upon seventeenth century interest in medieval works and on the early modern use of philology - N. Edelman *Attitudes of Seventeenth-Century France Toward the Middle Ages* (New York: King's Crown Press, 1946) 277, 60. Jacob Soll describes the French "information state" and the collection of manuscripts - J. Soll, *The Information Master: Jean-Baptiste Colbert's Secret State Intelligence System* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2009), 104 and 164.

⁹ For an example of the early modern use of inquisitorial sources - P. Biller, C. Bruschi and S. Sneddon eds. and trans. *Inquisitors and Heretics in Thirteenth-Century Languedoc: An Edition and Translation of Toulouse Inquisition Depositions, 1273-1282*, (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 14-19.

¹⁰ Barnet, "Where Was Your Church before Luther?", 18; E. Labrousse, "Mythes Huguenots au XVIIe siècle", in E. Labrousse *Conscience et conviction: études sur le XVIIe siècle* (Paris/Oxford: Voltaire, 1996), 71-80.

medieval heresy, which challenge the teleology in our understanding of seventeenth-century developments in historical research by demonstrating the continued importance of an aetiological link to the early church and antiquity. A more nuanced understanding of the early modern use of medieval sources challenges our preconception of intellectual advances towards modernity in historical writing between the Renaissance and the Enlightenment.¹¹ This disproves the traditional historiography of a more scientific approach to evidence becoming a greater priority than providential historical writing and concern with the history of the Church.¹² In fact, the two were concurrent in the aetiological narrative of Calvinist origins in medieval heresy, that developed throughout this period and became highly influential in the wake of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes.¹³ Ideas of medieval heresy in early modern France, therefore, raise important questions about the continuing formation of identity in the face of persecution, pre-Enlightenment thought on toleration and an increasingly scholarly approach to medieval history.

Process of Research

As this thesis aimed to address a broad topic of ideas on medieval heresy in France 1550-c.1700 my first step was to define its scope. The periodization “medieval” is extremely wide and incorporates many forms of heresy throughout Europe; early modern scholars looked at heretics from as early as Judas Iscariot (d.30-33AD) to the fifteenth century with Jan Hus (1369-1415).¹⁴ A comprehensive study of early modern thought on all types of medieval heresy would be more than could be achieved within the bounds of this thesis. Instead, this thesis focuses on the heretical sects of the Albigensians and Waldensians, as both these sects had their origins in France, and were increasingly written about in the seventeenth century.¹⁵

¹¹ P. Hazard, *Crisis of the European Mind 1680-1715*, trans. by J. Lewis May (New York: New York Review of Books, 2013), 30.

¹² On the continued providential history of the Church see O. Chadwick, “Bossuet”, *From Bossuet to Newman* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 10.

¹³ Cerny, *Theology, Politics and Letters*, 214; V. Larminie, “Exile, Integration and European Perspectives: Huguenots in the Pays De Vaud” in *The Huguenots: History and Memory in Transnational Context: essays in honour and memory of Walter C. Utt*, ed. D.J.B. Trim (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 257.

¹⁴ A. Varillas, *Histoire de l'hérésie depuis l'an 1374 jusques en l'année 1631* (c.1631), BNF, Département des Manuscrits: Français 9785, 15.

¹⁵ J. Lelong, *Bibliothèque historique de la France: contenant le catalogue des ouvrages, imprimés & manuscrits, qui traitent de l'histoire de ce royaume, ou qui y ont rapport; avec des notes critiques et historiques*, 1 (Paris: Herissant, 1768), 373-376.

The starting point of research for this thesis was an attempt to understand the ideas of medieval heresy that arose from the Doat Commission (1663-1670).¹⁶ Jean de Doat (c.1600-1683) was appointed by royal commission to transcribe documents of value to the crown from across the south of France, now held in over 250 volumes, the Doat Collection, in the Bibliothèque nationale de France.¹⁷ As part of this mass transcription exercise, Doat made copies of inquisition texts from the archives of Toulouse and Carcassonne (Doat 21-26).¹⁸ Through examining the collecting principles of the Doat Commission it became evident that ideas of medieval heresy were not relegated to polemical diatribe or formed a literary trope. Instead, the Doat Commission demonstrated a significant interest by the state and scholars in inquisitorial sources through the collection and preservation of copies of manuscripts related to medieval heresy.¹⁹ One of the research questions that arose was why did Doat consider these depositions of medieval heretics important to transcribe and conserve?²⁰ This led to wider questions about why the Albigensians and Waldensians, in particular, were the focus of late sixteenth and seventeenth-century historical debate. My examination of the Doat Commission now forms the third chapter of this thesis, as it is placed in the wider context of the intellectual culture of the seventeenth century.

Through research into the Doat Collection at the Bibliothèque nationale de France's Département des Manuscrits it became evident that Doat's transcriptions of documents on medieval heresy were drawn from the Dominican Archives of Toulouse, the archives of Carcassonne and the personal libraries of local officials and regional historians of Languedoc.²¹ The Doat Commission shows that the king sought to understand Languedoc's privileges and customs, including the history of heresy and anti-papal feeling in the region. As such the first two chapters of this thesis explore ideas of medieval heresy held by regional historians and mendicant authors. The majority of my research for this section was carried out at the Bibliothèque de Patrimoine of Toulouse, and the Archives Départementales de la

¹⁶ This thesis is part of the AHRC project on inquisitorial registers in the Doat Collection 'The Genesis of Inquisition Procedures and the Truth-Claims of Inquisition Records: The Inquisition Registers of Languedoc, 1235-1244', accessed July 3, 2016, <https://www.york.ac.uk/res/doat/project/>.

¹⁷ Collection Doat, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Manuscrits: Languedoc Doat.

¹⁸ Doat 21-26.

¹⁹ Soll, *The Information Master: Jean-Baptiste Colbert*, 104; L. Albaret, "La collection Doat, une collection moderne, témoignage de l'histoire religieuse méridionale des XIIIe et XIVe siècles.", *Cahiers de Fanjeaux: Historiens modernes et Moyen Âge méridional* 49 (2014): 59.

²⁰ C. Bruschi, "Magna diligentia est habenda per inquisitorem": Precautions Before Reading Doat 21-26", in C. Bruschi and P. Biller (eds.), *Texts and the Repression of Medieval Heresy* (York: Boydell & Brewer, 2003), 92.

²¹ *Inventaire de la Collection Doat*, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Manuscrits: NAF 5695.

Haute Garonne, as well as the Archives Municipales de Toulouse and Archives Départementales de l'Aude.²² The Archives Départementales de Haute Garonne now hold the Dominican Archives from the seventeenth century, including the archives of the Maison de l'Inquisition and the documents referring to thirteenth century inquisitors as prospective saints.²³ The digitised collections of Toulouse university, Tolosana, and the municipal archives of Toulouse include records of officials involved in the rewriting of the inquisitorial history of the city, alongside documents relating to the prosecution of Protestants in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.²⁴ I have been able to locate a number of seventeenth-century letters from mendicant writers, library catalogues and correspondence of collections of prominent writers on medieval heresy.²⁵ These demonstrate an increasingly erudite response to medieval heresy through antiquarian collecting and consulting of medieval manuscripts. Through the detailed analysis of such sources we can establish how persistent myths about the Albigensian Crusade and Waldensian beliefs interacted with rising interest in erudite regional history. In this way the structure of this thesis was initially shaped by the evidence surrounding the ideas of medieval heresy enclosed in the papers of the Doat Collection, examining the role of regional historians, mendicant authors and Doat's collecting project.

The other two discursive chapters of this thesis explore the impact the polemical association between the Albigensians, Waldensians and Huguenots had upon the long-term construction of confessional identity. My reasoning behind this exploration of a Protestant-Catholic dichotomy was because the scant secondary literature on this subject is concerned with this oppositional polemic.²⁶ What began as a rhetorical device characterised confessional debate on medieval heresy for the next century. Upon surveying primary material from the BNF, particularly those digitised on Gallica, it became obvious that this confessional construction was a very pervasive idea initiated by Catholic polemicists and sustained by orthodox

²² For a full list of manuscript sources please see pages 216-9 of this thesis.

²³ *Lutte Contre l'hérésie de l'Inquisition toulousaine; Inquisiteurs; Martyrs D'Avignonet (lettres et informations 1537-1728)*, Archives Dominicaines, Archives Départementales de Haute Garonne, Toulouse: 112H 26-28.

²⁴ N. Bertrand, *Les Gestes des Tolosains, & d'autres nationa de l'environ* (Toulouse: Colomiès, 1555), Tolosana, accessed December 2, 2018, <http://tolosana.univ-toulouse.fr/fr/notice/075568551>; "Protestants 1560-1657, 1711", *Affaires de religion*, Archives Municipales de Toulouse, GG825.

²⁵ *Martyrs D'Avignonet* 112H 28; *Catalogue de la bibliothèque des Frères prêcheurs de Toulouse* (1683), Bibliothèque de Toulouse: Ms 883. (III, 147.).

²⁶ L. Racaut "The Polemical use of the Albigensian Crusade during the French Wars of Religion", *French History* 13, 1999: 261-279, accessed Jan 27, 2016, <https://doi.org/10.1093/fh/13.3.261>.

authorities.²⁷ Catholic orthodox bishops wrote to condemn Huguenots and Jansenists for Manichean theology by comparing them to the Albigensians and Waldensians.²⁸ This is significant as it proves that Catholic sentiments on this idea continued into the seventeenth century and were not relegated to polemic during the French Wars of Religion. The use of the Albigensians and Waldensians as harbingers of Jansenism is highly important as it emphasizes that this was not one single cohesive confessional narrative but multiple, competing strands of thought; Catholic writers used medieval examples not only concentrated against Huguenots, but on any groups that challenged orthodoxy.²⁹

On the other hand, my final discursive chapter explores how Huguenots adopted this rhetoric of a lineage of Albigensians and Waldensians and adapted it to show a continuous reformed church. The primary works tend to fall into two categories: books commissioned by Huguenot synods to represent the history of the Calvinists in Languedoc and Provence and evidence of the Huguenot church's origins written by exiled Calvinists after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. The former are currently housed in the Bibliothèque de Toulouse and Bibliothèque nationale de France, as well as the correspondence and works of prominent Calvinist pastors available in the useful collections of the Bibliothèque de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français, Paris.³⁰ The paperwork and correspondence of Huguenot exiles who travelled to England are held in collections in London at the Huguenot Society Library and Lambeth Palace library. I consulted Huguenots' passports and documents on their integration into Britain as well as correspondence between Huguenot pastors spying on the French state for Britain at the British Library and first editions of their printed works at the University of

²⁷ This comparison remained significant - J. B. Bossuet, *Histoire des Variations des Églises Protestantes*, 2 (Paris: S. Mabre-Cramoisy, 1688) 1 BNF Gallica. 2010, accessed March 20, 2016, <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8606967p>.

²⁸ Bossuet, *Histoire des Variations*, 161; L. Abelly, *La Justice et la piété du Roy dans le procès que Sa Majesté a voulu tenir pour obliger à la souscription de la formule dressée par l'Assemblée générale du Clergé et bannir par ce moyen de son royaume les restes de la secte du jansénisme. Pour servir de réponse à plusieurs libelles... Avec quelques remarques historiques sur la conduite tenue par le roy saint Louys pour l'extirpation de l'hérésie des Albigeois* (Paris: F. Lambert, 1662).

²⁹ Abelly in particular wrote against Jansenists, Abelly, *La Justice et la piété du Roy*, 51. Abelly also compiled a list of heretics from the early church to his present day, implying a continual connection. This work has a large section on sixteenth and seventeenth century heresies, L. Abelly, *Dénombrement des hérésies qui se sont élevées dans l'Église depuis le commencement de la publication de l'Évangile jusqu'au siècle présent. Le tout recueilly des Saints Peres & de l'Histoire Ecclesiastique* (Paris: chez Florentin Lambert, 1661) 69-88.

³⁰ Perrin, *Histoire des Vaudois*; Galland, *Traitté des Albigeois*; Galland, in *Synodes des Églises réformées*; J. Fornier, *Relation du massacre de toulouse en 1561 et 1562 terns des premiers troubles de la religion par jean Fornier de Montauban*, Bibliothèque Protestante de Paris, MS 194/1 fos. 88-96.

Cambridge.³¹ For Huguenot refugees who established the Walloon Church in Rotterdam and Amsterdam, I accessed the majority of their works through digitised copies on Gallica.³²

This thesis aims to put ideas of medieval heresy in the wider context of historical writing in early modern France. It asks why the Albigensians and Waldensians were particularly popular as subjects of writing in the seventeenth century and what this reveals about French intellectual culture. This introduction will consider the topic in more detail and how developments in approaches to primary sources challenged and reinforced early modern ideas about the medieval past. It will then turn to a review of the specific historiography concerning early modern thought on the Albigensians and Waldensians before outlining the methodology and structure of the thesis that follows.

The Albigensian and Waldensian heresies

Works on medieval heresy in seventeenth-century France are predominantly concerned with two heretical sects the Albigensians (also known as Cathars), and the Waldensians. These two heretical groups were often conflated in early modern writings as they both rejected the teachings of the Roman Catholic Church on the Eucharist and papal supremacy.³³ The pair of heretical sects rose to prominence and faced inquisitorial opposition in thirteenth-century France, the Albigensians originated from Languedoc and the Waldensians were founded by a wealthy merchant, Valdes (commonly referred to by early modern historians as Peter Valdo/Waldo) in Lyon. The idea of the Albigensian and Waldensian heresies as precursors to the Reformation gained popularity during the French Wars of Religion, as polemicists, including Jean Gay and the bishop Jean du Tillet, wrote treatises claiming the Albigensians as

³¹ “Pierre Allix passport with seal” (1685) and “Pierre Allix certificate of denization” (1688) and “Original attestation signed by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, the Bishop of London and fifteen other bishops stating that Dr Allix needs and deserves greater help and encouragement for his work”, in *Volume of original documents prepared by Charles Peter Allix in 1902-1903*, The Huguenot Library at the National Archives, HUGUENOT LIBRARY/F/ALL/1, 1:44, 1:47, 1:49; P. Jurieu, *Jurieu’s letters as secret agent of the British government to William Blathwayt, Secretary at War; 1692-1698*, British Library, Add MS 57943: 1692-1698.

³² P. Jurieu, *Histoire du calvinisme et celle du papisme mises en parallèle, ou Apologie pour les réformateurs, pour la réformation et pour les réformés* (Rotterdam: R. Leers, 1683), BNF Gallica, 2015, accessed May 15, 2018, <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k9611200j>; J. Basnage, *Histoire de L’Église Depuis Jesus-Christ jusqu’à present* (Rotterdam: Reinier Leers, 1699), BNF Gallica, 2015, accessed Aug 4, 2016, <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k96245246>.

³³ Racaut, *Hatred in Print*, 116-7; Cerny, *Theology, Politics and Letters*, 208.

early Protestants.³⁴ The comparison was effective and striking, the two groups had a similar strong presence in the Midi and both rejected the authority of the Roman Catholic Church.³⁵ This polemical trope of the sixteenth century initiated an unprecedented intellectual debate that extended the Albigensians and Waldensians from a rhetorical device to an important system of meaning reliant on inherited tradition.

The Albigensians were named after the town of Albi in Languedoc, which had several links with heresy. The Albigensians are also often described as Cathars, however I have predominantly used “Albigensians” to reflect the early modern terminology. The Albigensians were Christian dualists, yet this was highly disputed in the early modern period and the extent of their dualism continues to be questioned by historians such as Michel Jas today.³⁶ Jas’s critique of the association with dualism was due to the indivisibility of dualism and Manichaeism in early modern rhetoric.³⁷ Seventeenth-century scholars invoked Manichaeism, the heretical following of the Persian prophet Mani, to show that Albigensian beliefs originated outside of France.³⁸ This made the Albigensians into an ‘other’ and was a direct challenge to the Albigensian (and subsequently Huguenot) fervent argument that they were following in the footsteps of the early church. Founded by Valdes (henceforth referred to as Peter Valdo as named in early modern literature) from c.1170 in Lyon, the Waldensians spread across the south of France and became a prominent movement in northern Italy. They were known as the ‘poor of Lyon’ for their voluntary poverty.³⁹ Their rejection of papal authority led to their excommunication by Pope Lucius III in 1184.

The association between the Waldensians and Huguenots had more credence than Calvinist ties to the Albigensians as the reform movement subsumed much of the Waldensian movement in the sixteenth century.⁴⁰ The Waldensians sent representatives to Strasbourg, Berne and Basel to meet with leading reformers, Martin Bucer, Oecolampadius and

³⁴ Racaut, *Hatred in print*, 103-6.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 142.

³⁶ M. Jas, *Incertitudes les cathares à Montpellier* (Institut d’études occitanes, 2007), 38.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ Examples of this include - A. Galland, *Traitté des Albigeois, commencé par feu messire Auguste Galland ... pour monstrier que les Albigeois estoient Manichéens*, 1630s-40s, BNF, Département des manuscrits, Français 17811; Bossuet, *HDV*, 200. For a wider discussion of Manichaeism see B. Ramsey ed., *The Manichean Debate*, 19 (New York: New City Press, 2006).

³⁹ E. Cameron, *The Reformation of the Heretics: the Waldenses of the Alps 1480-1580*, (Clarendon Press: Oxford, 1984); A. de Lange, “Die Ursprungsgeschichten der Waldenser in den Cottischen Alpen vor und nach der Reformation”, in: *Reformer als Ketzer*, eds. G. Frank and F. Niewöhner (Stuttgart, 2004).

⁴⁰ Cerny, *Theology, politics and letters*, 225.

Guillaume Farel.⁴¹ Waldensians have long been recognised as sharing attitudes towards the papacy, preaching and certain sacraments with early Lutheran (and, later, Calvinist) reformers.⁴² Barnet has shown the enthusiasm to embrace Waldensians in the writings of Theodore Beza for their consistency in their anti-papal stance.⁴³ The 1532 Waldensian synod in Chanforan was attended by Farel and led to Waldensian incorporation into the reformed Church.⁴⁴ This was soon followed by the production of a Waldensian translation of the Bible into French in 1535.⁴⁵ Euan Cameron's important survey of the Waldensians in the Alps questioned the chronology of the incorporation of the sect into the reformed movement, arguing that Waldensians did not lend themselves to a cohesive merger with the Reformed church, instead of being the cause of the reform movement as early modern polemic implied.⁴⁶ Cameron suggested that the Waldensians underwent a much longer process of integration with reformers, and the ingrained nature of itinerant preaching meant that the Waldensians did not join the Reformers until the 1550s.⁴⁷ However, Cameron's focus on the popular, lay oral culture of the Waldensians overlooked printed works by the religious movement, which have subsequently been demonstrated to be important to early modern thought on medieval heresy.⁴⁸

It is not well understood how an increasingly scientific approach to the medieval sources, through philology, palaeography and the collecting of manuscripts, fitted with the vitriolic polemic which made generalized comparisons between Huguenots and medieval heretics. Intellectual developments in the early modern understanding of the medieval period have been recognized by scholars of historiography; a rise in editorial scholarship and antiquarian collecting habits made new medieval sources available.⁴⁹ Views of the Albigensians and Waldensians moulded regional identities, reinforced the Dominican concept of their order and gave Huguenots identities in their perilous position in society. This thesis aims to address this phenomenon and expand scholarship of this issue beyond the French Wars of Religion,

⁴¹ G. Audisio, *The Waldensian Dissent: Persecution and Survival, C.1170-c.1570* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 163.

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ Barnet, "Where Was Your Church before Luther?", 20.

⁴⁴ Audisio, *The Waldensian Dissent*, 190.

⁴⁵ Cameron, *The Reformation of the Heretics*, 133.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 155.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸ M. Benedetti, *Il santo bottino. Circolazione di manoscritti valdesi nell'Europa del Seicento* (Turin, Claudiana, 2006).

⁴⁹ On early modern historiography - Kelley, *Versions of History*; Grafton, *The Footnote: A Curious History*.

by exploring ideas of medieval heresy in the scholarly and cultural context of different seventeenth-century intellectual networks.

Scholarly approaches: four historiographical issues

The idea of medieval heresy in the early modern period has generally been underplayed by historians. There are no comprehensive studies on this subject, although some recent scholarship has begun to explore early modern French thought on the Albigensians and Waldensians.⁵⁰ This will be the first analysis to fully explore both Albigensian and Waldensian heresies in seventeenth-century French writings.⁵¹ This is important, as the majority of early modern authors did not distinguish between the Albigensians and Waldensians, and the historiography does not reflect this. Moreover, this will be the first attempt to write a history of early moderns' intellectual scholarship on the two sects, exploring in detail early modern authors' use of medieval sources. Most monographs on this topic have focussed on a particular author or city or have limited their scope to polemical literature.⁵² The debt to current scholarship, however, is to be fully acknowledged as it has led the direction of this research. This thesis draws upon the work of medieval historians who, in the process of searching for the provenance of thirteenth-century sources, have begun to chart these manuscripts' ownership and use in the seventeenth century.⁵³ Through their discussions of the origins of medieval sources, medievalists have charted the collecting and transcribing of manuscripts across France. However, these works are mostly concerned with the accuracy of early modern translations and the provenance of sources, rather than how advances in historical research impacted early modern ideas of medieval unorthodoxy.⁵⁴

⁵⁰ Krumenacker and Wang 'Cathares, vaudois, hussites, ancêtres de la reforme?' (2017); *Cahiers de Fanjeaux: Historiens modernes et Moyen Âge méridional* 49 (2014); Benedetti, *Il santo bottino* (2006); Racaut, *Hatred in Print* (2002).

⁵¹ Krumenacker and Wang's article (2017) explores ideas of both sects in some popular seventeenth century works (e.g. the writings of Perrin and Bossuet). However, this article is mainly focussed on the sixteenth century and also includes the Hussites - Krumenacker and Wang, "Cathares, vaudois, hussites, ancêtres de la reforme?".

⁵² For examples of works on specific authors see Cerny, *Theology, Politics and Letters*; and J. Tucker, *The Construction of Reformed Identity in Jean Crespin's Livre des Martyrs* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2017).

⁵³ Examples include - Pete Biller's discussion of early modern use of inquisitorial registers in Biller, Bruschi and Sneddon *Inquisitors and Heretics*, 14-19; Bruschi, "Magna diligentia est habenda per inquisitorem."; M. Zerner ed. *L'histoire du Catharisme en Discussion - Le "concile" de Saint-Félix, 1167* (Nice: Centre d'études médiévales, 2001); A. Dondaine, "La hiérarchie cathare en Italie, I: Le 'De heresi Cathorum in Lombardia' Rome 1949", in A. Dondaine, *Les hérésies et l'Inquisition, XIIe-XIIIe siècles: document et études* (Variorum: Aldershot, 1990), 282-283.

⁵⁴ J. Dalarun, A. Dufour, A. Grondeux, D. Muzerelle and Z. Fabio, Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des textes, "La 'charte de Niquinta', analyse formelle", in *L'histoire du Catharisme* ed. M. Zerner, (Nice: Centre d'études médiévales, 2001) 135-201; P. de Latour, "Mérites et facéties d'une publication oubliée de 1547: la première

This thesis addresses four major gaps in the literature on medieval heresy in early modern thought. First, this topic redresses a general lack of concern about early modern interest in the medieval in the scholarship on history of ideas in this period. Secondly, this thesis deals with the problematic emphasis in Europe on Lutheran polemical print in the discussion of early modern ideas of medieval heresy. Furthermore, when historians have examined the Albigensians and Waldensians in French print, their emphasis has been predominantly on the Catholic perspective and has centred upon the polemical rhetoric of the French Wars of Religion.⁵⁵ This thesis will be the first serious attempt to investigate and account for the Calvinist approach to medieval heresy (besides the well-explored sixteenth-century martyrologies) and it addresses an extensive body of seventeenth-century literature that has largely been neglected by historians.⁵⁶ The other contribution of this thesis to the current state of research is the way it combines the historiography upon intellectual history with history of confessional polemic. Through a detailed analysis of early modern scholars' medieval sources this thesis aims to produce a more nuanced view of the early modern French conception of medieval heresy.

1.1 The idea of the 'medieval' in the early modern

One factor which has led to the neglect of the study of the idea of medieval heresy in early modern France has been the pre-eminence of Renaissance Humanism and Enlightenment individualism in the traditional narratives of intellectual understandings of the past. Traditionally, the secondary literature of early modern intellectual history has been dominated by the significance of antiquity in the sixteenth century, and an interest in progress and modernity has been the focus of studies on the latter part of the period.⁵⁷ Paul Hazard (1935) argued for a shift between the Renaissance and Enlightenment in the period 1680-1715 as he claimed 'the Past [was] abandoned; the Present enthroned in its place... a whole

édition de la Chronique de Joinville par trois Méridionaux." *Annales du Midi* (1978): 207-214, accessed June 5, 2018. http://www.persee.fr/doc/anami_0003-4398_1978_num_90_137_1720.

⁵⁵ Racaut, *Hatred in Print*, 99-101.

⁵⁶ Ideas of medieval heresy in sixteenth century martyrologies have previously been explored by Van der Linden, Racaut and Krumenacker - Van der Linden, "Histories of Martyrdom and Suffering"; Tucker, *The Construction of Reformed Identity*; Racaut, "The Albigensians as Protestant Martyrs" in Racaut, *Hatred in Print*, 115-129; Y. Krumenacker "La généalogie imaginaire de la Réforme protestante", *Revue Historique* 308, no.2 (2006): 259-289.

⁵⁷ Kelley, *Versions of History*, 218, 461, 471.

section of Europe's intelligentsia dropped the cult of antiquity'.⁵⁸ Hazard failed to place early modern interest in the medieval as part of the intellectual culture in France, despite a large body of seventeenth-century literature which debated medieval history.

In the mid-twentieth century Nathan Edelman wrote upon the responses to medieval romances in seventeenth-century literature.⁵⁹ He adopted a literary approach, exploring language and poetry, to draw the conclusion that 'seventeenth-century France provided some climate suitable for the survival of the Middle Ages'.⁶⁰ Edelman was deliberately addressing the failure of revisionists of nineteenth-century Romanticism to consider the seventeenth century as a period interested in medieval history.⁶¹ This revisionist approach to Romanticism explains his focus on poetry, and a consequence is that he does not examine ideas or sources of medieval heresy. However, Edelman's argument is useful as he drew attention to the fact that early modernists did not only make explicit statements about the medieval period, but also attempted to imitate it in their style and language.⁶² This use of the medieval past to construct greater similarity and consistency between early modern authors views and historical precedent was a significant aspect of the attempted reclamation of the theology of medieval heretical sects. More recently, Canovas, Wetsel and Bayley explored representation of the Middle Ages in seventeenth century France, arguing for its importance in the establishment of French identity, through the way French humanists used the Middle Ages to define "Frenchness".⁶³ Although Canovas, Wetsel and Bayley did not explore early modern perceptions of medieval heresy, their point on the construction of French identity through the lens of the past is one that could readily be applied to this topic, as different groups drew upon ideas of medieval heresy to build their collective identities.

Early modern scholars developed a philological argument for a "Middle Age" as classical and medieval Latin differed in form.⁶⁴ The idea of a "Middle Age" supported confessional historical narratives espoused in the Renaissance, where classical antiquity represented civilized qualities and values they hoped to emulate. It allowed the concept of disparity

⁵⁸ Hazard, *Crisis of the European Mind 1680-1715*, 30.

⁵⁹ Edelman, *Attitudes Toward the Middle Ages*.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.* 397.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, xiv and 399.

⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶³ P. Bayley, F. Canovas and D. Wetsel (eds.), *Présences du Moyen Âge et de la Renaissance en France au XVIIe siècle* (Berlin: Weidler, 2003), 15.

⁶⁴ A. C. Montoya, S. van Romburgh, Wim van Anrooij (eds.), *Early Modern Medievalisms: The Interplay between Scholarly Reflection and Artistic Production* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 2-3.

between the primitive church under St Peter and St Paul arising from antiquity, and the contemporary Church with its confessional disunity, with the Middle Ages characterised as a period of corruption and superstition.⁶⁵ Both Catholic and Protestant historians used this to advocate reform, Catholics implying that Lutheranism and Calvinism were continuations of the heretical beliefs of this “Middle Age”, whereas Protestant reformers claimed medieval heresy was a result of corrupted Church doctrine.⁶⁶ Pierre d’Avity (1573-1635) was a classical historian who encapsulates this tradition; he was educated at a Jesuit school and went to study law in Toulouse before publishing a history of France in 1627. His *Le Monde, ou La description générale de ses quatre parties* (1643) firmly places the Albigensian heresy in the “dark ages” between classical civilization, the early Church and the Counter-Reformation.⁶⁷ Concepts of medieval heresy, therefore, were extrapolated from Petrarch’s notion of a “dark age” in scholarship and calls for reform of the Church from both confessional sides of the debate. These historical preconceptions were common in seventeenth-century French writings the medieval period was seen as culturally inferior to antiquity through this imagery of darkness. However, in the study of early modern thought on medieval heresy this concept of a darkened age is invaluable, as many writers were not only concerned with a “dark age” of intellectual or cultural obscurity but also viewed this as a tumultuous period in the history of the Church. Reformers described a period of depravity and corruption of the Church prior to the Reformation. To counteract this, Caesar Baronius (1538-1607), appointed cardinal by Pope Clement VIII and Church historian, wrote his *Annales Ecclesiastici* (1587-1607). He described the recent history of the Church from 1200 onwards as a period of high culture and virtue in the Church, in comparison to the ‘*saeculum...obscurum*’ of the tenth and eleventh centuries.⁶⁸

The Christian notion of a middle time between Creation and Judgement further tied the concept of a middle period to one of religious renewal. In early modern constructions of history from the four empires theory based on Daniel 7 to the cyclical providential wheel of Fortune, and rhetoric of apocalyptic millenarianism, all Christian understandings of history had a middle time between Christ and judgement. The middle period in the history of the Church was characterized as unorthodox by Catholic writers through examples of heretical

⁶⁵ I. Wood, *The Modern Origins of the Early Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 10.

⁶⁶ Barnet, “Where Was Your Church before Luther?”, 14 and 17-18.

⁶⁷ P. d’Avity, *Le Monde, ou La description générale de ses quatre parties* (Paris: C. Sonnius et D. Bechet, 1643), 107.

⁶⁸ C. Baronius, *Annales Ecclesiastici*, 10 (Antwerp, 1618), 629.

sects or depicted by Protestant polemicists as the true church being led astray by the corruption of Rome. Both sides were, thus, presenting what was considering a theologically true version of the historical narrative. This was the paradox of the medieval period in early modern thought as an expression of both distance and continuity. In the debate concerning the Albigensians and Waldensians, both Catholic and Protestant polemicists used examples of medieval heresy to insist upon a history of continual heretical opposition to the Pope. Protestants sought this historical narrative as justification of their denial of papal supremacy whilst Catholic writers condemned continuity in heretical thought. The meaning of the Middle Age as a period of continuity is juxtaposed with the more general use of the term ‘moyen âge’ as a period of ignorance and darkness. The frequent references in early modern writings to the barbaric nature of medieval thought in contrast to a re-awakened interest in civilized classicism in the Renaissance is reinforced by popular metaphors of medieval heresy as disease, darkness, poison and barbarity.⁶⁹ The words ‘barbare’ and ‘contagion’ remained a central part of anti-Protestant polemic well into the late seventeenth-century.⁷⁰ Therefore, a middle age was perceived by early moderns as a separate and distinct period of time, but with continuity of anti-papal attitudes, an idea that was expanded on by some authors to draw a continuum between medieval heretics’ beliefs and practices and Calvinist theology.

An example of recent literature on this creation of a confessional narrative idealising continuity but referring to a “middle age”, is Jameson Tucker’s recent monograph on the martyrology of Jean Crespin.⁷¹ The Protestant lawyer and martyrologist Jean Crespin (c.1520-c.1572) charted a continuous history of persecution from the late Roman period onwards - ‘l’Église de ce temps la fut en grande perplexité et angoisse’ - and points to 1400 as the peak of an extensive period of oppression and persecution by the Church.⁷² Although Crespin does not term this as a middle age he certainly implies that there is an increase in martyrdoms in the medieval period. Crespin’s list of martyrs included Waldensians in two

⁶⁹ S. Normand, “Venomous words and political poisons: Language(s) of Exclusion in Early Modern France” in *Exploring cultural history” essays in honour of Peter Burke*, edited by J. P. Rubiés, M. Calaresu, F. De Vivo, and P. Burke (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 119-120.

⁷⁰ For an example of the rhetoric of impurity in anti-Protestant polemic see the frontispiece of T. Du Roydault, *L’hérésie expirante sous le règne de Louis le grand* (1685), Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Manuscrits: Français 2355.

⁷¹ Tucker, *The Construction of Reformed Identity*.

⁷² J. Crespin, and S. Goulart ed. *Histoire des martyrs persecutez et mis à mort pour la verité de l’Euangile, depuis le temps des Apostres jusques à l’an 1574* (Geneva: Eustache Vingon, 1582), 18, Bibliothèque de Genève, E-rara, accessed June 16, 2016. <https://doi.org/10.3931/e-rara-6465>

separate chapters- one recognises their persecution prior to 1532, while the other celebrates their faith after their acceptance of reformed theology.⁷³ Tucker describes Crespin's martyrology as a 'construction of reformed identity'.⁷⁴ He is particularly interested in how Crespin balanced unity in a martyrological narrative that included the Hussites and Vaudois and the seemingly contradictory doctrinal purity of Calvinism, and he claims that Crespin viewed truth and persecution to be mutually bound together in Christian life and that this allowed him to overlook theological discrepancies within the medieval past.⁷⁵ Tucker examines the multiple editions of Crespin's work and how he attempted to use sources accurately, whilst interpreting and adapting them for his purpose.⁷⁶ This technique of omission and Crespin's provision of theological caveats was shared by many Calvinist authors in their writings on Albigensians and Waldensians.

Tucker's study, however, emphasizes Crespin's appeal to a heritage of Lutheran martyrs over a Waldensian lineage; 'Crespin worked in an entirely different way regarding the Lutherans compared...to the Vaudois, to whom he granted a separate identity'.⁷⁷ Tucker argues that Crespin was more willing to draw theological associations between the Lutherans and Calvinists than the Waldensians, implying his martyrological heritage also served as a martyrology for Lutherans, in comparison to the distinctions drawn with Waldensian theology.⁷⁸ David van der Linden makes the case that whilst Crespin included many examples of Lutheran "martyrs" he was undoubtedly writing for a Calvinist readership, publishing in the vernacular French and including examples of acts of persecution against French Calvinists.⁷⁹ As we shall now examine, the importance of Lutheran confessional narratives in European ideas of medieval heresy have overshadowed Calvinist (and until recently, Catholic) concepts of medieval heresy in the secondary literature.

1.2 The historiographical emphasis on Lutheran polemic

The vast majority of work on early modern ideas of medieval heresy in Europe concentrates on the comparison between Martin Luther and Jan Hus, which was a prevalent theme in

⁷³ Van der Linden, "Histories of Martyrdom and Suffering", 352.

⁷⁴ Tucker, *The Construction of Reformed Identity*.

⁷⁵ Crespin and Goulart, *Histoire des martyrs persecutez* (1582), 18.

⁷⁶ Tucker, *The Construction of Reformed Identity*, 36-37.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 148.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

⁷⁹ Van der Linden, "Histories of Martyrdom and Suffering", 352.

sixteenth-century historical writing. Many historians (up to date examples include Phillip Haberkern and Thomas A Fudge), have considered the links between Luther, Calvin, Wycliffe and Hus.⁸⁰ The concept of a “pre-Reformation” has been widely explored in relation to German-Bohemian heresy and the role of Wycliffe and the Lollards prior to the English Reformation, because of the dominance of the polemical Lutheran print in our histories of the Reformation.⁸¹ The idea of a “pre-Reformation” has been embraced less by historians of early modern France due to the lack of a successful French Reformation; the country remained Catholic and the state only allowed Protestant coexistence for ease and stability. However, there is still a focus in the historiography on associations between Hus and Lutheran reformers.⁸² Direct comparisons between Protestant reformers and Hus and Wycliffe were common, because of their shared views upon a vernacular bible and communion under both kinds. But the focus on the Lutheran narrative means ignoring a large proportion of French literature on medieval heresy, which is more concerned with establishing a Calvinist lineage.

To some extent this Lutheran focus in the historiography reflects how popular the idea of a heredity between Luther, Hus and Wycliffe had become by the seventeenth century across Europe. Antoine Varillas’s history of heresy is evidence of how this account was accepted in France. Antoine Varillas (1624-1696), historian for the Duke of Orléans, wrote *Histoire de l’hérésie depuis l’an 1374 jusques en l’année 1631* (c.1631), which in fact began as late as 1416 when ‘la contagion passera d’angleterre en Boème’.⁸³ Varillas focuses his attention, when considering medieval heresy, on ‘la contagion’ in Bohemia and England, namely Wycliffe and Hus, and how this contagion spread to Luther, and hence to Calvin. Varillas, however, was not renowned as a scholar, and his historical methods were criticized by the Calvinist writer Daniel De Larroque (1660-1731) and Anglican bishop Gilbert Burnet (1643-1715) as incorrect and plagiarized.⁸⁴ Nor were these critiques of Varillas’s scholarship based on confessional differences: Jean-Baptiste Colbert dismissed Varillas from a position in his

⁸⁰ See P. Haberkern, *Patron Saint and Prophet: Jan Hus in the Bohemian and German Reformations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016); T. A. Fudge, *Jan Hus between Time and Eternity: Reconsidering a Medieval Heretic* (Lanham MD: Lexington Books, 2016).

⁸¹ *Ibid.*

⁸² Krumenacker and Wang “Cathares, vaudois, hussites, ancêtres de la reforme?”, 3-5.

⁸³ Varillas, *Histoire de l’hérésie*, 15.

⁸⁴ D. De Larroque, *Nouvelles Accusations Contre Mr. Varillas: Ou Remarques Critiques* (Amsterdam: Pierre Savouret, 1687).; G. Burnet, *Reflections on Mr. Varillas's history of the revolutions that have happened in Europe in matters of religion and more particularly on his ninth book that relates to England* (Amsterdam: Pierre Savouret, 1686).

library for his negligence in copying manuscripts. Such criticisms demonstrate the importance savants placed on accuracy in historical evidence in the construction of an ancestry of heresy.

Most analysis of sixteenth-century ideas of Albigensians and Waldensians has emphasised their anti-papal nature; Racaut argues that ‘the Albigensians fuelled the... anti-Popery of the French Reformed’.⁸⁵ The continuous link between the Albigensians, Waldensians and Calvinists was joined together by the inclusion of the Lutherans to suggest a continual narrative of anti-papal attitudes across Europe. One of the reasons for an anti-papal emphasis in the historiography is in reaction against the domination of Lutheran narrative in the historical studies of the Reformation there has been a renewed interest in the rhetoric of Catholic polemic.⁸⁶ Luc Racaut emphasised the Catholic side of the debate. He argued that ‘it was the Catholics who rescued the Albigensians from oblivion in order to use their example against the Reformers’.⁸⁷ Yet, this focus on Catholic rhetoric has perpetuated the focus on anti-papal attitudes.

However, to a certain extent this focus in the historiography on anti-papal and Lutheran links to medieval heresy does reflect seventeenth-century Calvinist literature. Calvinist authors emphasised the links with Luther and highlighted the anti-papal theology of the Waldensians and Albigensians to present a chronological, continual true church - the unifying factor was anti-Papal attitudes. However, this was not the full extent of Calvinist ideas on medieval heresy, and many authors embraced other doctrines of medieval sects, or attempted to redeem the Albigensians and Waldensians from their reputation as heretics by interrogating their wider theology.

This will be the first study that attempts a more holistic view of the Calvinist construction of a reformed identity through the Albigensians and Waldensians in early modern France. The lack of scholarship on Calvinist confessional historical writing in France after the Wars of Religion and prior to 1685 is notable and is an area of study that chapter five seeks to redress.

⁸⁵ D. Walther, “Were the Albigensians and Waldensians Forerunners of the Reformation”, *Andrews University Seminary Studies* 6, no. 2 (1986): 201, accessed September 23, 2018, <https://digitalcommons.andrews.edu/auss/vol6/iss2/5.>; Racaut, *Hatred in Print*, 114.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 124.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 99.

1.3 The historiographical emphasis on the sixteenth century

There is also a focus in early modern studies of ideas of religious history in France on the sixteenth century, particularly the French Wars of Religion (1562-1598). For instance, in her study of the memory of the Albigensians in the Occitanie, Emily McCaffrey shifts from 1619 to 1849, skipping two centuries in the history of Occitan perceptions of medieval heresy.⁸⁸ Nevertheless, the attraction of examining ideas of the Albigensians and Waldensians in the Wars of Religion is obvious- it was one of the most violent periods of French history, leading to the formation of new ideas about religious upheaval and attitudes to unorthodoxy. The Wars of Religion were a dramatic and violent shift in the fortunes of French Protestants, and it is understandable why so much of the historiography of early modern perception of heresy is concerned with this period.⁸⁹ The production of many treatises in print during this period cemented the association of ideas of medieval heresy with polemical rhetoric.⁹⁰ Indeed, two key events have solidified the association between rhetoric on the Albigensians and Waldensians and religious violence of the sixteenth century: the Waldensian massacre at Mérindol and the publication of Catholic polemic on the Albigensian Crusade.

The Waldensian massacre at Mérindol in 1545 was a result of the Waldensian support of the Reform movement. The president of the *parlement* of Provence in Aix-en-Provence, Jean Meynier d'Oppède (1495-1558), ordered action to be taken against the Waldensian hotbed of the village Mérindol.⁹¹ It was not until 1545 that the order was carried out and the village was destroyed by Meynier d'Oppède's troops and the inhabitants fled.⁹² Other Waldensian strongholds were attacked, including neighbouring Cabrières and over ten settlements in the Luberon.⁹³ Meynier d'Oppède's actions were sanctioned by Francis I, as part of a wider campaign against Protestant activities in Provence. The shocking nature of the massacre captured the imagination of historians of heresy throughout the early modern period.⁹⁴ It was estimated that thousands were killed, and 700 Waldensian men were sent to be galley slaves;

⁸⁸ E. McCaffrey, "Memory and Collective Identity in Occitanie: The Cathars in History and Popular Culture." *History and Memory* 13, no. 1 (2001): 117-118, accessed Sept 12, 2017, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2979/his.2001.13.1.114> .

⁸⁹ Racaut, *Hatred in Print*, 101.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

⁹¹ Audisio, *The Waldensian Dissent*, 191.

⁹² Cameron, *The Reformation of the Heretics*, 154.

⁹³ Audisio, *The Waldensian Dissent*, 191-3.

⁹⁴ Tucker, *The Construction of Reformed Identity*, 80.

this image of forced labour was adopted into the Huguenot consciousness.⁹⁵ It was associated with the wider story of enslavement of the true Church.⁹⁶ The popularity of the subject of the massacre in early modern historical writing is clear; in Lelong's bibliography of France under the section 'Histoires des Vaudois' almost a fifth of all the early modern French works on the Waldensians listed include in the title 'Mérindol'.⁹⁷ Mark Greengrass even noted how the event coined the modern term "massacre" which became a distinctively Protestant word during the French Wars of Religion for acts of mass murder.⁹⁸ The pillaging of goods, violation of women and children, and the execution of an apprentice by firing squad were all described in emotive terms in Calvinist rhetoric.⁹⁹ Despite Meynier d'Oppède's intentions to destroy Protestant influence in the region, the Mérindol massacre only served to strengthen Protestant links with the Waldensians. The majority of the Provençal Waldensians that remained joined Lutheran or Calvinist communities.¹⁰⁰ In the cultural memory of French Protestants the massacre at Mérindol forged a continuous narrative of the persecuted church.

Second, the political context of the French Wars of the Religion initiated a flurry of pamphlets by Catholic authors that compared Protestants to the Albigensians. The most relevant secondary literature on the idea of Albigensian heresy in the historical imagination of early modern scholars is Luc Racaut's examination of the polemic of French Wars of Religion.¹⁰¹ Racaut argued that 'the Albigensians received special attention...[due to] the political specificity of the Albigensian Crusade'.¹⁰² Whilst it is true that the attempt of the Albigensian Crusade to eradicate heresy was used as an example in just war arguments to inspire Charles IX to counteract Protestantism with force, this does not explain the continued popularity of histories of the Albigensians throughout the seventeenth century.

Racaut's work is a comprehensive overview of the trope of the Albigensians in Catholic polemic of the French Wars of Religion, which demonstrates how ideas of heretics as impure

⁹⁵ Van der Linden, "Histories of Martyrdom and Suffering", 360-369.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁷ Lelong, *Bibliothèque historique de la France*, 373-376.

⁹⁸ M. Greengrass, "Hidden Transcripts: Secret Histories and Personal Testimonies of Religious Violence in the French Wars of Religion", in *The Massacre in History*, ed. M. Leven and P. Roberts (New York/Oxford: Bergahn Books, 1999), 69.

⁹⁹ Tucker, *Construction of Reformed Identity*, 79.

¹⁰⁰ Audisio, *The Waldensian Dissent*, 190.

¹⁰¹ Luc Racaut has written extensively on this topic, for example, Racaut, *Hatred in Print*; Racaut "The Polemical use of the Albigensian Crusade"; L. Racaut, "Religious Polemic and Huguenot self-perception and identity, 1554-1619", in R. Mentzer and A. Spicer (eds.), *Society and Culture in the Huguenot World 1559-1685*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002, 29-43.

¹⁰² Racaut, *Hatred in Print*, 101.

and rebellious legitimized Catholic violence against the Huguenots.¹⁰³ Furthermore, his focus on print polemic in the sixteenth century is very suggestive for the next century: this thesis will examine manuscript collections and transcriptions of medieval sources, as well as historical writings in print in the seventeenth century. Moreover, Racaut's *Hatred in Print* (2002) was a response to the emphasis on the Lutheran narrative of polemical print in histories of the Reformation. It was an attempt to do justice to the Catholic side of the story of French Wars of Religion.¹⁰⁴ But this means that the Calvinist perspective on the Albigensians still remains relatively unexplored, viewed either through the lens of Catholic polemic or as a small part of the wider narrative of Protestant historiography in Europe, an omission in the historiography which this thesis hopes to redress.

This thesis seeks to prioritise the seventeenth century, and to understand ideas of medieval heresy beyond the polemical lens of the French Wars of Religion. It will seek to explore how the cultural memory of the French Wars of Religion in the seventeenth century altered French historians' understanding of medieval heresy. The popularity of memory studies in recent years has shaped understanding of confessional and regional identity in early modern France, and there are the initial stages of research into images of the Albigensians and Waldensians in the collective consciousness of the Midi and the Huguenots.¹⁰⁵ The years between the Wars of Religion and Revocation of Edict of Nantes is a period under-examined in the historiography of early modern French conceptions of the medieval. And yet, the seventeenth century is highly significant in the development of ideas about medieval heresy, because there was a shift away from polemical justifications of war and, through new methods of historical scholarship, the construction of narratives that supported distinct regional and confessional identities. In fact, by the end of the period, ideas about the Albigensians and Waldensians were used to inform discussions on the role of the individual conscience and the extent of religious toleration.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰³ Racaut, "The Polemical use of the Albigensian Crusade".

¹⁰⁴ Racaut, *Hatred in Print*, 99.

¹⁰⁵ For an overview of how memory of the Albigensian Crusade impacted the Midi see McCaffrey, "Memory and Collective Identity in Occitanie". For recent studies on memory and identity of the Huguenots see - Van der Linden, "Histories of Martyrdom and Suffering"; P. Benedict, "Shaping the Memory of the French Wars of Religion. The first centuries", in *Memory before Modernity: Practices of Memory in Early Modern Europe* ed. E. Kuijpers, J. Pollmann, J. Mueller and J. van der Steen (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 111-125.

¹⁰⁶ J. Marshall, *John Locke, Toleration and Early Enlightenment Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 92.; G. Adams, *The Huguenots and French Opinion, 1685-1787: The Enlightenment Debate on Toleration* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1991).

1.4 Biographical and bibliographical monographs

The majority of scholarly attention on the erudition behind medieval history-writing in early modern France has focussed either on particular authors or certain collections; providing vignettes of the overall influence of medieval heresy on early modern France's intellectual culture. Many works that address early modern ideas of medieval heresy merely do so in the process of undertaking a biographical study or bibliographical research.

There are a limited number of monographs on specific writers' endeavours to search for an unbroken theological inheritance from medieval heresy in the Calvinist church. However, these have almost exclusively focussed on a specific individual. Michel Jas has even suggested that this was not merely a construction of early modern authors, and has attempted to draw a nebulous link between the sect and Protestantism (*Braises cathares*, Loubatières, 1992).¹⁰⁷ More recently he has examined the writings of the pastor of Montpellier Jean Chassanion, producing a modern edition of his *Histoire des Albigeois* (1595).¹⁰⁸ Jas uses Chassanion to show that sixteenth-century Calvinists in Languedoc celebrated the Albigensians as their forerunners, and how the geographical link between hotbeds of Albigensian heresy and Calvinist strongholds imply a continuity in sectarian dissent in the region.¹⁰⁹ Jas's geographical emphasis on a continuum of sectarian ideas in Languedoc reiterates early modern arguments.¹¹⁰ Gerald Cerny's study of the Huguenot refugee pastor, Jacques Basnage, examines the historical precedents of Calvinism in the ideas amongst the Huguenot community in Rotterdam.¹¹¹ However, Cerny's analysis of Basnage's ideas upon medieval heresy was a minor part of a wider biographical study, which sought to establish his intellectual network and also examined the Walloon Church's comparisons with concepts from Judaism, such as the church in the wilderness and the Israelite remnant during the Babylonish captivity.¹¹² Cerny prioritises biblical metaphors over medieval predecessors in the Huguenot construction of a collective identity in exile.¹¹³ This thesis intends to extend the

¹⁰⁷ M. Jas, *Braises cathares: Filiation secrète à l'heure de la Réforme* (Portet-sur-Garonne: Loubatières, 1992).

¹⁰⁸ J. Chassanion, *Histoire des Albigeois* ed. A. Brenon, M. Jas and R. Poupin (Maisons-Laffitte: Éditions Ampelos, 2019).

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, preface.

¹¹⁰ Racaut, *Hatred in Print*, 112.

¹¹¹ Cerny, *Theology, Politics and Letters*, 206-211, 224.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, 196; A. Dunan-Page, *The Religious Culture of the Huguenots, 1660-1750* (Ashgate: Aldershot, Burlington, 2006), 16.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 212.

focus of these monographs by exploring different intellectual networks to explain the variety of ideas on medieval heresy in France in this period.

Similarly, discussions of the intellectual milieu and erudite scholarship on the subject of medieval heresy in early modern France remain limited. The secondary literature is divided between early modernists who approach the question as one of polemic and confessional historiography and medievalists who are concerned with the accuracy and scholarship of early moderns as part of their search for the authenticity of their sources. It is at this intersection between these competing concerns of the provenance of medieval sources and confessional narratives of persecution that this thesis is placed; examining the impact of early modern scholarship and intellectual developments in historical writing on ideas of medieval heresy.

Whilst historians of the Albigensians have previously examined the provenance of their sources in the early modern period, this has been a tool for discovering more about Catharism itself; early modern impressions of heresy are a secondary concern.¹¹⁴ By charting the history of thirteenth-century sources, however, information has been revealed about the state of medieval ideas in early modern France, particularly the networks of scholars who exchanged, bought, collected and even confiscated manuscripts.¹¹⁵ Studies of the circulation of manuscripts have recognised the importance of early modern savants' methodology in the collection and analysis of thirteenth-century inquisitorial sources upon ideas of medieval heresy.¹¹⁶ Whilst the majority of these studies have been upon Wycliffe or Hus, there has been a growing interest in Waldensian literary culture.¹¹⁷ Marina Benedetti's study of the background of Waldensian manuscripts explores not only their circulation and publication, but also how this shaped sixteenth and seventeenth-century perceptions of the sect in the popular treatises of Jean Paul Perrin (c.1576-c.1626), and defences of the Waldensians by

¹¹⁴ For instance, Bruschi's examination of Jean de Doat's selection and transcribing process in the Doat Collection is one 'filter' through which the source can be understood in Bruschi, "Magna diligentia est habenda per inquisitorem."; Nickson's study of Locke's access to the *Liber Sententiarum* is concerned with the 'usefulness' of the source in M. A. E. Nickson, "Locke and the Inquisition of Toulouse", *The British Museum Quarterly*, (The British Museum) 36, no. 3/4 (Autumn, 1972): 83, accessed June 9, 2016, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/4423108>.

¹¹⁵ For example, see Biller on Percin in Biller, Bruschi, Sneddon, *Inquisitors and Heretics*, 18-19.

¹¹⁶ Benedetti, *Il santo bottino*, 103-113.

¹¹⁷ For recent (some unpublished) work on this field see "Waldensians in the Medieval and Early Modern European Context" Conference, Trinity College Dublin, February 2018, accessed Nov 23, 2018: <https://waldensianstcd.wordpress.com/programme/>.

Jean Leger (1625-c.1670) and Pierre Allix (1641-1717).¹¹⁸ Nevertheless, this question of the impact of antiquarianism and new scientific methodology to historical research on ideas of heresy in early modern France remains open for debate.

The Aims of this Thesis

For too long time, the study of the history of religion and confessional polemic in early modern France has been divorced from learned culture and scholars of medieval history. It has been assumed that French historians used medieval heretics, such as the Albigensians and Waldensians, as a mere rhetorical device on the discussion of war in the confessional polemic of the French Wars of Religion.¹¹⁹ Whilst this was how the rhetoric of comparison between Albigensians and Waldensians and Protestants arose, as demonstrated by Luc Racaut in *Hatred in Print*, it does not explain the continued popularity of these ideas.¹²⁰ Nor does it account for the increasingly scholarly approaches to the study of history of medieval heresy throughout the seventeenth century.

This thesis redresses the imbalanced emphasis upon the sixteenth century in the historiography of medieval ideas in early modern France. Far more books were published that explored the history of the Albigensians and Waldensians from 1600-1700 than in the hundred years prior.¹²¹ This extended view beyond the French Wars of Religion allows us to conclude that the creation of a narrative of Calvinist origins was an ongoing process throughout the seventeenth century for Catholics and Huguenots. This implies a much longer-term gradual change as more nuanced ideas of medieval heresy reflected changes in historical methods. The role of ideas of medieval heresy in the construction of confessional identity was central to this - through an alternative interpretation of inquisitorial and heretical sources Huguenot writers created an aetiological account.¹²² This is of profound significance, as it allowed Huguenots to craft a confessional identity in new places in exile, and through the

¹¹⁸ Benedetti, *Il santo bottino*, 14-23, 85-91, 94-98.

¹¹⁹ Racaut, *Hatred in print*, 99.

¹²⁰ Ibid.

¹²¹ As the Universal Short Title Catalogue currently only includes published works up to 1650 the increase in published titles on the Albigensians and Waldensians in the seventeenth century can be found in Lelong, *Bibliothèque historique de la France*, 373-378.

¹²² W. Wang, *Les Albigeois comme ancêtres des protestants? La généalogie imaginaire des protestants français du XVI^e siècle au XVIII^e siècle*, doctoral thesis under the direction of Yves Krumenacker (Lyon: University of Lyon, 2016).

language and allegorical example of medieval heresy to support the community that remained in France. The subjection of the Huguenot population to restrictions on their freedom of worship and subsequent extirpation created a rhetoric of membership to the persecuted true church.¹²³ The re-evaluation of medieval historical sources in the light of this language of a persecuted minority provided the context for the formation of ideas on individuality and toleration that were cultivated in the Enlightenment.¹²⁴

By exploring the role of medieval heresy in intellectual history of the seventeenth century significant questions are raised that have guided the research in the following thesis. It seeks to establish the significance of the popularity of the Albigensians and Waldensians in early modern French consciousness. It deals with the problems of early modern historians' misinterpretation of medieval sources and seeks to explain why authors manipulated and omitted sources despite the increasingly erudite and intellectual pursuit of historical writing on medieval heresy in this period. This thesis also aims to answer why historians used the Albigensians and Waldensians as a framework for understanding their 1600s context. Overall, this thesis aims to answer how such a vitriolic insult became part of a much longer process of identity-formation, not only for Calvinists, but for Languedocians and orthodox Catholics alike.

Historical Writing in Sixteenth-Century France

It is, therefore, appropriate at this point to familiarise ourselves with the context of the changing nature of historical writing in early modern France. This preliminary exposition of the developments in historical writing is not intended as an extensive analysis, but to set the scene in which ideas of medieval heresy spread and developed. Ultimately, four major movements shifted historical writing in France 1550-1700 to create the conditions for the obsession with the Albigensian and Waldensian heresies in the historical imagination of seventeenth-century writers: the rise of a scientific method in primary source research; antiquarian history; confessional history; national history.

¹²³ Van der Linden, "Histories of Martyrdom and Suffering", 352.

¹²⁴ Marshall, *John Locke, Toleration and Early Enlightenment*.

We will begin with Renaissance scholars' concept of scientific history. They viewed primary sources, *primi auctores*, as more reliable than secondary authors, an attitude that is reflected in the increased use and detailed analysis of medieval inquisitorial sources throughout the period. This scientific "method" was espoused in works of *ars historica* by jurists such as Jean Bodin (1530-1596) and François Baudouin (1520–1573).¹²⁵ Baudouin's *De Institvtione Historiae vniuersae et eivs cvm iurisprvdentia coniunctione* (1561) insisted that the attempt to narrate the truth of historical events must be based on eyewitness accounts.¹²⁶ This argument was founded on the assumption that history was concerned with phenomena that were not universal but singular, and therefore could be differentiated from the natural sciences. Bodin, a jurist renowned for his *Republic* (1576), wrote his *Methodus ad facilem Historiarum Cognitionem* (1566) to evaluate the categories of history and propagate the view of history as a science, with practical, political application.¹²⁷ This led Bodin to reject the theory of four empires, (the Medes, Persians, Greeks and Romans) taken from Daniel 7:17-27, which had become an underlying assumption in French historiography. In chapter seven of his *Method* Bodin describes how deeply rooted this false historical narrative was, arguing that the direction of a single empire did not shift from Rome to the Germans.¹²⁸ The four empires tradition had thus denied France a significant role and future in world history. Although the idea of the four empires remained pervasive in the seventeenth century, and writers such as Bossuet in his *Discours sur l'histoire universelle* (1681) continued to hold a providential view, the emphasis on primary sources remained. The significance of this for medieval history writing is exemplified by Étienne Pasquier (1529-1615) in his *Recherches de la France* (1621), where he argued that medieval chronicles needed to be analysed critically akin to any other primary source, claiming we 'flater nos chroniques, de croire' without further examination.¹²⁹ By the seventeenth century the method of historical writing had grown from categorising history and organising primary sources for pedagogy, to the philological techniques of Jean Mabillon (1623-1707).¹³⁰

¹²⁵ Grafton, *The Footnote: A curious history*, 75.

¹²⁶ F. Baudouin, *De institvtione historiae vniuersae et eivs cvm iurisprvdentia coniunctione* (Paris: A. Wechelum, 1561).

¹²⁷ J. Bodin, *Methodus, ad facilem Historiam Cognitionem* (Paris: M. Iuuenem, 1566); M.-D. Couzinet, "On Bodin's Method", in *The Reception of Bodin*, ed. A. H. Lloyd, (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 40.

¹²⁸ Kelley, *Versions of History*, 9.

¹²⁹ É. Pasquier, *Les Recherches de la France* (Paris: Laurens Sonnius, 1621), 924. BNF Gallica, 2010. Accessed Nov 21, 2016. <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k6109174w>

¹³⁰ Kelley, *Versions of History*, 370.

Indeed, the advance of the study of philology is noteworthy; the publication of dictionaries and guides to deciphering medieval Latin handwriting made monastic sources more accessible to the reader. The close examination of the language, handwriting, styles, seals and formulae of charters encouraged the re-evaluation of the dating and authorship of such manuscripts.¹³¹ The leaders of this emerging field were Maurists, the Benedictine Congregation of St Maur, based at the Abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés in Paris.¹³² Jean Mabillon developed a palaeographical method comparing monastic handwriting over an extensive period to draw comparisons between charters, revising their dating and provenance. In his *De Re Diplomatica* (1681) Mabillon examined many different manuscripts dating as far back as the seventh century, identifying forgeries and suggesting an evolution in monastic writing, as fellow Maurist Bernard de Montfaucon (1655-1741) would later replicate with the topic of Greek palaeography. Mabillon considered an accurate account of monastic charters to be an essential means to understanding Church history. For instance, in his *Traité des études monastiques* (1691), Mabillon warned the reader of the necessity of impartiality in the historian's approach to medieval texts.¹³³ Mabillon's historical enquiries were undertaken in collaboration with Luc d'Achery, the monastery's librarian who collected prolifically for the order.¹³⁴ Together they published an examination of the lives of the saints, *Acta Sanctorum* (1668), which was continually added to and reprinted even after Mabillon's death. A contemporary and correspondent of the Maurists, Charles de Fresne du Cange (1610-1688), wrote a dictionary of medieval Latin, the first edition published in 1678. The study of philology and the editing and compiling of medieval sources thus provided resources for other historians. These developments increased interest and made historical sources available and usable by providing a scientific framework to study them. The Académie Royale des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres was set up shortly after Mabillon's death to encourage further study in this field.

Another reason why a study of this nature is needed is because of the proliferation of antiquarian authors examining the medieval period in the seventeenth century. Savants

¹³¹ R. Bod, *A New History of the Humanities: the Search for Principles and Patterns* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 172.

¹³² M. Ultee, *The Abbey of Saint Germain des Prés in the seventeenth century*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981), 3.

¹³³ M. Mulsow ed., *Between Philology and Radical Enlightenment: Hermann Samuel Reimarus (1694-1768)*, (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 16.

¹³⁴ P. Gasnault, *L'érudition mauriste à Saint-Germain-des-Prés* (Paris: Institut d'études augustiniennes, 1999), 35-36.

collecting antiquities established personal collections of manuscripts and transcribed documents held in archives. Networks of archivists and enthusiasts sent copies of manuscripts, discussed artefacts in letters and advised each other on which monastic archive to consult. Donald Kelley describes this ‘new wave of antiquarian enthusiasm’ resulting in ‘the great generation of French “medievalists”’, amongst whom he counts the Pithou brothers and the Du Tillet brothers.¹³⁵ Both Pierre Pithou and Jean Du Tillet amassed private libraries and produced editions of thirteenth-century documents. The younger Du Tillet wrote his treatise against the repeated mistakes of heresy in his *Sommaire de l’Histoire de la Guerre faicte contre les heretiques Albigeois, extraicte du tresor du chartes* (published posthumously in 1590), using the royal archives through the connection of his brother, the chief archivist of the *parlement* of Paris. Peter Miller argues that the 1640s were the high point of antiquarian endeavour as New Science came to replace this approach to history.¹³⁶ The collecting of manuscripts remained significant to early modern writers interested in medieval heresy throughout the latter half of the seventeenth century, although this evidence would be increasingly scientifically-interrogated.

Importantly, the study of medieval heresy became professionalized; by the latter half of the seventeenth century the state was employing royal historiographers and librarians to undertake archival research. The Doat Commission is only one example of an archival project patronized by Jean-Baptiste Colbert (1618-1683), Louis XIV’s Minister of Finances, who developed the extensive Bibliothèque de Colbert, and organised collecting activities for the Bibliothèque du Roi.¹³⁷ The antiquarian enthusiasm for the past was also exemplified in the iconography of Louis XIV’s reign.¹³⁸ Many poems and prints compared Louis XIV with his forefather Louis IX not only as St Louis was known for his piety and popularity, but also for his role in the suppression of the Albigensian heresy. This overflowed into material culture and art - the medals of Louis XIV represented him stomping on the serpent of heresy and stabbing the creature with a trident. He is depicted as the prophetic fulfilment of St Louis reborn.¹³⁹ Whilst it can be argued that this iconography of the king as a warrior-saint focused more on the repression of heresy generally than on medieval heresy itself, this theme in art

¹³⁵ D. Kelley, “Jean Du Tillet, Archivist and Antiquary,” *The Journal of Modern History* 38, no. 4 (1966): 341.

¹³⁶ P. Miller, *Peiresc’s Europe: Learning and Virtue in the Seventeenth Century* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 2000), 148, 158.

¹³⁷ Soll, *Information Master: Jean-Baptiste Colbert*, 104.

¹³⁸ R. Wellington, *Antiquarianism and the Visual Histories of Louis XIV: Artifacts for a Future Past*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2015), 15.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*

and propaganda influenced ideas of medieval heresy and the way it was represented in culture.

Confessional history also influenced the way medieval heresy was perceived in the early modern period. Confessional narratives of history began to be developed in the sixteenth century, with the works of Flacius Illyricus and Caesar Baronius, John Foxe and Johann Sleidan. Confessional history was primarily polemical, justifying the Protestant church in the face of questions about its origins.¹⁴⁰ In France this confessional history was led by Jean Calvin (1509-1564) who wrote didactic Protestant history in the later editions of his *Institution of Christian Religion* (1543, 1545, 1550 onwards).¹⁴¹ Calvin combined his celebratory history of the Protestant church with a critique of the corruption of Rome, claiming that ‘la tyrannie de la Papauté’ had led people astray from the true church.¹⁴² Indeed, this narrative of the primitive church corrupted by medieval superstitions and then reformed in the sixteenth century became a pervasive account disseminated by both the Protestant church and Catholic counter-reform. The two sides differed over how the Church declined in the medieval period, with Protestants pointing towards the supremacy of the pope, the abuses of the clergy and the extravagance of the Church. In contrast, Catholic historians viewed medieval superstition as the origin of the Protestant heresy in sects such as the Albigensians and Waldensians.¹⁴³ From this Protestants were forced to either dissociate themselves from the medieval heretics, or to claim that as the Pope had excommunicated the groups, and his judgement was already corrupted through his office of tyranny, then they may well have been true believers. This created a cultural identity for the French reformers, who used the Albigensians of Languedoc and the Waldensians at Piedmont as forefathers to legitimise their renunciation of Rome.¹⁴⁴

The catalyst for the comparison between Huguenots and medieval heretics was the Wars of Religion (1562-1598). The Wars of Religion allowed a pamphleteering culture to flourish and sparked polemical treatises which compared the Wars of Religion to the Albigensian Crusade. The memory of the Albigensian Crusade was invoked to explain the necessity of

¹⁴⁰ Barnet, “Where Was Your Church before Luther?”.

¹⁴¹ J. Calvin, *Institution de la religion chrestienne* (Geneva: chez Jacques Bourgeois, 1562), 679.

¹⁴² Ibid.

¹⁴³ Racaut, *Hatred in Print*, 99.

¹⁴⁴ Krumenacker “La généalogie imaginaire de la Réforme protestante”.

force and the expectation that violence and heresy were deeply intertwined.¹⁴⁵ Similarly, polemic frequently referred to the Waldensians' fate at Mérindol where, due to their burgeoning fellowship with reformers, they were massacred by the French army on the charge of sedition.¹⁴⁶ In the aftermath of the Wars of Religion the violence of the period remained in French consciousness, and an uneasy coexistence allowed for the expression of the memory of the wars and the continuation of the animosity between Catholics and Calvinists in the medium of print. Brian Armstrong contended that 'the civil war of the seventeenth century was fought with the pen' as confessional polemic became more learned.¹⁴⁷ Whilst this does not account for continued use of force, such as that at La Rochelle during the 1620s, Armstrong's characterization of the period accurately depicts a major theme of early modern thought on medieval heresy, that it could be fought intellectually.¹⁴⁸ Heresy was viewed as a continuous battle, spiritually, intellectually and physically, that confessional history sought to explain. This notion of a continual spiritual battle is clear in Catholic confessional history, particularly in the idea that French Wars of Religion were the modern Albigensian Crusade.¹⁴⁹

National history was also increasingly important in the sixteenth century and was often tied into confessional narratives and competing identities. For example, François Hotman (1522-1590), a Calvinist jurist, focused upon the history of France from a Huguenot perspective in his *Francogallia*. This work claimed the "ancient constitution" of the French monarchy was weakened from Merovingian times by Roman, imperial and papal, tyranny.¹⁵⁰ This was not a solely Huguenot argument; legal humanism encouraged a re-evaluation of French law which did not rely upon Roman law. Donald R. Kelley has explored the role of seeking French origins in the work of the humanist jurist, Jean Du Tillet (the elder).¹⁵¹ Kelley argues that Italophobia meant that French intellectuals 'had no desire to worship the ancestors of other men, or even to admit a relationship' to a Roman over barbarian Gallican history.¹⁵² A supporter of the Gallican narrative, Jacques-Auguste de Thou (1553-1617), lawyer and

¹⁴⁵ Racaut, *Hatred in Print*, 103-107.

¹⁴⁶ J. Crespin, *Histoire memorable de la persecution & saccagement du peuple de Mérindol & Cabrieres & autres circonvoisins appelez Vaudois* (s.l., 1555), 108.

¹⁴⁷ B. Armstrong, *Calvinism and the Amyraut Heresy: Protestant scholasticism and humanism in seventeenth-century France* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), 4-5.

¹⁴⁸ M. Holt, *Renaissance and Reformation France* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 207.

¹⁴⁹ J. Gay, *Histoire des schismes et hérésies des Albigeois* (Paris: P. Gaultier, 1561), 5.

¹⁵⁰ Wood, *Modern Origins of Early Middle Ages*, 12.

¹⁵¹ Kelley, "Jean Du Tillet, Archivist and Antiquary", 341.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*

president of the Paris *parlement* by 1595, wrote a contemporary history, *Historia sui temporis* (1604), that was political and pragmatic. De Thou expressed his Gallican views, addressing the position of France within Europe in recent history.¹⁵³ His *Historia* was, therefore, highly controversial and the second part, on the subject of French Wars of Religion (1560-72), was placed on the church's index of prohibited books. The work continued to be of significance and was reprinted three years after De Thou's death and translated into French in 1657. It is understandable that concerns over heresy would be related to histories of France, as the parallels between geographic location of the population of Albigensians and Huguenots implied that unorthodoxy was ingrained in the region. This brought to the fore the legal humanist argument over *franc alleu*, the privileges of the local governments in Languedoc and Provence and issues of land ownership rights that countered the king's claim to authority.¹⁵⁴ The centralising process of what Jacob Soll describes as Colbert's design of a 'large-scale administrative state with little thought for traditional political philosophy' could explain the interest in medieval documents by the Doat Commission.¹⁵⁵ However, Soll's emphasis on intellectual statecraft does not clarify why Doat chose to copy inquisitorial documents; hence, the need for a broader approach to the intellectual history of medieval heresy.¹⁵⁶

Methodology & Structure

It is into this context of confessional, national, and more professionalized historical writing that ideas of the Albigensian and Waldensian heresies proliferated in the seventeenth century. In order to survey such a vast array of literature this thesis has been divided into five chapters, each exploring different intellectual networks. To achieve these aims, this thesis focuses on prominent individuals from each network who were representative of the ideas of their group, but often exceptional in their books' popularity, reach, scope or erudition.

In order to build a picture of ideas of Albigensians and Waldensians in the early modern I have expanded my research beyond consideration of printed polemical works. Ideas of the Albigensians and Waldensians in historical writing may have started as vitriolic rhetoric in

¹⁵³ Grafton, *The Footnote: A curious history*, 133.

¹⁵⁴ P. Caseneuve, *Instructions pour le franc-alleu de la province de Languedoc* (Toulouse: Jean Boude, 1640). Tolosana, accessed July 12, 2016, <http://tolosana.univ-toulouse.fr/notice/075570378>.

¹⁵⁵ J. Soll, "Colbert, Louis XIV and the Golden Notebooks: What a King Needs to Know to Rule", in *Exploring Cultural History: Essays in Honour of Peter Burke* ed. J.P. Rubiés, M. Calaresu, and F. Vivo ed. (Ashgate Publishing, 2010), 151.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

confessional tracts, but the account of their role as predecessors of the Reformation became an accepted interpretation of history found in local histories, erudite studies and state collections of manuscripts. It is a fundamental problem that, by judging the quality of the historical texts historians have ignored a large body of literature deemed as “bad history”, or at least as confessionally-charged and overly simplistic, filled with omissions and misinterpretations.¹⁵⁷ Adopting a more holistic approach, this dissertation tries to survey not only printed works, but also manuscripts of books that were never published, letters, early modern library catalogues and book sales, as well as the Doat Collection. I have consulted archival material from the Richelieu-Louvois department of manuscripts collection of the Bibliothèque nationale de France, the Archives Départementales de la Haute Garonne and the Archives Départementales de l’Aude. More specific collections that apply to particular networks of scholars are the Dominican archives and the Bibliothèque de Patrimoine in Toulouse.

This thesis has focussed on sources written or translated into French. Although I have mentioned books that have subsequently been translated and circulated across Europe, I have used Latin texts sparingly. One area where this thesis could be developed for further research would be in the examination of contemporary Latinate culture. This emphasis on the French language has meant that certain groups with a clear interest in medieval history, such as the Benedictine Congregation of St Maur, have only been briefly mentioned. I have written about the Maurists to a lesser extent than I originally intended. Their works were written in Latin, instead of for a French-literate audience, denying widespread lay readership and isolating their works to a certain intellectual and ecclesiastical milieu. Moreover, the Maurist contribution to historical writing is well-known, particularly in their development of philological methods and the collecting and editing of manuscripts.¹⁵⁸ Despite not devoting an entire chapter to the Maurists, their influence is clear through other authors’ use of their published editions of medieval works. In order to take this research further an analysis of books in Latin, particularly of seventeenth-century editions of medieval Latin texts, would

¹⁵⁷ Many of the early modern authors included in this thesis have been criticised, by both their contemporaries and modern historians, as incompetent scholars (Perrin, Besse, Louvet, Percin, Benoit). It has also been noted how other scholars purposefully omitted sections of sources (Crespin, Allix) and others were selective in their collecting or transcribing process (Galland, Doat).

¹⁵⁸ D. Hurel, “Mabillon, les Mauristes et l’Académie royale des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres”, *Comptes rendus des séances de l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 151, no. 4 (2007): 1699-1727, Persee.fr, accessed Dec 6, 2017. <https://doi.org/10.3406/crai.2007.9158>.

contribute to the field of early modern intellectual developments on the subject of medieval heresy.

This thesis is structured around the intellectual networks concerned with medieval heresy who shared similar positions, influence or sources and correspondence. As this thesis examines the intellectual milieu of various groups that spanned the period it is not directly chronological. However, it seeks to demonstrate change over time and how during the seventeenth century the debate over the Albigensians and Waldensians became more learned, confessionalized and politicized, particularly after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. These shifting perspectives were reinforced by ever-changing accessibility to medieval sources, either through the collecting habits of prominent individuals and the state, or through the publication of modern translations and editions. By structuring the thesis into chapters of different intellectual networks it became evident how ideas of the Albigensian and Waldensian heresies were shaped as authors built upon previous research.

To start, this thesis focuses on the writings of authors from the Midi, whose knowledge of Languedoc and Provence archives was unrivalled and provides insight into the construction of regional identities upholding the privileges of Languedoc and the independent nature of the south of France. These local historians made the Albigensian Crusade relevant to their readership, demonstrating their impact upon the contemporary culture and identity of Provence and Languedoc.

The second chapter demonstrates how mendicant authors' ideas of the Albigensians and Waldensians were indelibly intertwined with the formation of foundation myths. Early modern Dominicans based in Toulouse showcase the centrality of sainthood and martyrdom in mendicant historical thought.¹⁵⁹ The campaign in the seventeenth century to petition the Pope to canonise medieval inquisitors emphasises Dominican views of medieval heresy as seditious and a continuing spiritual battle in contemporary France, framed in a language of sanctity and inquisition.¹⁶⁰ This chapter not only refers to prominent authors from the Couvent des Jacobins in Toulouse, but also writings by Franciscans and Carmelites who published their works in Paris.

¹⁵⁹ B. Montagnes, "L'historiographie de saint Dominique en pays toulousain, de Réchac à Touron (1640-1740)", *L'ordre des Prêcheurs et son histoire en France méridionale*, *Cahiers de Fanjeaux* 36, (2001): 447-478.

¹⁶⁰ *Martyrs D'Avignonet*.

The third chapter explores the Doat Commission (1663-1670), the project undertaken by Jean de Doat in the Midi to record documents of use to the Crown. What has interested historians of medieval heresy about this collection is that volumes Doat 21-36 contain the best-preserved copy (and in many cases the only surviving copy) of thirteenth-century depositions of heretics, allowing a window into medieval inquisitorial procedures. The Doat Commission's intellectual context in early modern French thought on medieval heresy remains relatively unexplored.¹⁶¹ The French summaries of these inquisitorial documents by the scribes of the Doat Commission provide evidence of the importance of the Albigensian Crusade to those documenting the history of Languedoc in the seventeenth century, and provokes questions about the role of royal authority in this process.¹⁶²

Chapter four looks at the role of Catholic bishops in enforcing orthodoxy. This chapter explores how the trope of Albigensian and Waldensian heresies supported Catholic orthodoxy and focuses on the writings of Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet (1627-1704) and other theologians who held positions of power in the Church and court. It explores the erudite use of medieval sources by bishops who aimed to uphold orthodoxy against Calvinist authors and also in opposition to the political threat of Jansenism.¹⁶³ These bishops aimed to thwart the growing historiography of Protestantism by addressing it on its own terms, using the medieval examples their opponents had appropriated to form a cultural identity of Calvinism in the south of France.

The final discursive chapter demonstrates the complexity of the Calvinist relationship to the Albigensians and Waldensians. The exile of French Protestants led to the discussion of medieval heresy, particularly homegrown sects such as the Albigensians and Waldensians, in other parts of Europe. The year of 1685 marked a significant shift in Protestant thought upon medieval heresy, with the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes bringing an end to a relatively

¹⁶¹ Laurent Albaret has examined the context of (but not the ideas of medieval heresy generated by) the Doat collecting project. Albaret discusses the political ramifications and Doat's collecting policy in "La collection Doat", 57-93. For an understanding of how this impacts historians' readings of the text see Bruschi, "Magna diligentia est habenda per inquisitorem". For an explanation of the seventeenth-century commission itself see Biller, Bruschi and Sneddon, *Inquisitors and Heretics*, 20-33.

¹⁶² I am very grateful to Shelagh Sneddon for sharing with me her translations of Doat 21-24 and her research on the French introductions to depositions in Doat 21-24 to be published in forthcoming *Inquisition and Knowledge*.

¹⁶³ Bossuet, *HDV*; Abelly, *La Justice et la piété du Roy*.

stable period of Protestant-Catholic co-existence.¹⁶⁴ Huguenot refugees were important figures in the exploration of ideas about medieval heresy, as they originated from France their identification with the Albigensians was thoroughly linked to their geographical location in Languedoc and Provence.¹⁶⁵ However, through the Huguenot diaspora, after the Edict of Nantes in 1685, the conversation on medieval heresy and its associations with Calvinism became transnational.¹⁶⁶

As the following thesis demonstrates, there were contradictions inherent in early modern thought on medieval heresy, particularly in the memory of seventeenth-century France. However, this thesis points towards a general trend of professionalization in the study of medieval heresy as early modern historians sought new sources, translated and published under-used primary evidence and created vast collections of thirteenth-century manuscripts.¹⁶⁷ Despite greater availability and understanding of medieval sources than ever before, this thesis argues that the fundamental overarching narrative of medieval heretics as understood principally in relation to contemporary religious upheaval remained unchanged. The sixteenth-century characterisation of the Albigensians and Waldensians as precursors of the Reformation, instead of being denied by Huguenot writers, became reinforced by learned scholarship on both sides of the confessional divide. Significantly, erudite scholarship supported the central importance of history as a defence of true Christianity. Instead, these ideas were adapted for a new political and religious context after the French Wars of Religion, and were dispersed by the Huguenot diaspora, and became interwoven with French memory and cultural identity. Ideas of medieval heresy, therefore, played a crucial role in the construction of competing early modern identities: Catholic and Calvinist, French and regional, elect and exile.

¹⁶⁴ B. van Ruymbeke, "Refuge or Diaspora? Historiographical reflections on the Huguenot dispersion in the Atlantic World", in *Religious Refugees in Europe, Asia and North America: (6th-21st Century)* ed. S. Lachenicht (Hamburg: Lit Verlag, 2007), 156.

¹⁶⁵ McCaffrey, "Memory and Collective Identity in Occitanie", 117-18.

¹⁶⁶ Cerny, *Theology, Politics and Letters*, 92.

¹⁶⁷ Grafton, *The Footnote*; The Doat Collection.

Chapter 1

Regional Historians

One of the fundamental questions posed by early modern historians of medieval heresy in France was the extent of its legacy in contemporary society.¹⁶⁸ Historians of the Midi particularly focussed on the early modern repercussions of medieval heresy; they were concerned with the long-lasting impact the Albigensian and Waldensian heresies had upon the Church and governance of Languedoc and Provence. Local interest in medieval heresy, however, did not remain localised in its scope. Writers such as Guillaume Catel (1560-1626) influenced ideas upon the subject throughout France, and others such as Guillaume Besse and Auguste Galland were copied or conserved by prominent scholars.¹⁶⁹ Regional historians inspired other writings on medieval heresy and were used as secondary sources of information for works published as far as Paris and London. Historians of Languedoc and Provence were often local, born in the area or living there for many years, which shaped their interests and placed them in an exceptional situation in regards to access to medieval sources in local archives.¹⁷⁰ Many local authors produced historical works that were commissioned by regional *parlements*, the author gained financial remuneration and personal influence in civic institutions.¹⁷¹ Yet, the subject of these local history books was not solely political. Regional historians traced the long-term influence of medieval heresy upon their religious institutions, customs and law, as well as the structures of government. The prevailing idea of medieval heresy in the Midi in the seventeenth century was one of a religious movement that insidiously pervaded the contemporary culture.

¹⁶⁸ McCaffrey, “Memory and Collective Identity in Occitanie”, 115-117.

¹⁶⁹ On Catel’s influence see R. Monpays, “L’image du Languedoc chez les historiens de cette province au XVII^e siècle”, *Annales du Midi*, 110 (1998), 26; R. A. Schneider, *Public Life in Toulouse, 1463-1789: From Municipal Republic to Cosmopolitan City* (Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press, 1989), 70.

Étienne Baluze requested copies of manuscripts from Guillaume Besse - J. Boutier, *Étienne Baluze, 1630-1718: érudition et pouvoirs dans l’Europe Classique* (Pulim, 2008), 165; É. Baluze, *Recueil de copies et de notes sur les Conciles*, Paris, BNF, Département des Manuscrits: Baluze 7. fol. 87.

Auguste Galland’s manuscripts became part of Mr Seignelay’s collection - J. Lelong, *Bibliothèque historique de la France*, 373-378.

¹⁷⁰ The majority of the historians examined in this chapter, with the exceptions of Auguste Galland and Pierre Louvet, were born in the region: Nicolas Bertrand (b. Toulouse?, date unknown), Jean Fornier (b. Montauban, c.1530), Guillaume Catel (b. Toulouse, 1560), Francois Graverol (b. Nîmes, 1636), Guillaume Besse (b. Carcassonne, c.1620s).

¹⁷¹ E. Graham-Leigh, *The Southern French Nobility and the Albigensian Crusade*, (Woodbridge: Boydell Press: 2005), 4.

This idea of medieval heresy as continuously prevalent was common in the Midi. The Midi had its own status and customs that early modern authors used to differentiate the area.¹⁷² Local historians drew these distinctions to further the idea that the area had its own regional identity with distinctive origins. Régine Monpays argues that the early modern identity of Languedoc was celebrated by historians for its specific nature: an overarching story of Gallican origins, Roman conquest and incorporation into the French kingdom with its privileges intact.¹⁷³ Indeed, the influence of the Mediterranean on the Midi and the divisions between the Midi and northern France have been thoroughly outlined by Fernand Braudel and discussed by Philip Conner about the French Wars of Religion.¹⁷⁴ Occitanie not only spoke their own dialects but also had a different climate and political structures that distinguished it from the rest of France.¹⁷⁵ This created a cultural identity distinct from the rest of France, furthering a sense of a unique regional history.¹⁷⁶

Early modern regional historians' idea of medieval heresy was deeply interwoven with a sense of place. Ideas of medieval heresy in France were notably French; Albigensians were viewed as a distinctively French problem.¹⁷⁷ Despite associations made between the Albigensians and Bohemia or mentions of Cathars in sources on Italy and Spain, the Albigensians continued to be viewed as an inherently French sect.¹⁷⁸ By the early modern period, the association between the Albigensians and Languedoc, and the Waldensians and the south-east of France was firmly set in the minds of regional historians.¹⁷⁹ Although the Waldensians spread to Austria and Germany and had a large presence in northern Italy, they continued to be linked with Lyon as their place of origin.¹⁸⁰ Even the name "Poor of Lyon" reaffirmed this association with the city. As Roland Poupin points out, the term "Albigeois" also localised the idea of the Cathars to the surrounding area of Albi.¹⁸¹ There is a long

¹⁷² Monpays, "L'image du Languedoc", 39.

¹⁷³ Ibid.

¹⁷⁴ F. Braudel, trans. by S. Reynolds, *The Identity of France* (London: Collins, 1988), 60; P. Conner, *Huguenot Heartland: Montauban and Southern French Calvinism During the Wars of Religion* (London: Routledge, 2017), 20.

¹⁷⁵ Braudel, *The Identity of France*, 60-61.

¹⁷⁶ Monpays, "L'image du Languedoc", 26.

¹⁷⁷ Racaut, *Hatred in Print*, 100, 115.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid.

¹⁷⁹ N. Coulet, "Les histoires ecclésiastiques de Provence XVIIe -XVIIIe siècles, *Cahiers de Fanjeaux: Historiens modernes et Moyen Âge méridional*, 49 (Éditions Privat: 2014), 35.

¹⁸⁰ On the Waldensian diaspora see G. Audisio, *The Waldensian Barbes 15th -16th Centuries* (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 51.

¹⁸¹ R. Poupin, in J. Chassanion, *Histoire des Albigeois* ed. by A. Brenon, M. Jas and R. Poupin (Maisons-Laffitte: Editions Ampelos, 2019).

history of the term “Albigensis” being favoured by scholars; Jean Louis Biget, whose work has centred on Albi, suggested that the term gained popularity after the crusades, whereas Daniel Power argues that this naming of heretics after Albi began much earlier.¹⁸² By the early modern period, however, the overriding terms used by early modern French authors when referring to these groups were “Albigensis” and “Vaudois”.¹⁸³ Accounts of Waldensians were also deeply linked to geography, as historians depicted heretics as isolated, an idea no doubt inspired by Waldensians in the valleys of Piedmont in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The Waldensians of the alps after the massacre at Mérindol (1545) and subsequent skirmishes with Duke Emmanuel Philibert (1560s), lived in small communities and villages in the mountains, whilst others chose to become more integrated with the Calvinist church.¹⁸⁴ Isolated and barren landscapes were used to depict medieval heretics as a minority, theologically distant from the Church.¹⁸⁵ This sense of place therefore applied to both on a national scale but also on a regional and city level. By the late sixteenth century notions of heresy were firmly connected with the south of France, particularly Languedoc and Provence.¹⁸⁶

It is this perspective on medieval heresy, as centred around a place geographically, as well as considered temporally, which is of real value to this study. Throughout many of the other chapters of this thesis it will become clear that the temporal role of medieval heresy as a disjuncture in church history was a major theme of early modern historical writing.¹⁸⁷ Medieval heresy was defined against the early church and the Reformation.¹⁸⁸ However, in the writings of regional historians of Languedoc and Provence the importance of medieval heresy was not its lack of cohesion between antiquity and the present, but its continuity in location.¹⁸⁹ Régine Monpays explored the specificity of Languedoc in the rhetoric of historical writing in the Midi in the seventeenth century, arguing that Languedoc has a unique regional culture, and thus a distinctive history, which early moderns developed and celebrated.¹⁹⁰ Monpays’s notion of regional specificity in Languedoc historical writing can be

¹⁸² D. Power, ‘Who Went on the Albigensian Crusade?’, *The English Historical Review* 128 (Oxford: Oxford University Press: 2013), 1051, accessed January 3, 2019 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ehr/cet252>.

¹⁸³ Ibid.

¹⁸⁴ Cameron, *The Reformation of the Heretics*, 155.

¹⁸⁵ Audisio, *The Waldensian Barbes*, 49.

¹⁸⁶ Racaut, *Hatred in Print*, 100, 115; McCaffrey, “Memory and Collective Identity in Occitanie”, 118.

¹⁸⁷ Wood, *Modern Origins of Early Middle Ages*, 10.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid.

¹⁸⁹ Racaut, *Hatred in Print*, 100, 115; McCaffrey, “Memory and Collective Identity in Occitanie”, 117.

¹⁹⁰ Monpays, “L’image du Languedoc”, 25-26.

applied to ideas of medieval heresy in early modern France. Why were early moderns interested in medieval heresy so centred upon Languedoc and Provence? Was the association between medieval heretics and the Midi merely a cultural trope, or a reflection of the religious, political and social tensions of the region?

The Midi's association with heresy was also rooted in the strong provincial identities of Languedoc and Provence that embodied a certain level of independence from the rest of France. This independent nature is summarised by Guillaume Catel (1560-1626), writing in the 1630s that 'les étrangères reconnoistront qu'il ne cede en rien aux autres contrées de ce Royaume'.¹⁹¹ This description of Languedoc as an unyielding part of the kingdom is reflected in its reputation as an area of heresy and dissent; the Albigensians and Waldensians refused to adhere to the structures of the Church and the order of society. In the South there was a strong tradition of self-government characterised by the Consulat which regulated every commune. There was a strong strain of anti-clericalism driven by the belief that the civic authorities had the right to control local religious affairs.¹⁹² An association with heresy was linked to the region's capacity to express dissent; the Estates of Languedoc has subsequently been described by Collins as a 'trouble spot' for monarchical rule.¹⁹³ Indeed, the 1620s and 30s saw multiple challenges from the region, first the Huguenot rebellions (1620-28) under the Duke of Rohan (1579-1638), and then in 1632 the Languedoc Estates's support for the rebellion of the Duke of Montmorency (1595-1632). The king considered the 1632 rebellion a serious threat from the Languedoc Estates and executed Henri II de Montmorency in response.¹⁹⁴ The location of Languedoc, at the periphery of the kingdom far from Paris, provided a climate for challenges to the monarchical rule in both the thirteenth and seventeenth centuries. As William Beik has shown matters got even worse during the ministeriat of Mazarin and order collapsed during the Fronde (1648-53).¹⁹⁵ The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes brought widespread violence to the region even in the early eighteenth century there were pockets of resistance to monarchical authority. In reality, Languedoc was a complex area where cities like Albi and Toulouse (known as a conservative, Catholic

¹⁹¹ G. de Catel, *Mémoire de l'Histoire du Languedoc, curieusement et fidèlement recueillis de divers Auteurs, grecs, latins, françois et espagnols et de plusieurs Titres et Chartes tirés des Archifs des Villes et Communautés de la mesme Province, et autres circonvoisines* (Toulouse: Pierre Bosc, 1633), 1.

¹⁹² S. Carroll, "Political Justice and the Outbreak of the Wars of Religion", 3 *French History* (2019):185, accessed September 8, 2019, <https://doi.org/10.1093/fh/crz009>.

¹⁹³ J. B. Collins, *The State in Early Modern France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 68.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 52.

¹⁹⁵ W. Beik, "The Violence of the French Crowd from Charivari to Revolution", *Past & Present*, no. 197 (2007): 93, accessed May 8, 2019, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25096691>.

stronghold) existed alongside the more heterodox Montpellier and Nîmes. As a result, the province had a reputation in the early modern period as a region that fostered contradictory ideas and loyalties.¹⁹⁶ This influenced early modern ideas of medieval heresy. There was a continuing rhetoric of the south as inclined to be distinct and separate, and the implication that this culture enabled medieval heresy and caused controversy in seventeenth-century politics.

In order to examine the ideas of medieval heresy within this context, I have defined regional historical works as written by historians who were born, lived or worked in the Midi. This is quite an extensive network; mendicant authors, orthodox bishops and Huguenot writers are dealt with in the following chapters unless their writings are particularly representative of the culture of Languedoc and Provence. Authors based in the educational and spiritual centres of Toulouse, Montpellier and Aix characterised their writings on medieval heresy accordingly, influenced by factors which ranged from which archives they were able to consult to the readership they were likely to attract.¹⁹⁷ The significance of place and context to their understanding of medieval heresy is clear in the popular subjects their treatises and pamphlets take - from the legal questions of the privileges of Languedoc as opposed to the king's role in inquisition raised in Toulouse, to prophecies of unorthodoxy in Montpellier and the bishoprics of Aix-en-Provence.¹⁹⁸ In Toulouse, scholars were particularly concerned with the city's medieval past and how heresy had led to the downfall of the Counts of Toulouse. Conservative authorities eager to display their Catholic credentials sought to change the history of heresy-tainted leadership in the city, by re-evaluating the Counts of Toulouse.¹⁹⁹ The relationship between the King, the Estates of Languedoc and the city was credited to the defeat of medieval heresy and the wisdom of the *parlement* of Toulouse.²⁰⁰ Guillaume Catel is representative of many of the municipal elites who wrote upon medieval heresy in the Midi - as *conseiller* of the *parlement* of Toulouse he upheld Catholic orthodoxy against

¹⁹⁶ R. A. Mentzer, *Heresy Proceedings in Languedoc, 1500-1560* (Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, 1984), 4-8.

¹⁹⁷ For the range of writings in the region see D. Huron, "Introduction" in *Cahiers de Fanjeaux: Historiens modernes et Moyen Âge méridional*, 49 (Éditions Privat: 2014): 20; Lelong, *Bibliothèque historique de la France*, 373-378.

¹⁹⁸ On legal jurists in early-modern Toulouse see J. Krynen and J. Poumarède 'Juristes toulousains (1500-1830)', the CTHDIP (Toulouse Center for the History of Law and Political Ideas), Toulouse 1 Capitole University, Tolosana, accessed April 2018 <https://tolosana.univ-toulouse.fr/fr/corpus/juristes-toulousains>. Coulet explores early modern ecclesiastical histories, Coulet, "Les histoires ecclésiastiques de Provence", 35-55.

¹⁹⁹ G. Catel, *Histoire des comtes de Tolose* (Toulouse, 1623), accessed October 25, 2015,

<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k114513j>.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 135.

contemporary “heretics” whilst writing upon medieval heresy in his study of the Counts of Toulouse.²⁰¹ Local Catholic historians focussed on prominent individuals (the Counts of Toulouse and Dominican inquisitors), as those involved in inquisitorial procedure were considered authoritative on the nature of medieval heresy. This view was shaped by the records available - the inquisitorial courts played a major role in Toulouse in the thirteenth century and the records of the order of the Dominicans and the municipal archives were readily available to seventeenth-century enthusiasts.

Regional historians of medieval heresy were predominantly clergy or belonged to the urban elite. Histories of Provence dealing with the Albigensian and Waldensian heresies were almost exclusively written by clergy.²⁰² The framework of biographical lists of bishops was a popular style of historical writing in Provence, which aimed at charting the apostolic succession without the taint of medieval heresy.²⁰³ Provençal historians used the lives of bishops as a common structure as they were financially supported by the dioceses, leading to an angle on medieval heresy that was influenced by support for the established Church. In Aix-en-Provence, Simon Bartel (d.1649), doctor in theology at Aix-en-Provence and priest of Puy-Sainte-Reparate and Canon of Riez, wrote his *Histoire chronologique des évêques de Riez* (1630-1640), which explored the role of bishops in the suppression of heretics.²⁰⁴ Members of the local clergy had a vested interest in demonstrating how far their parishes had progressed from their being mired in heresy in the middle ages. Others wrote these works to warn their parishioners of the dangers of Protestant thought using medieval heresy as a didactic example.²⁰⁵ Pierre Gariel (1584-1674), the dean of Montpellier cathedral, used the Albigensian and Waldensian heresies as indications of the danger that would befall Protestant heretics that tried to infiltrate Montpellier.²⁰⁶ Joseph Anthelmi (1648-1697), canon of the cathedral of Fréjus, who became vicar-general to the Bishop of Pamiers in 1694, wrote histories of the Church in the South of France that included examples of their inquisitorial legacy.²⁰⁷ In Provence, in contrast to Languedoc, the majority of works concerning medieval

²⁰¹ Schneider, *Public Life in Toulouse*, 154.

²⁰² Coulet, “Les histoires ecclésiastiques de Provence”, 35.

²⁰³ *Ibid.*, 40.

²⁰⁴ S. Bartel, *Histoire chronologique des évêques de Riez* (1630-1640), accessed Feb 6, 2017, <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k114480h>.

²⁰⁵ Coulet, “Les histoires ecclésiastiques de Provence”, 35.

²⁰⁶ P. Gariel, *Idée de la ville de Montpellier, recherchée et présentée aux honnestes gens* (Montpellier: D. Pech, 1665), 197-9.

²⁰⁷ J. Anthelmi, *De inito ecclesiae Forojuliensis dissertatio chronologica, critica, profano-sacra* (Paris, 1680).

heresy focussed on the Waldensians and Peter of Bruis, rather than on the Albigensians, which reflects the medieval geographical differences between the sects.

There is also variety in the level of historical scholarship displayed by antiquarians and collectors, university professors and clergy. Accusations of plagiarism and the forgery of manuscripts have been directed against prominent regional historians such as Pierre Louvet (1617-1684) and Guillaume Besse.²⁰⁸ Elaine Graham-Leigh observed in her study of nobility in the Albigensian Crusade that there was a lack of historical writing in Languedoc prior to the sixteenth century and points out the subsequent development of regional histories amongst the urban bourgeoisie.²⁰⁹ Leigh's observations about the quality of historical writing reflects the viewpoint of a medievalist historian seeking sources.²¹⁰ For example, she valued Guillaume Catel and Dom Vaissète's analytical approaches in contrast to the disputed forgeries of Guillaume Besse and overlooked works by legal savants.²¹¹ She is representative of a wider trend in the historiography of historical writing in the Midi. The interest in the accuracy and provenance of thirteenth-century sources by historians of the Albigensian Crusade has led to certain early modern editions being prioritised in the historiography over others, as their transcriptions of medieval texts were considered more reliable.²¹² However, authors who produced poor editions or incorrect translations within their historical works equally expressed ideas of medieval heresy that provide significant revelations about historical writing and regional identity in early modern France.²¹³ There was great variation between the sources, skills and motivations of regional historians. Nonetheless, whether Catholic or Calvinist, Toulousain or Provençal, professional scholar or amateur enthusiast, what united these writings was their focus on the location of the Midi and their view of medieval heresy as playing a central role in the history of the region.²¹⁴

²⁰⁸ L. Ducasse, *Faire profession d'historien au XVIIe siècle: étude de la carrière de Pierre Louvet, 1617-1684*. (Histoire. Ecole nationale des chartes, 2011), 378-382; J.-L. Biget, "Un faux du XIIIe siècle? Examen d'une hypothèse" in *L'histoire du Catharisme*, ed. M. Zerner (Nice: Centre d'études médiévales, 2001), 105-133.

²⁰⁹ Graham-Leigh, *The Southern French Nobility*, 4.

²¹⁰ Ibid.

²¹¹ Ibid.

²¹² In particular - J. de Vaissète and C. Devic, *Histoire générale du Languedoc, avec des notes et les pièces justificatives* (Paris: J Vincent, 1730-45).

²¹³ For instance, the criticisms of the scholarship of Pierre Louvet: Ducasse, *Faire profession d'historien*, 378-382. See also the controversy surrounding Guillaume Besse's transcription or potential forgery of the Saint-Félix charter, Y. Dossat, "À propos du concile cathare de Saint-Félix: les Milingues", *Cathares en Languedoc, Cahiers de Fanjeaux* 3 (1968): 201-204; Zerner, *L'histoire du Catharisme*, 274-8.

²¹⁴ D. Hurel, "Introduction", *Cahiers de Fanjeaux: Historiens modernes et Moyen Âge méridional*, 49 (Éditions Privat: 2014), 17.

The majority of regional histories were printed outside of Paris, predominantly in Toulouse. Those printed in Toulouse would have reached a regional audience and the astute reader would have been able to infer the author's views on medieval heresy through their choice of publisher. Ideas of medieval heresy were often shared between author and publisher, particularly the importance placed on Catholic orthodoxy by the Colomiès family, who established the largest printing press in Toulouse.²¹⁵ Jacques Colomiès (c.1490-c.1570) and his sons were responsible for publishing most of the works against heresy in Toulouse in this period, they considered themselves as defenders of Catholicism, printing polemical works for the Catholic League during the Wars of Religion.²¹⁶ The Colomiès family also printed versions of inquisitorial sources, including translations of Bernard Gui (1562) and the *Historia Albigensium* by Pierre des Vaux de Cernay (1568).²¹⁷ The edition of Pierre des Vaux de Cernay (1568) is particularly interesting as it was first published by Colomiès in Toulouse before it was printed in Paris in 1569 and 1585. Colomiès considered it worth printing for a Toulouse audience, which reiterates the popularity of the subject of the Albigensian Crusade in the Midi.

Regional historical writing has received less attention in the narrative of early modern historical writing on the Albigensian and Waldensian heresies, presumably due to its specific topic or select target audience. However, the readership of these works was not necessarily local. The scholarly interest in these texts often reached beyond the city of production to other areas of the Midi and these works became sources of information for historians of medieval heresy throughout France. Writers such as Guillaume Catel and Guillaume Besse were widely read by their contemporaries; Étienne Baluze owned a copy of Besse's *Histoire* and Besse sent Baluze documents from the south of France.²¹⁸ Not all the historical writing on the Midi region had a solely regional impact, nevertheless, they shared a character and concern for the region itself.

²¹⁵ J.-C. Loubet del Bayle, For www.occitanie.org, in the collections *Villes d'imprimerie* and *Typographie & Civilisation*, (Toulouse & Paris: 1996-1998), accessed Aug 7, 2017, <http://www.occitanie.org/imprimerie/chapitre2c.html>.

²¹⁶ Ibid.

²¹⁷ J. Fornier, *Histoire des guerres faictes en plusieurs lieux de la France tant en Guienne et Languedoc que ailleurs contre certains ennemis de la couronne*, (Toulouse: J. Colomiès, 1562) and P. Vaux de Cernay, *Histoire des Albigeois et gestes de noble Simon de Montfort* (Toulouse: Colomiès, 1568).

²¹⁸ É. Baluze, *Mélanges, relatifs surtout à l'histoire du Midi de la France*, fols. 38, 39r, BNF, Département des Manuscrits: Collection Baluze 275, accessed July 4, 2019, <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9001602h>.

Local historians had local knowledge on which their research was based, such as oral traditions and city archives.²¹⁹ These early modern works have been used by medieval historians as indicators of the availability and provenance of inquisitorial sources in the Midi.²²⁰ Medievalists have paid attention to these works for the thirteenth-century sources that they might provide for studying the Albigensians. But this has resulted in regional writings of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries having been considered in isolation, without considering the scholarly networks and patrons of these historians.²²¹ Recently, the annual symposium at Fanjeaux by historians of the medieval Midi attempted to address this lack of research on early modern regional historians.²²² The volume that resulted, however, tends to focus on works from the early eighteenth century. Many works of regional historians from seventeenth-century Languedoc and Provence have been the subject of research by local historians. Those scholars who have paid greater attention to regional accounts of medieval heresy are usually based in the Midi, for instance, Bernard Montagnes acted as an archivist for the Dominican order in Toulouse, and Georges Passerat was a priest in the diocese of Montauban and professor at the Catholic university in Toulouse.²²³ Similarly, libraries and archives in Toulouse and Carcassonne have undertaken projects that have brought these histories of the Albigensian Crusade to the fore; with the establishment of the *Centre d'Études Cathares* in Carcassonne 2011-2015.²²⁴ More recently, the University of Toulouse's digitisation project (*Tolosana*) has showcased a collection of jurists from seventeenth-century Toulouse, many of whom examined laws upon medieval heresy for an understanding of the privileges of land ownership in and around the city.²²⁵ Despite this interest, this chapter will go on to demonstrate that these works have still been largely overlooked as evidence for early modern ideas on medieval heresy. It will argue that, taken as a whole, they demonstrate the importance of specificity of place and regional cultural identity for understanding early modern French conceptions of the Albigensians and Waldensians.

²¹⁹ A. Walsham "The Social History of the Archive: Record-Keeping in Early Modern Europe", *Past & Present*, 230 (2016), 45.

²²⁰ Hurel, "Introduction", 17.

²²¹ *Ibid.*

²²² *Cahiers de Fanjeaux: Historiens modernes et Moyen Âge méridional*, 49 (2014).

²²³ B. Montagnes and G. Passerat in *Cahiers de Fanjeaux 49: Historiens modernes et Moyen Âge méridional* (2014).

²²⁴ Centre d'Études Cathares blog, accessed January 19, 2017, <http://cecnelli.unblog.fr>.

²²⁵ Krynen and Poumarède 'Juristes toulousains (1500-1830)'.

Medieval Heresy in Sixteenth-century Local Histories of the Midi

Before the Counter-Reformation, the suppression of heresy by civic authorities was memorialised as a celebration of dynastic achievement, which was derived from a model of writing local history that aimed to secure patronage by extolling the laudable achievements of rulers.²²⁶ This style of history, chronicling the actions of key figures in the Albigensian Crusade such as Louis IX, Simon de Montfort and the Counts of Toulouse, was particularly significant in sixteenth-century Toulouse.

Nicolas Bertrand (d.1527)

Nicolas Bertrand (d.1527), professor of Law at the University of Toulouse, was the first Renaissance historian of the city. His *Les Gestes des Toulousains et d'autres nations de l'environ* (1555) is renowned for its woodcuts of daily life in Toulouse. Although Bertrand's work discussed the disorder surrounding the Albigensian heresy, he did not dwell on the heresy itself. To Bertrand, medieval heresy needed to be suppressed in historical writing as in society; his account of Toulouse aimed to celebrate the order of the city, not dwell on its tumultuous past. Robert A. Schneider argues that 'mythologizing... was precisely the intention of Bertrand's book, it was part of a genre of local historical writing that emphasized the independence of Toulouse'.²²⁷ Bertrand emphasised the legitimacy of the city's privileges as granted by the Roman Empire, as opposed to the monarchical interference of the Albigensian Crusade.

Therefore, Bertrand's limited analysis of the Albigensian Crusade focussed on the relationship between the Counts of Toulouse and the French monarchy; he viewed heresy as the failing of Toulousain leadership. Raymond VI, Count of Toulouse, was excommunicated for being a 'fauteur et entreteneur des Hérétiques'.²²⁸ Bertrand also critiqued Raymond's multiple attempts to reconcile the Albigensians with orthodoxy. In his brief discussion of the Albigensian heretics, Bertrand cast them as infidels who deserved to be fought, intellectually by St Dominic and on the battlefield by Simon de Montfort.²²⁹ Bertrand's sole mention of the

²²⁶ Kelley, *Versions of History*, 9.

²²⁷ Schneider, *Public Life in Toulouse*, 70.

²²⁸ Bertrand, *Les Gestes des Tolosains*, 76 (page marked K).

²²⁹ *Ibid.*, 71-74.

practices of the Albigensians in his *Les Gestes des Toulousains* explored their views on marriage and vegetarianism: ‘lesquels desprisoient le Sacrement de Mariage, & disjoint qu’ils ne failloit point manger de chair, &...erroient en plusieurs autres articles.’²³⁰ By focussing on the Albigensians’ relationships and diets, Bertrand inferred that Albigensians’ view of sanctity differed greatly from orthodox views of purity. These practices led Bertrand to conclude that the Albigensians would not adhere to orthodoxy and were, in fact, characterised by their distinctiveness and separation from the Catholic Church. Indeed, Bertrand recognised that the Albigensians portrayed themselves as the true Church; his suggestion that Albigensians were given the option to recant and refused further demonises the sect.²³¹

However, Bertrand is far more concerned with the beliefs and practices of the Templars instead of the Albigensians or Waldensians. He dedicates an entire section to ‘les erreurs des templiers’ and the initiation of spitting at the Cross and how the group was insolent and secretive.²³² As Krumenacker points out, whilst Bertrand passes over the period of the Albigensian Crusade rather modestly he is more than willing to describe the failings of the Templars in detail.²³³ In his brevity on the topic of the Albigensians, Bertrand is representative of early sixteenth-century writings on Languedoc. This poses the question, how did the Albigensian and Waldensian heresies become popular topics of local histories by the latter half of the sixteenth century?

Notably, the rise of Protestantism in France was concurrent to the increase in the number of historical works in the Midi upon the Albigensian and Waldensian heresies.²³⁴ After 1572 three-quarters of the Protestants in the kingdom resided in the south of France, and the Calvinist population there was not easily subdued.²³⁵ Historians of Languedoc and Provence have posited the hypothesis that the people of this region possessed a strong culture of anti-clericalism. The importance of the Consulat in the Midi, which ran the affairs of each commune, created a strong sense of civic independence. Conner speaks of a ‘profound

²³⁰ Ibid., 76 (page marked K).

²³¹ Ibid.

²³² Ibid., 82 (page marked Kiiii)

²³³ Y. Krumenacker, and W. Wang, “Cathares, vaudois, hussites, ancêtres de la reforme?”, *Chrétiens et Sociétés XVIe - XXIe siècles* 23, (2017), 133-162, accessed September 9, 2018.

<https://journals.openedition.org/chretienssociété/s/4108>

²³⁴ Collins, *The State in Early Modern France*, 104.

²³⁵ Conner, *Huguenot Heartland: Montauban*, 2.

interaction of Protestantism with southern French culture'.²³⁶ The distinctive culture and privileges of the Midi, which had made Albigensian and Waldensian sects difficult for authorities to counteract, were essential to the survival of Calvinist beliefs.²³⁷ Moreover, Catholic writers applied the stereotypes of the southern heretic as treasonous and deceitful to both Protestants and Albigensians.²³⁸ Huguenots sought to overcome these stereotypes by trying to prove their legitimacy and broadening their appeal by claiming to represent civic authority against the pretensions of Papal tyranny.²³⁹ In some cases, however, this amounted to a rhetoric of deception and duplicity, as Protestants, making humanist claims to be acting as citizens defending the *République* against tyranny, were undermining ecclesiastical authority. The need to suppress and hide Calvinist theological beliefs in order to reach a wider audience is exemplified in the in the historical writing on medieval heresy by Jean Fornier.

Jean Fornier (c.1530-c.1584)

Jean Fornier (c.1530-c.1584), born in Montauban, was a translator and poet and Huguenot minister. He translated many medieval documents from Latin into French, which included his edition of *Praeclara Francorum Facinora* under the title *L'histoire des guerres faictes en plusieurs lieux de la France, tant en la Guyenne et Languedoc contre les Hérétiques...* (1562).²⁴⁰ This was known to some of Fornier's contemporaries as the "chronicle of Simon de Montfort", but Fornier claimed that it should be attributed to Guillaume de Puylaurens based upon his reading of Bertrand's history of Toulouse.²⁴¹ Over sixty years later, Guillaume Catel (1560-1626) proposed in his *Histoire des Comtes de Toulouse* (1623) that

²³⁶ McCaffrey, "Memory and Collective Identity in Occitanie", 117; Conner, *Huguenot Heartland: Montauban*, 2.

²³⁷ Monpays, "L'image du Languedoc", 25; McCaffrey, "Memory and Collective Identity in Occitanie", 15-17.

²³⁸ Racaut, *Hatred in Print*, 105-107.

²³⁹ Carroll, "Political Justice", 178, 187; P. Benedict, "The Dynamics of Protestant Militancy: France, 1555-1563", in *Reformation, Revolt, and Civil War in France and the Netherlands, 1555-1585*, ed. P. Benedict G. Marnef, H. van Nierop and M. Venard (Amsterdam: Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, 1999), 35-50; Q. Skinner, *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought*, 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 225-239.

²⁴⁰ Fornier, *L'histoire des guerres faictes*.

²⁴¹ Lelong, *Bibliothèque historique de la France*, 377; Fornier, *L'histoire des guerres faictes*, 377.

The naming of this *Praeclara Francorum* as Simon de Montfort's chronicle caused some confusion amongst early modern authors with the "Gestes des Simon de Montfort" from the chronicle of Pierre des Vaux de Cernay see Catel, *Histoire des Comtes de Tolose*, *4, or Lelong's reference for "P. des Vaux de Cernay, *Histoire des Albigeois et gestes de noble Simon de Montfort* edited by Arnaud Sorbin (Paris: Chez Guillaume Chaudiere, 1569)" in Lelong, *Bibliothèque historique de la France*, 377.

this chronicle was authored by Pierre VI Bishop of Lodève.²⁴² Catel's suggestion confused the dates of the bishops of Lodève as Dom Vaissète explained in his *Histoire de Languedoc* (1730-45):

Catel a donnée a la fin de son histoire des comtes de Toulouse, sous le titre de *Praeclara Francorum facinora*, qu'il dit être d'un auteur incertain... est de Bernard Guidonis, religieux Jacobin & inquisiteur de Toulouse.... La preuve en est évidente, puisque la vie du pape Clément V qui a été écrite par cet Auteur... est mot pour mot dans les mêmes termes que ce qui en est dit dans la chronique.²⁴³

Vaissète stated that Bernard Gui authored the chronicle and compared Gui's biography of Pope Clement V in Étienne Baluze's *Vitae Papparum Avenionensium* (1693) with the section mentioned in Catel's appendix. He emphasised the similarity in the tone and language, as 'mot pour mot dans les mêmes termes'.²⁴⁴ The disputed authorship of this chronicle reveals how early modern historians were concerned with the provenance and authenticity of sources on medieval heresy, and how sources were re-evaluated throughout the period.

Fornier's translation of this chronicle forms part of a proliferation of translations of medieval sources that were published in the latter half of the sixteenth century.²⁴⁵ Fornier claimed that he translated the chronicle directly, not adding any details, correcting or modernising the language.²⁴⁶ Fornier reiterated the claim that he did not change the content of the chronicle many times, which demonstrates that the veracity of historical evidence on medieval heresy was significant in the publication of these works.²⁴⁷ Early modern writers in the Midi often revised their fellow scholars' editions of sources, Fornier asserted that he revisited the original manuscripts and transcribed and translated them from the source itself.²⁴⁸ Fornier

²⁴² Catel, *Histoire des comtes de Tolose*, *4 - *4v.

²⁴³ J. Vaissète and C. Devic, *Histoire de Generale de Languedoc*, 4, (1730-1745), iv-v. The modern view is that the printed text of the *Praeclara Francorum Facinora* consisted of extracts from the *Flores chronicorum* of Bernard Gui, which in turn contained long passages from Guillaume de Puylaurens's chronicle; Guillaume de Puylaurens, *Chronique*, ed. J. Duvernoy (Paris: CNRS, 1976), 15-25.

²⁴⁴ Ibid.

²⁴⁵ Lelong, *Bibliothèque historique de la France*, 376-378. Lelong lists several editions of Pierre des Vaux de Cernay: *Historia Albigensum* (Nicolas Camusat, 1615); A. Du Chesne, *Historiae Francorum Scriptorum Coaetanei*, 5, (Paris: 1649) 554; A. Sorbin (trans.), *Histoire de la Ligue sainte, sous la conduite de Simon de Montfort, contre les Albigeois tenant le Bearn, le Languedoc, la Gascoigne & le Dauphine... écrite par Pierre Moine de Vaux-de-Cernay* (Toulouse: Colomiès 1568, Paris: Chaudière, 1569).

²⁴⁶ Fornier, *L'histoire des guerres faictes*, pages marked Aii-Aiii.

²⁴⁷ Ibid.

²⁴⁸ Ibid.

recognised the authoritative nature of primary accounts of the Inquisition. The importance of the accuracy of his evidence was also partially due to the underlying political motivations of Fornier's work, published in the same year as the outbreak of the First War of Religion. As a Huguenot, Fornier's translation implied a link between the Huguenot experience in the seventeenth-century Midi and the imagery of the persecution of the Albigensians, thus, the accuracy of his translation supported his point and made it more convincing.

However, Fornier was able to hide his confessional allegiance. It is unclear from this text alone that Fornier was a Calvinist or even opposed to the persecution of the Albigensians, which may explain the arch-Catholic Jacques Colomiès willingness to publish his translation. Luc Racaut argues that, besides Fornier's focus on Montauban, it is difficult to sense any Protestant sympathies within his edition.²⁴⁹ Yet, if Fornier's work on the Albigensian Crusade is taken in parallel with his other writings, such as his poem *L'Histoire de l'affliction de la ville de Montauban lors qu'elle fut assalée par plusieurs fois, & longtemps assiégée des Chevaliers et grands Seigneurs de la France en 1562*, his opposition to the oppression of Protestants and Albigensians becomes clear.²⁵⁰ As Conner states, Jean Fornier's poem is one of the only accounts of the Wars of Religion in Montauban.²⁵¹ Further evidence of his involvement in recording religious conflict can be found in a manuscript account of *Relation du massacre de toulouse en 1561 et 1562 terns des premiers troubles de la religion par jean Fornier de Montauban*.²⁵² This manuscript recounts the fighting in Toulouse, which started in response to a Huguenot church being set up in 1561. The Catholic Church's awareness of the history of the Albigensian heresy meant that the diocese scrutinized the Huguenot population for any signs that they flouted the legal limitations upon their practices. The tensions between the *parlement* of Toulouse and the Huguenot population of the city escalated in 1562.²⁵³ Violence broke out on 13 May and, over the next four days, the fighting killed roughly 200 Protestants and 100 Catholics.²⁵⁴ Fornier's *Relation du massacre de toulouse* claims that the authorities deliberately targeted the Protestants, 'marquerent les maisons des suspects'.²⁵⁵ However, Fornier wished to avoid explicit comparison of the Huguenots with

²⁴⁹ Racaut, *Hatred in Print*, 113.

²⁵⁰ Conner, *Huguenot Heartland: Montauban*, 12.

²⁵¹ *Ibid.*

²⁵² Fornier, *Relation du massacre de Toulouse*, fos. 88-96.

²⁵³ M. Greengrass, 'Anatomy of a Religious Riot: Toulouse in May 1562', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 34, (1983): 373.

²⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 385.

²⁵⁵ Fornier, *Relation du massacre de Toulouse*, fos. 91r and 91v.

Albigensians, presumably for fear of further denigration of the Huguenots as heretics. He wished to portray the Protestants as law-abiding citizens and the Catholics as acting illegally. Instead, he subtly implied the association between past and present by publishing a translation of *Praeclara Francorum facinora*.

Significantly, Fornier's implication that Calvinism was a descendant of Albigensian suffering foreshadowed seventeenth-century parallels of a shared history of persecution. In this sense Fornier began the modern historical analysis of the Albigensian and Waldensian heresies, which blossomed in the seventeenth century as copies of the sources became more readily available.²⁵⁶ Local historical writing on this topic became more professionalized and examined sources more critically, as the confessional debate intensified and as sixteenth-century attempts to reconcile Catholics and Protestants waned.

Guillaume Catel (1560-1626)

Guillaume Catel (1560-1626), a lawyer and *conseiller* at the *parlement* of Toulouse, wrote historical works on Languedoc which demonstrate an underlying concern with the Albigensian Crusade's impact upon the contemporary politics of the region. Guillaume Catel wrote two works that examined the Albigensian Crusade, one that considered the role of the Counts of Toulouse, the second a general history of Languedoc. The first, the *Histoire des comtes de Tolose* (1623), examines the continuity and change from the government of Toulouse in the thirteenth century to that of the *parlement* of Toulouse Catel experienced in his role as a judge.²⁵⁷ He became renowned as the first humanist historian of Toulouse, even though his work was pre-dated by Nicolas Bertrand fifty years earlier. The second, the *Mémoire de l'Histoire du Languedoc curieusement et fidèlement recueillis de divers auteurs* (1633), compiled many archival sources.²⁵⁸ Catel was widely respected by his contemporaries, both for his erudition and his position in the *parlement* of Toulouse. In

²⁵⁶ Lelong, "Histoire des Albigeois" and "Histoire des Vaudois" in *Bibliothèque historique de la France*, 373-378.

²⁵⁷ G. Catel, *Histoire des comtes de Tolose* (Toulouse: Pierre Bosc 1623), accessed October 25, 2015. <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k114513j>.

²⁵⁸ G. Catel, *Mémoires de l'histoire du Languedoc* (Toulouse: Pierre Bosc, 1633), accessed October 26, 2015, <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k114514x>.

modern times, historians have continued to praise him as a medievalist; Schneider describes Catel as the ‘most sophisticated of Toulouse’s historians of the seventeenth century’.²⁵⁹

As Catel was involved in local politics and civic life, he was frequently confronted with the medieval history of the institutions of Toulouse. His role as a magistrate involved upholding the privileges of the city and its institutions. Civic life of Toulouse was rooted in medieval traditions. For instance, the city pageant of 1624 included a script by Balthasar Baro, Pierre Caseneuve and Guillaume Catel (amongst others) that honoured Clemence Isaure, a fourteenth-century pious lady who donated her poetry to the city to establish an annual poetry competition, the Floral Games.²⁶⁰ The Floral Games was a myth conjured in the sixteenth century, which demonstrates the Toulousan interest in creating a prestigious medieval civic culture and how interwoven this was with support for early modern scholarship upon the medieval history of Toulouse.

Similar to Bertrand, in his *Histoire des Comtes de Tolose*, Catel initially focuses upon the role of leadership in quashing heresy. He dedicated his history of the Counts of Toulouse to the Duke of Montmorency who, in 1623, was governor of Languedoc and had played a major role in suppressing the 1622 Protestant rebellion. As a grandée, whose family had a long association with Languedoc, Montmorency was the obvious choice for the book’s dedication. Catel praised the lineage of leadership against heresy in the region, claiming this as Montmorency’s inheritance - the role of an instigator of the repression of heresy.²⁶¹ Catel introduced the book with a homage to the part played by the nobility of Languedoc in the Albigensian Crusade:

Vos célèbres Majeurs ayant assisté généreusement le Roi Louis en la Croisade qu’il fit pour purger cette Province de l’Hérésie des Albigeois, et même le sujet de ce Livre n’étant autre que de ce qui est advenu dans le Languedoc.²⁶²

Catel emphasized how ‘généreusement’ the nobles of Languedoc purged the region of the Albigensian heresy, in collaboration with the king, conveying to the reader that, to Catel,

²⁵⁹ Schneider, *Public Life in Toulouse*, 70.

²⁶⁰ Ibid., 76.

²⁶¹ Catel, *Histoire des Comtes de Tolose*, *2.

²⁶² Ibid.

heresy was abhorrent and needed to be eradicated.²⁶³ He viewed the Albigensian heresy as evidence of how unorthodox ideas and false theology could take hold pervasively throughout society and argued that strong leadership was required to eradicate it. Catel implied that the same values of the early Counts of Toulouse (before Raymond VI's treacherous support of the Albigensians) were shared by Montmorency. Catel used this comparison to inspire Montmorency to take further action against heresy in the province.²⁶⁴ Catel's appeal to authority was not solely based on his understanding of medieval heresy as insidious, he also sought political connections to further his career.²⁶⁵ Catel was ambitious and was proud of being related by marriage to Chancellor Séguier (1633-72) and Phillippe de Bertier, President of the *parlement* of Toulouse.²⁶⁶ In his *Histoire des Comtes de Tolose*, Catel goes further to claim kinship between himself and the Duke of Montmorency in their joint opposition to heretical views.²⁶⁷ To Catel, respectability was grounded in moral virtue and civic duty and medieval heresy was the antithesis to this, as it undermined both piety and hierarchy.

As a staunch Catholic, Catel considered it his civic duty to prosecute heretics in Toulouse. In this regard, he is most famed for his passionate speech against the Italian philosopher Giulio Cesare Vanini, who was arrested on the charge of atheism on 5 August 1618. Limited evidence had been found to support his conviction and it was Catel's arguments that swayed the *conseillers* deliberating Vanini's case, as described in the annals of Toulouse:

neuvième du mois de février 1619, la grande chambre de la Tournelle assemblées, fut donné arrêt au rapport de M. de Catel, conseiller au parlement, par lequel Vanini fut condamné.²⁶⁸

The annals of Toulouse recorded Catel as the principal prosecutor; he was paid sixteen *écus* for his role in the deliberations over Vanini's sentence. As a result, Vanini was dragged on a rack to his place of execution, his tongue cut off and finally, publicly executed.²⁶⁹ The fact

²⁶³ Ibid.

²⁶⁴ Ibid.

²⁶⁵ Schneider, *Public Life in Toulouse*, 70.

²⁶⁶ Graham-Leigh, *The Southern French Nobility*, 4.

²⁶⁷ Catel, *Histoire des Comtes de Tolose*, *2v.

²⁶⁸ *Annals of the Town Hall of Toulouse (1618-1633)*, Toulouse, Archives Municipales de Toulouse, BB 278 f. 13-14.

²⁶⁹ *Vanini's death sentence*, Archives Départementales de la Haute-Garonne de Toulouse, 1619, BN 382.

that Catel was involved in the prosecution of unorthodox views in seventeenth-century Toulouse shaped his views of medieval heresy and vice versa.

Catel's fascination with medieval heresy was not mere contempt for unorthodox beliefs, but evidence of a broader understanding of orthodoxy as Truth. Miller argues that the ideal of the antiquarian in seventeenth-century France was not the 'relationship between politics and moral excellence, but between learning and moral excellence'.²⁷⁰ Catel's antiquarian habits were partly fuelled by his beliefs in the importance of history as the pursuit of virtue. To Catel the history of medieval heresy was a quest for the true church, a moral responsibility as well as an intellectual preoccupation. But it was his political aspirations and social network that enabled him access to archives and afforded him the patronage to get his works published. The contemporary ramifications of allowing heresy to spread are outlined by Catel's commentary on contemporary issues with Protestants:

nous vivons dans un siècle, auquel les Heretiques se travaillent de piller les Monasteres, et demolir les Eglises, que les gens de bien on teste soigneux de bastir, et enrichir.²⁷¹

The choice of the word 'travaillent' portrayed heretics not as passive victims of an evil force but as active participants in the downfall of the Church.²⁷² Catel described the destructive tendencies of heresy by referring to the demolition of church buildings and monasteries, which created imagery of the longevity of the corruptive power of heretical beliefs and symbolised how spiritually and materially damaging medieval heresy was to the true Church.

Catel recognised the importance of the Albigensian Crusade as the defining event of the history of the Midi, 'la chose plus mémorable et de plus grand exemple [of heresy] qui soit arrivée dans ce pays', noting that not only French authors have been interested in thirteenth-century Languedoc, but also authors across Europe, 'principalement par ceux d'Angleterre'.²⁷³ He ascribed the significance of the Albigensian Crusade to the specific characteristics of heresy in the Midi and its interactions with the Church. In his *Histoire des*

²⁷⁰Miller, *Peiresc's Europe*, 158.

²⁷¹Catel, *Histoire des Comtes de Tolose*, *3v.

²⁷²Ibid.

²⁷³Ibid., 231.

Comtes de Toulouse, Catel portrays the Albigensians as a scourge upon society. Catel quoted St Bernard's letter 221 to Alphonse the Count of Toulouse as evidence of the nature of the heretical beliefs faced by the Church in the thirteenth century.²⁷⁴ Catel analysed Bernard's description of a sect lacking reverence for authority and devoid of the sacraments as evidence of heretics operating inside the structure of the Church. Catel developed the common trope of medieval heretics as deceptive and used this to emphasise their potential to function duplicitously within the existing Church, often undetected.

Catel also attributed this behaviour to the Waldensians, referring to Valdo's founding of the movement within the Church structures of Lyon.²⁷⁵ Catel cited Claude de Rubis's (1533-1613) history of Lyon in his description of the origins of the Waldensians, which demonstrates his engagement with recent literature on medieval heresy, as well as thirteenth-century manuscripts.²⁷⁶ Rubis wrote similar histories of the city of Lyon and was an ardent defender of Catholicism in Lyon against the sedition and Huguenots, whom he described as the 'vrais successuers de ceux qui en faveur d'Henry III Roy d'Angleterre prescharent iadis la Croysade contre le bon Roy S. Louis'.²⁷⁷ Catel was influenced by Rubis and used his work greatly in his discussion on the Waldensians, recognising the specifically local nature of the Waldensian heresy. Catel is more precise in his understanding of the differences between Albigensians and Waldensians than many of his contemporaries; he argues that the first heretics in Languedoc and Gascony were not Waldensians because Valdo only began preaching in 1160.²⁷⁸ Catel used St Bernard's letter to the Count of Toulouse as proof against the idea that the Waldensians were the 'les premiers hérétiques qui gasterent le Languedoc...ce pays avoit esté infecté'.²⁷⁹ Catel's demonstration of different sects originating separately in the south of France denied the Calvinist narrative of a continuous and unified opposition to Papal tyranny.

In the introduction to the reader, Catel listed the various medieval sources that informed his *Histoire des Comtes*. Amongst those works that Catel decided to introduce from the outset, denoting their importance, are accounts by Bernard Gui, Guillaume de Puylaurens, and an

²⁷⁴ Ibid.

²⁷⁵ Ibid.

²⁷⁶ Ibid.

²⁷⁷ C. Rubis, *Histoire véritable de Lyon* (Lyon: B. Nugo, 1604), 440.

²⁷⁸ Catel. *Histoire des Comtes de Tolose*, 231.

²⁷⁹ Ibid.

anonymous genealogy of the Counts of Toulouse.²⁸⁰ Interestingly, Catel does not merely mention the title but provided rich descriptions of the manuscripts he consulted; he described a genealogy of the Counts of Toulouse as an ‘ancien Livre les pourtraits [qui] sont illuminez de diverses couleurs’.²⁸¹ Catel found this genealogy in a register of the Hôtel de Ville in Toulouse; it was a manuscript shown to him by ‘Monsieur le President Chalvet’.²⁸² Catel boasted of his connection to Matthieu de Chalvet (1528-1607), President of *enquêtes* of the *parlement* of Toulouse, who highly valued the genealogy and had shown it to Catel twenty years previously.²⁸³ Matthieu de Chalvet translated editions of Seneca and acted as a judge in the “medieval” tradition of the Floral Games. Multiple generations of the Chalvet family participated in the government of Toulouse; François de Chalvet was named the president of the *enquêtes* in 1605.²⁸⁴ The *parlement*, which had long been a bastion of Catholic orthodoxy, was the centre of a network of scholars interested in the history of the city and, by implication, the Albigensian and Waldensian heresies. The scholarly network signals the role of family libraries and personal collections of manuscripts in the historical writing of the Midi. The Chalvet family highly valued their manuscript and Catel states that it was kept in good condition. Chalvet’s private library was placed at the disposition of scholars like Catel: participating in civic life in Toulouse meant upholding its history, traditions and privileges, which fostered consciousness of the fragility religious orthodoxy.

Catel used medieval sources that had been less broadly circulated, such as Bernard Gui’s *Flores Chronicorum, seu, Catalogus Pontificum Romanorum*. Catel states that his reasons for using Gui’s work was due to his reputation as an inquisitor and the fact that he produced many works that have never been printed.²⁸⁵ Catel valued sources written by inquisitors. A judge himself, he considered their insight into the nature of medieval heresy to be authoritative. Like them he had responsibility for dealing with heretics first-hand. Catel emphasizes Gui’s role as ‘Inquisiteur de la Foy’ and used another source by the Dominican, *Praeclara Francorum facinora*. Although, he failed to attribute the authorship of *Praeclara Francorum facinora* to Gui, he suggested it was transcribed by him.²⁸⁶ Catel’s scholarship on texts on the Albigensian Crusade was extensive; Jean Duvernoy argued that Catel used a lost

²⁸⁰ Catel, *Histoire des Comtes de Tolose*, page marked *4r.

²⁸¹ *Ibid.*, page marked *4.

²⁸² *Ibid.*

²⁸³ *Ibid.*, page marked *3v.

²⁸⁴ L. Moréri, *Le Grand dictionnaire historique*, (Paris: Librairie Associés, 1759), 438.

²⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, page marked *4 - *4v.

manuscript in his printing of the text of the chronicle of Guillaume de Puylaurens in his *Histoire des comtes de Toulouse* in 1623.²⁸⁷ Catel described Puylaurens as ‘le plus ancien auteur que j’ai veu qui en ait écrit, . . . de son Histoire des Albigeois’.²⁸⁸ The description of Puylaurens’s chronicle as the ‘plus ancien’ source reiterates the importance of original manuscripts to Catel, using them to provide new, and damning evidence, against the Albigensians and Waldensians.

Catel's methodology varied; he abridged certain manuscripts and copied other entire sources verbatim.²⁸⁹ An example of his critical approach to the thirteenth-century sources is his identification of different manuscripts as originating from a singular source, Pierre des Vaux de Cernay. By comparative analysis of different manuscript versions of the texts, including one in Old French, Catel noticed that the document entitled *Gestes du Comte du Montfort* was merely another version of the account by Pierre des Vaux de Cernay: ‘que j’ai manuscrites en vieil François, ne sont quasi qu’une Version du susdit Moine de Valsarnay’.²⁹⁰ Pierre des Vaux de Cernay (d. 1218), whom Catel correctly identified as the nephew of the Cistercian abbot Guy de Vaux de Cernay, chronicled the events of 1203-08 in the Albigensian Crusade and highlighted the role of Simon de Montfort. By the time of Catel’s research, editions of Pierre des Vaux de Cernay’s chronicle were available printed in Latin and French, but Catel does not seem to have consulted these when exploring the *Gestes du Comte du Montfort*, describing ‘trois exemplaires de cette Chronique, qui n’a jamais este imprimée’.²⁹¹ Catel chose to examine manuscript copies, and instead of reading printed works he actively pursued medieval manuscripts and attempted to evaluate them.²⁹² Catel went on to compare the chronicle of Simon de Montfort with the chronicle of Matthew Paris; comparative analysis is Catel’s main method of evaluation of his sources on the Albigensians.²⁹³ Catel’s focus on collecting and transcribing evidential proof places his works in the context of the wider intellectual movements of antiquarianism and scientific history that grew in seventeenth-century Europe.

²⁸⁷ W.A. Sibly and M.D. Sibly in: G. de Puylaurens, *The Chronicle of William of Puylaurens: The Albigensian Crusade and Its Aftermath*, translated by W. A. Sibly and M.D. Sibly (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2003), xvii.

²⁸⁸ Catel. *Histoire des Comtes de Tolose*, *4v.

²⁸⁹ Ibid., page marked *4.

²⁹⁰ Ibid., page marked *4v.

²⁹¹ Ibid.

²⁹² Ibid.

²⁹³ Ibid, page marked *4v.

The *Mémoire de l'histoire du Languedoc* (1633), was also heralded as a work of major scholarship on the Albigensian Crusade, since it advocated technical accuracy in the handling of medieval inquisitorial sources. The *Mémoire de l'histoire du Languedoc* was greatly admired by Dom Vaissète:

On ne peut refuser à son auteur la gloire d'avoir été le premier des modernes qui a montré aux historiens particuliers la méthode d'appuyer la vérité des faits sur l'autorité des anciens titres et de rapporter ces mémoires en preuve.²⁹⁴

Catel's *Histoire des Comtes des Toulouse* (1623) and *Mémoire de l'histoire du Languedoc* (1633) are an indication of the growing use of manuscript evidence in the methodology of historians of the Albigensian and Waldensian heresies. Whilst Catel's level of scholarship was greater than many of his contemporaries, his historical works on Languedoc paved the way for future scholars to interrogate thirteenth-century inquisitorial sources. Vaissète's praise of Catel shows his influence - his works still informed understanding of medieval history in the eighteenth century. Not only was there an extensive intellectual network of correspondence and shared knowledge amongst seventeenth-century French historians, but his legacy can be discerned today in the way in which he argued that heresy was ingrained in the south of France and the founding of a more critical method with which to unlock medieval chronicles.

Auguste Galland (1570-1645)

The Protestant, Auguste Galland, was an avid collector and antiquarian whose personal library demonstrates the breadth of his interests from transcriptions of medieval heresy proceedings and the deeds of abbeys, to the history of artillery.²⁹⁵ An archival enthusiast, as well as a local official, Galland's studies on medieval heresy, whilst never published, demonstrate the richness of local archival material on the topic.²⁹⁶ His most ambitious and extensive work, a four-volume treatise on the Albigensians and Waldensians, written between

²⁹⁴ Vaissète and Devic, in Monpays, "L'image du Languedoc", 26.

²⁹⁵ A. Galland, *Papiers d'Auguste Galland...le domaine de Navarre et les Finances du royaume de Navarre*, BNF, Département des Manuscrits: Français 16674.

²⁹⁶ Galland, *Traité des Albigeois*.

1633 and 1641, was unfinished.²⁹⁷ In the *Traitté des Albigeois, commencé par feu messire Auguste Galland ..., pour monstrer que les Albigeois estoient Manichéens*, Galland explored ideas of medieval heresy predominantly through the collection and transcription of thirteenth-century manuscripts and by examining the views of sixteenth-century polemicists of the French Wars of Religion on the Albigensians and Waldensians.²⁹⁸ The manuscript first considers the Albigensians and subsequently contains the beginning of a treatise on the Waldensians, whom Galland examines alongside ‘autres schismatiques et hérétiques’, thus designating the Waldensians as such.²⁹⁹

Galland’s other works are fundamentally in support of the monarchy, and of France as a unified country, and they all use medieval examples to corroborate the king’s claims to sovereignty.³⁰⁰ Galland also wrote a history of La Rochelle (1629) after the Huguenot rebellion of 1626-9, establishing a historical account of the king’s dominion and rule over the city back to the fourth century.³⁰¹ His *Contre le Franc Alleu sans Tiltre* (1629) similarly demonstrated the king’s power over the privileges of Languedoc through the example of Simon de Montfort.³⁰² Galland used his legal expertise and his specialization on criminal processes to employ medieval sources in support of the king’s rights throughout the kingdom, particularly in relation to the establishing of the boundaries of orthodoxy and the powers to police them.

Despite his multiple historical works, published over twenty years from 1628, very little has been written upon Galland as a historian and antiquarian. Indeed, little is known about Galland before the 1620s, and modern historians have only recently begun to explore his antiquarian habits.³⁰³ Nineteenth-century historian Emile Haag mentioned Auguste Galland in his history of French Protestants, but focuses on his role as a royal commissioner at

²⁹⁷ Ibid., and D. Toti, ‘Sulle prime *Historiae* di Catari e Valdesi. Dall’unità alla diversità attraverso la repressione’, *Predicazione e repressione. Processi e letteratura religiosa*, ed. A. Giraud and M. Rivoira (Turin: Claudiana, 2018), 41-64.

²⁹⁸ Galland, *Traitté des Albigeois*, 1.

²⁹⁹ Ibid.

³⁰⁰ H. M. Baird, *The Huguenots and the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes* (Wipf and Stock Publishers, 2004) 292-3.

³⁰¹ Ibid., 249.

³⁰² P. Arabeyre, ‘Un ‘mariage politique’: pouvoir royal et pouvoir local chez quelques juristes méridionaux de l’époque de Charles VIII et de Louis XII’, *Annales du Midi*, 117 (2005): 157.

³⁰³ Benedetti, *Il santo bottino*, 47-8; Toti, ‘Sulle prime *Historiae* di Catari e Valdesi’, 41-64.

Calvinist meetings of the National Synods of Charenton (1623) and Castres (1626).³⁰⁴ Galland's role as royal commissioner involved attending synods in order to check that the Edict of Nantes was not violated.³⁰⁵ Galland was, therefore, obliged to research the king's rights over crown lands and to check that Calvinist rights were being upheld according to the law.³⁰⁶ Galland's collecting of manuscripts was undertaken with documentarian skill and gave him a greater understanding of Languedoc and the place of confessional coexistence in the south of France. As a royal official, Galland kept his distance from aristocratic rebels and urged his fellow Calvinists to adhere to monarchical authority.³⁰⁷ Galland's examination of medieval heresy was therefore not as dismissive of monarchical authority in religious matters as other contemporary Huguenot historians, such as Jean Paul Perrin, who drew a clear link between the persecution of Huguenots and the plight of the Albigensians and Waldensians.³⁰⁸ Significantly, Galland critiqued Perrin and denied outright any association with Albigensian theology and the origins of the Reformed Church in Languedoc, claiming that they were Manicheans.³⁰⁹ This is important as the overwhelming early modern narrative of medieval heresy, by both Catholic and Protestant writers, drew a correlation between the Huguenots and the two sects, whereas Galland, keen to emphasise the legal, loyal and orderly nature of Protestantism, denied any theological comparison.

Galland's unfinished treatise on the Albigensians and Waldensians is also important as it reveals the process and methodology of seventeenth-century historians of medieval heresy. Galland aimed to other the medieval superstitions that were not part of the "true church", to draw distinct lines between the doctrine of the reformers and the practices of the Albigensians. Galland achieved this through first undertaking the transcription and analysis of multiple manuscripts, from collections across the south of France. As his book is unfinished, it is still in the stage of a compilation of transcriptions of sources.³¹⁰ Galland

³⁰⁴ E. Haag and E. Haag, *La France Protestante* (Paris: Joel Cherbuliez, 1885), 201-206. For an explanation of Galland's role in the two synods see Baird, *The Huguenots and the Revocation*, 292-293.

³⁰⁵ A. Galland, in *Synodes des Églises réformées de France et correspondance de quelques Réformés. (1623-1634), Correspondance originale des ministres et religionnaires protestants avec Auguste Galland, (1623-1634)*, BNF, Département des manuscrits, Français 20964.

³⁰⁶ A. Galland, *Recueil relatif aux Protestants pendant les XVIe et XVIIe siècles. XVI Papiers d' Auguste Galland, concernant principalement sa mission en Languedoc au sujet de l affaire du duc de Rohan. (1627-1629)*, BNF, Département des manuscrits, Français 15828.

³⁰⁷ Baird, *The Huguenots and the Revocation*, 292-293.

³⁰⁸ J. P. Perrin, *Histoire des Vaudois* (Geneva: Matthieu Berjon, 1618), 240; Benedetti, *Il santo bottino*, 47; Toti, 'Sulle prime *Historiae* di Catari e Valdesi', 44.

³⁰⁹ Galland, *Traitté des Albigeois*, 3; Toti, 'Sulle prime *Historiae* di Catari e Valdesi', 51.

³¹⁰ Benedetti, *Il santo bottino*, 47.

considered his choice of sources preeminent, and fundamental to the argument of his treatise, as he included an extensive list at the very start of his work, on the handwritten title page. Galland allows the sources to do the work for him, he confronted the reader with the facts, before stating his own intentions and adding the force of his argument.

Galland clearly states in the introduction to his treatise that the facts ‘montrer que les Albigeois estoient Manichéens’.³¹¹ This is at odds with the majority of Protestant authors in early modern France, who were intent on disproving any links between Albigensians and the Manichean heresy, the dualist religious philosophy originating from the Persian prophet Mani in about the third century. Catholic polemicists, such as Jean du Tillet (1500-1570), the bishop of St Briec, had used the Albigensian Crusade as a comparable political situation to the French Wars of Religion, drawing comparisons between Calvinists and Albigensians, as both opposed to Rome and the Pope.³¹² Catholic authors had a vested interest in drawing allusions between the Albigensians and Manicheans, as this reinforced the Albigensian status as heretics, thereby tarnishing Calvinists with the same accusations. Huguenot authors tended to try to redeem the Albigensians from claims of Manichaeism to construct an ancestral legacy of opposition to Rome, and adherence to true doctrines such as the rejection of transubstantiation. However, Galland, with some originality and in contrast to the majority of his Huguenot contemporaries, argued against the conflation of the Albigensians and Waldensians, and contradicted any association with the current reformers claiming they were from a different ‘corps’ to Calvinists.³¹³

Galland itemised the sources he used at the start of his eighty-page treatise.³¹⁴ This included a wide range of early modern texts from the works of Catholic bishops, such as Jean du Tillet’s *Sommaire de l’histoire*, to Huguenot pastors, such as Jean Chassanion, and early Renaissance humanists, such as Claude Seyssel.³¹⁵ However, Galland does not solely pick his primary sources from these secondary works, indeed he fundamentally disagrees with this method, purposefully seeking out original copies of manuscripts.³¹⁶ He also listed twelfth and thirteenth-century sources by well-renowned medieval commentators on the Albigensian

³¹¹ Galland, *Traité des Albigeois*, 1.

³¹² Racaut, *Hatred in Print*, 106.

³¹³ Galland, *Traité des Albigeois*, 3.

³¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 1.

³¹⁵ *Ibid.*

³¹⁶ Toti, ‘Sulle prime *Historiae* di Catari e Valdesi’, 52.

Crusade such as St Bernard of Clairvaux, Pierre des Vaux de Cernay as well as the enigmatically titled ‘historiens du temps’.³¹⁷ This list on the title page indicated the array of sources Galland consulted, from inquisitorial procedures, sermons, correspondence and printed secondary works.

Auguste Galland’s manuscript contains copies of extracts of a variety of medieval sources. Galland, and scribes he hired, meticulously copied sections from Pierre des Vaux de Cernay’s account of the Albigensian Crusade, and Bernard Gui’s *Practica Inquisitionis*, and inquisitorial sentences and procedures.³¹⁸ In contrast to his contemporaries, Galland does not translate these sources into the vernacular, keeping them in Latin.³¹⁹ Unlike many polemicists, Galland was not, at least at this stage of compiling this history, concerned with appealing to a vast lay audience. This is reiterated by the fact the work was never published and remained unfinished. Instead, Galland listed proofs to counteract the arguments of other scholars, lawyers and Protestant pastors reading his work. Galland denied the validity of his contemporaries’ arguments based on their use of only secondary literature and claimed that they had not fully reviewed the evidence. Galland was particularly frustrated with Jean Paul Perrin (who wrote a history of the Vaudois in 1618) and argued that his account had ‘faiblesse, plus par dessein d’establir sa proposition que d’exclusion de la verité’.³²⁰ Hence, Galland argued that by presenting the raw material of medieval sources the reader can see the truth, i.e. that the Albigensians believed in dualism and contemporary Calvinists did not subscribe to these beliefs.³²¹ Galland’s method and selection process are shown by the instructions on pages 6-9.³²² These directions were specific to each primary source; they included instructions ‘transcrire en... gros extraits’.³²³ Another instruction to transcribe the oldest section is mentioned alongside notes on the example of Raymond-Roger Comte de Foix in the writings of Pierre des Vaux de Cernay.³²⁴ This shows that Galland read more of the sources than were transcribed, demonstrating his knowledge of the medieval works. He carefully marshalled the medieval evidence included in his treatise to support his wider

³¹⁷ Galland, *Traitté des Albigeois*, 1.

³¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 11.

³¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 11v.

³²⁰ *Ibid.*, 3.

³²¹ Toti, ‘Sulle prime *Historiae* di Catari e Valdesi’, 51.

³²² Galland, *Traitté des Albigeois*, 6-9.

³²³ *Ibid.*, 6

³²⁴ *Ibid.*

argument of the Albigensians as Manicheans; they were unconnected to the Huguenot Reformed Church theologically and politically in their resistance to monarchical authority.

Pierre des Vaux de Cernay's history of the Albigensian Crusade is one of the first sources in Galland's treatise to be described in detail; Galland analysed this work in reference to seventeenth-century confessional debates.³²⁵ He used this popular source as part of a review upon the Albigensian attitude towards the Eucharist, and how the Protestant denial of transubstantiation did not correspond directly to the Albigensian view that it was merely bread.³²⁶ Galland complained that to associate Calvinist views upon transubstantiation with such Albigensian beliefs was to misunderstand the nuances of Protestant worship. Galland spurned the supposition of inherited doctrines from the medieval sect and reasoned that the rejection of the Mass did not make Calvinists and Albigensians a homogenous confessional group. Galland continued to use Pierre des Vaux de Cernay to prove that the Calvinists were in no way replicating the practices of the Albigensians - their renunciation of meat, eggs and cheese, the ritual of the consolamentum, and their denial of the resurrection of Christ, let alone their dualist beliefs, was evidence against the association between the medieval heretics and Reformed Christianity.³²⁷

Galland was exceptional in his use of archival sources on medieval heresy, as demonstrated by his list of inquisitorial procedures in the opening page of his treatise:

Procedures 1 - Proces fait aux Albigeois Ms. Que M. Galland a vu de Montpellier par Mr de Thomas

Procedures 2 - autre Informans & depositions contre les Albigeois MS. Parchemin vielle lettre

Procedures 3 - avec informans manuscrites en papier vielle Lettre³²⁸

Galland copied parts of rare manuscripts, notably Bernard Gui's *Liber Sententiarum inquisitionis Tholosanae* (1308-1323).³²⁹ This is a record of the sentences pronounced on

³²⁵ Ibid., 3, 10.

³²⁶ Ibid.

³²⁷ Ibid.

³²⁸ Ibid., 1.

³²⁹ For a comparison between the two texts see B. Gui, *Le Livre des sentences de l'inquisiteur Bernard Gui: 1308-1323*, I, ed. A. Pales-Gobilliard, (Paris : CNRS, 2002), 294, 'inclinans, dixit "Domine commendate nos Deo

heretics during Bernard Gui's position as a papal inquisitor in the diocese of Toulouse. The transcription of this source by Galland is particularly significant as there is no other substantial record of who owned the manuscript before 1677, although Lelong stated that François Graverol may have owned a copy in the 1680s.³³⁰ Therefore, this is unique evidence of the survival and use of Bernard Gui's sentences in the first half of the seventeenth century.³³¹

The importance of the *Liber Sententiarum* in seventeenth-century ideas of medieval heresy should not be understated, in part due to the popularity of its publication by Philipp van Limborch alongside his *Historia Inquisitionis* (1692). Nickson's exploration of the provenance of the British Library manuscript demonstrated the importance of Bernard Gui's sentences in late seventeenth-century Protestant thought on Catholic persecution, and even how this shaped the John Locke's views on toleration.³³² The most definitive evidence for the manuscript's whereabouts prior to Limborch's edition is in a letter by John Locke where he describes the document in Montpellier in 1677, and it is known to have been soon after in the possession of William Waller, due to the letters of Locke, Limborch and their mutual friend Benjamin Furly in their attempts to purchase the manuscript. Molinier also briefly notes that a transcription of the source existed in the Bibliothèque Nationale (MS. 11848), but this was from the second half of the seventeenth century, post-dating Galland's copy, and could have been taken from Limborch's edition instead of the original.³³³

Galland, however, would have seen and copied the manuscript of *Liber Sententiarum* at least forty years before Locke examined the records. The *Liber Sententiarum* is most likely the 'proces fait aux Albigeois Ms. Que M. Galland vu de Montpellier par Mr de Thomas', which Galland describes as belonging to 'Bony, minister de Languedoc'.³³⁴ Daniel Toti identifies the owner as the pastor Jean de Bony who, for a certain period, made the manuscript available to Antoine de Thomas husband of Galland's daughter Judith. Galland's note on the provenance of the source is significant as it shows the ownership of the document before

et orate Dominum, quod perducatur..." and Galland, *Traité des Albigeois*, 10v, "inclinando dixit "Domine commendati nos Deo & orate Dominum quod perducatur..."

³³⁰ Lelong, *Bibliothèque historique de la France*, 373; Toti, "Sulle prime *Historiae* di Catari e Valdesi", 56-7.

³³¹ Galland, *Traité des Albigeois*, 30.

³³² Nickson, "Locke and the Inquisition of Toulouse", 91; on Limborch's views on Albigensians - Marshall, *John Locke, Toleration and Early Enlightenment*, 366-368.

³³³ Nickson, "Locke and the Inquisition of Toulouse", 89.

³³⁴ Galland, *Traité des Albigeois*, 1, 3; Toti, "Sulle prime *Historiae* di Catari e Valdesi", 57.

either Graverol or Locke's consultation of the manuscript. The recent digitisation of this treatise by the Bibliothèque nationale de France, Gallica, in 2019 provides the opportunity for the further research needed to identify these inquisitorial documents from the snippets transcribed by Auguste Galland, which undoubtedly would be of interest to historians of the Cathars.³³⁵ For the purposes of this thesis, the identification of Galland's sources reveals the long tradition of erudite scholarship and existence of a research network of early modern French historians of the Midi.³³⁶ The importance Galland placed upon accurate transcription of rare medieval sources to prove the distinction between Huguenot and Albigensian beliefs is remarkable and underlines how significant he felt it was for contemporary debates about authority and resistance.

Galland pointed out notable manuscripts to collect and transcribe, for instance, when referring to the Waldensians Galland referenced letters that had within them transcriptions of the attestation of Thomas Guiot and the *Processus contra Valdenses in Lombardia superiori*.³³⁷ The confession of Thomas Guiot (1495), who was from Pragelato in Piedmont, is an account that provides detail on the beliefs of the Waldensians in the fifteenth century.³³⁸ Guiot explained that he believed in the power of confession and absolution by Waldensian pastors and discussed the familial connections between Waldensian believers.³³⁹ It is a description of the sect's beliefs by a Waldensian himself, a rare insight into the group's religious convictions. Auguste Galland used this text to point out the marked differences between the Albigensians and Waldensians.³⁴⁰ He argued that from the examination of Thomas Guiot that there were no clear associations with dualism, unlike the Albigensians.³⁴¹ Marina Benedetti who has edited the *Processus contra Valdenses*, notes that they 'remained - almost completely forgotten -...until they were laid on a consultation table by Auguste Galland.'³⁴² This shows the originality of Galland's research in seeking out inquisitorial procedures in documents to transcribe as proof of the distinctions between the two sects.³⁴³ After Galland, the *Processus contra Valdenses* was much more widely used. Samuel

³³⁵ The digitised edition of Galland's *Traité des Albigeois*, was published online this year. BNF Gallica (2019) accessed August 14, 2019, <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9061653g>.

³³⁶ Toti, 'Sulle prime *Historiae* di Catari e Valdesi', 50.

³³⁷ Galland, *Traité des Albigeois*, 54-6; Benedetti, *Il santo bottino*, 47-8.

³³⁸ G. Audioso, *Preachers by Night: The Waldensian Barbes 15th-16th Centuries* (Brill: Leiden, 2007), 161.

³³⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁴⁰ Benedetti, *Il santo bottino*, 68.

³⁴¹ *Ibid.*

³⁴² *Ibid.*

³⁴³ Toti, 'Sulle prime *Historiae* di Catari e Valdesi', 52-3.

Morland, the author of *The History of the Evangelical churches of the Valleys of Piedmont* (1658), examined the text and Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet used the *Processus* fifty years later to make the same argument in his *Histoire des Variations des Églises Protestantes*.³⁴⁴

Galland is therefore notable for his use of wide-ranging medieval material that had heretofore not been considered. The fact that *Processus contra Valdenses* was only widely known after its use by Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet exemplifies the innovative scholarship that Galland was undertaking, which places his erudition alongside that of Bossuet. Galland's manuscript treatise was considered worth preserving in the royal library, as Lelong noted that it was 'conservé... parmi les Mss. De Chancelier Seguier, num. 543, [à St Germain-des-Près]'.³⁴⁵ Whilst Galland may have been an exception, both as an avid antiquarian and as a Huguenot royal official, his argument of disassociation between the Huguenots and Albigensians is significant as it countered the dominant rhetoric of early modern ideas on medieval heresy. However, it is important to remember that Galland remained a local and legal historian, upholding the crown's rights through an extensive recording of sources. His contribution to scholarship was limited by his *Traitté des Albigeois*, which was never published or formed the basis of a coherent treatise.

Pierre Louvet (1617-1684)

Pierre Louvet, an archivist with unprecedented access to municipal archives in the south of France, wrote multiple accounts of the history of Provence and Toulouse.³⁴⁶ Originally a student of medicine, he was rejected from teaching at Beaujolais in 1643, becoming instead the director of the college of Sisteron, and subsequently the principal of the Jesuit College in Digne in 1652.³⁴⁷ However, after a disagreement with the Jesuit fathers, he was discharged from his position and turned to work at various libraries and archives across the South.³⁴⁸ Whilst working as an archivist and teacher at the University of Toulouse, Louvet was commissioned by the *parlement* to write a history of the city.³⁴⁹ This began his career writing

³⁴⁴ Ibid., 92-3.

³⁴⁵ Lelong, *Bibliothèque historique de la France*, 375.

³⁴⁶ A. de Marsy, *Pierre Louvet, de Beauvais, Médecin, Historien et Professeur*, Paris: Hatchette Livre, 1897, 8.

³⁴⁷ L. Ducasse, *Faire profession d'historien au XVIIe siècle: étude de la carrière de Pierre Louvet, 1617-1684*. (Histoire. Ecole nationale des chartes, 2011), 13-19.

³⁴⁸ Ibid. 23-24.

³⁴⁹ Marsy, *Pierre Louvet, de Beauvais*, 8.

provincial histories commissioned by civic authorities in the Midi.³⁵⁰ Despite his prolific output, Louvet's historical writings did not gain the reputation of Catel for their accuracy or depth. Indeed, Louvet was considered a 'historien médiocre'.³⁵¹

Unusually, Louvet was a professional archivist and local historian.³⁵² This was rare in early modern France; Louis Ducasse has described Louvet as unique in this regard.³⁵³ He was paid 400 *livres* by the provincial estates for his first published book, an *Abrégé de l'histoire de Languedoc* (1655) and published between 1676 and 1680 three further books on the history of Provence.³⁵⁴ He supplemented his income by working as a factotum under Dom Luc d'Achery at the library of the abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés. This undoubtedly added to his understanding of medieval history, as the Benedictine library held some of the most extensive collections of manuscripts on medieval heresy.³⁵⁵

Pierre Louvet compiled the inventories of the municipal archives of Montpellier, Toulouse, Bordeaux and Villefranche-sur-Saône.³⁵⁶ The importance of inventories to the development of historical writing on medieval heresies was significant and Louvet's inventory is still used today at the Archives municipales de Montpellier.³⁵⁷ These inventories demonstrate Louvet's incomparable access to manuscripts.³⁵⁸ In his list of the archives of Montpellier (1662-3) Louvet includes a section on 'cultes' which has the subsection 'Hérésie albigeoise et Inquisition, D1, E5 etc'.³⁵⁹ As part of his bibliographical research into the archives of Montpellier Louvet summarised the contents of certain texts. Louvet's views of the Albigensians is evident in his summaries of thirteenth-century papal bulls. Louvet used papal bulls as proof of the Albigensians' anti-papal attitudes. His conception of the heresy was clearly shaped by their oppositional stance to the papacy in these documents. For instance, in a bull from Pope Innocent III (no. 2187) given to the Consuls of Montpellier in 1207, Louvet includes a description of how 'le Comte de Toulouse, devenu fauteur et protecteur des

³⁵⁰ Ibid.

³⁵¹ Ducasse, *Faire profession d'historien*, IV.

³⁵² Ibid.

³⁵³ Ibid., V.

³⁵⁴ Ibid., 9.

³⁵⁵ Gasnault, *L'érudition mauriste*, 35-36.

³⁵⁶ M. Friedrich, *The Birth of the Archive: A History of Knowledge* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2018), 86.

³⁵⁷ Ducasse, *Faire profession d'historien*, IV.

³⁵⁸ P. Louvet, *Archives de la ville de Montpellier l'Inventaire du Grand Chartrier des Archives*, edited by J Berthélé and F. Castets, 3, accessed Feb 19, 2018, <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k6211215d>.

³⁵⁹ Ibid., 399

Hérétiques Albigeois, ruinoit les églises et les monastères'³⁶⁰ The description of the Count of Toulouse's defence of the Albigensian heresy as the cause of the ruin of monasteries was symbolic of the destructive power of heresy. As we have already noted in Catel's work, this description of the physical destruction of church buildings was a common theme used to express the spiritual dangers of heresy.

In his abridged history of Provence, Louvet defines 'L'Hérésie des Albigeois ou Vaudois, commença sous ce règne par un nommé Pierre Bruis, natif des montagnes de Provence, associé ou plutot suivi par un Henry Moine Tolosain'.³⁶¹ Not only does he conflate the Albigensians and Waldensians, he groups them together as influenced by Peter of Bruys and his followers the Petrobusians, who were active in Provence from the 1110s and Henry of Lausanne who began preaching around Toulouse in 1145. Whilst Henry of Lausanne's theology of rejection of the sacrament was similar to the Petrobusians, Peter of Bruys' condemnation of outward shows of worship were more influenced by the Bogomils, and the Cathars took this even further to the rejection of particular foods.³⁶² Louvet mentions the various prominent figures involved in these heretical movements, but does not draw a clear distinction between them instead treating them as a homogenous heresy across the south of France. Louvet's work is particularly fascinating because, as a synthesis of the state of knowledge, he demonstrates what he considered the essential points about medieval heresy to be. To Louvet, instead of discussing heresy as a set of beliefs or false theology, it is the deceptive influence of leaders of heretical sects that is significant. Louvet considered Peter of Bruys, Henry of Lausanne and other well-known figures to be the originators and driving force of heresy in the region.

Louvet mainly considered popular sources, such as the chronicle of Pierre des Vaux de Cernay or the views of St Bernard of Clairvaux, who came to 'Provence et Languedoc pour combattre cette Hérésie'.³⁶³ Despite his unrivalled access to archives, Louvet predominantly cited sources from other seventeenth-century publications.³⁶⁴ He quoted Catel frequently:

³⁶⁰ Ibid., 165.

³⁶¹ P. Louvet, *Abrégé de l'histoire de Provence*, 1 (Aix-en-Provence: Leonard Tetrode, 1676), 103.

³⁶² G. Holmes, *The Oxford Illustrated History of Medieval Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 202.

³⁶³ Ibid., 103-4.

³⁶⁴ Ducasse, *Faire profession d'historien*, 369.

Le vieil Comte de Tolose s'étant rendu protecteur des Hérétiques Vaudois ses États furent mis en proye par le Pape Innocent III. l'an 1208. (la Bulle est dans l'Histoire de Mr Catel fol. 240.)³⁶⁵

This reference to Catel demonstrates the overlap between the works of regional historians, and how much they drew upon each other's books for inspiration and sources on medieval heresy. By referring to Catel's *Mémoire de l'Histoire du Languedoc* as 'l'Histoire de Mr Catel' Louvet demonstrates his understanding of popular and widely read books on medieval heresy.³⁶⁶

Louvet was renowned for his concise style using abbreviations and abstracts. He wrote short abridgements that were cheaper to produce. His succinct histories demonstrate that the Albigensian Crusade were considered an important part of the history of the region and demonstrate his priorities on the topic of medieval heresy. When Louvet discussed the Albigensians he emphasised their disorderly impact; 'les brouilleries que l'hérésie des Albigeois causoit dans ses Etats'.³⁶⁷ Louvet cleared the Estates of any historical blame for the violence of the Albigensian Crusade, by suggesting that these quarrels were caused by the Albigensians.³⁶⁸ However, whilst Louvet's conciseness emphasised the violence of the Albigensians, it also led to accusations of plagiarism and lack of detail, as he borrowed ideas from his contemporaries' historical works.³⁶⁹

Louvet's abridgements led to accusations of plagiarism by Jean Scholastique Pitton (1621-1689), who, like Louvet, began a medical career but became a historian of the area surrounding his birthplace of Aix-en-Provence.³⁷⁰ He wrote several books about Aix-en-Provence in the 1660s and 1670s, including a history of the Church in the city. Pitton was concerned with the Waldensian causes of the rise of the Huguenots. Pitton claimed:

La véritable origine de ceux desquels nous avons a parler [Huguenots] et qui habitoient le Lieu de Mérindol, est venue des Vaudois, nom qui signifie parmi les

³⁶⁵ Ibid., 385.

³⁶⁶ Ducasse lists the printed works Louvet used in his abridged histories, Ducasse, *Faire profession d'historien*, 367-369.

³⁶⁷ Louvet, *Abrégé de l'histoire de Provence*, 137.

³⁶⁸ Ibid.

³⁶⁹ Ducasse, *Faire profession d'historien*, 378-382.

³⁷⁰ Ibid., 177-8.

Bourguignons Magicien, et qu'ils ont tiré d'un riche Marchand de Lion, appelle Valdu, qui commença a dogmatiser dans cette Ville, dont ses disciples furent appellees Paupieres de Lugduno, Les Pauvres de Lyon.³⁷¹

Scholastique Pitton asserted that 'la véritable origine' of Huguenots was from 'des Vaudois' who came from Valdo's attempts 'dogmatiser' Lyon.³⁷² The significance of 'la véritable origine' implied that Huguenots lied about the foundation of the Reformed Church. Pitton designated Protestants as heretical and rendered their claims to public worship illegitimate.

François Graverol (1636-1694)

François Graverol, a Huguenot lawyer based in Nîmes, wrote the *Notice ou Abrégé Historique des Vingt-Deux Villes chefs des Diocèses de la province de Languedoc* (Toulouse, 1696). Published shortly after his death in 1696, the work was a set of historical vignettes of various towns in Languedoc.³⁷³ It begins with the major cities of Toulouse, Montpellier and Carcassonne and is interspersed with illustrations of views of town plans and major landmarks.³⁷⁴

Graverol was unafraid to correct the mistakes of earlier historians; he argued against Catel's dating of sources and emphasized further inconsistencies in the writings of Pierre Louvet and Auguste Galland.³⁷⁵ It is significant that Graverol mentioned the Albigensian heresy in such short, abridged vignettes and yet he did not focus at all upon heresy when discussing Toulouse or Montpellier.³⁷⁶ This may have been an editorial choice, or, as the posthumous publication of a Huguenot writer after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, it may have been a decision of political necessity. Instead, in Graverol's account heresy mostly impacted smaller towns such as Albi, Béziers and Castres.³⁷⁷ This regional focus is probably explained by his enthusiasm as a local historian, he had a deep interest in these locales and access to

³⁷¹ J. Scholastique Pitton, *Annales de l'église d'Aix* (Lyon: chez M. Libéral, 1668), 271.

³⁷² Ibid.

³⁷³ R. Monpays, "L'image du Languedoc", 26-27.

³⁷⁴ F. Graverol, *Notice ou Abregé Historique des Vingt-Deux Villes chefs des Dioceses de la province de Languedoc* (Toulouse: Colomiès, 1696).

³⁷⁵ Ibid., on Catel: 3-4, on Louvet: 7.

³⁷⁶ Ibid., A-Aii, 4-6.

³⁷⁷ Ibid., 14-15, 18.

sources that enabled him to extend research beyond the well-studied centres of Toulouse and Montpellier.

Graverol's work is also remarkable in that his brief mention of the Albigensians and Waldensians contains a discussion of inquisitorial sources. In his short summary of the history of Albi Graverol discussed how the town gave the name to the sect:

C'est de cette Ville qu'ont pris leur nom les Albigeois, descendues des Vaudois; parce que leur doctrine fut condamnée dans un Concile qui y fut tenu en l'an 1176. On voit fort nettement quels estoient les véritables sentiments des Albigeois, par rapport aux dogmes de la Foi, dans un beau & rare Manuscrit, duquel j'ai refusé cent cinquante louis d'or, que M. Colbert m'en avoit fait offrir dans le temps de son Ministère.³⁷⁸

Graverol emphasised the Council of 1176, centring the Albigensian heresy in the surrounding area of Albi. The fact that Graverol considered the Albigensians to be descended from the Waldensians is significant. The idea that the two groups were one was common in the early modern period, and the sects are typically mistaken for one another. But Graverol distinguished between them by stating that the Albigensians inherited their heretical beliefs from the Waldensians. This suggests that Waldensian theology informed Albigensian beliefs and triggered this heretical movement in Languedoc. Graverol writes of a 'beau & rare Manuscrit' that explains 'les véritables sentiments des Albigeois', which is where he gets his impression of their theology.³⁷⁹ This rare manuscript was highly sought. According to Lelong, Graverol owned a copy of the original manuscript of the *Processus & Sententiae contra Valdenses* written by Bernard Gui, and it can be assumed that it is this register to which he is referring.³⁸⁰ Bernard Gui acted as papal inquisitor in the diocese of Toulouse during the Albigensian Crusade and his *Liber Sententiarum inquisitionis Tholosanae* documented the sentences pronounced over Albigensians and Waldensians.

In December 1684 Graverol wrote a letter to Pierre Jurieu, a Huguenot exile in Rotterdam, which repeated the offer Colbert had made him for this inquisitorial register:

³⁷⁸ Ibid., 18.

³⁷⁹ Ibid.

³⁸⁰ Lelong, *Bibliothèque historique de la France*, 373.

M. de Colbert m'en fit offrir, il y a quelques années, par M. D'aguesseau, intendant de cette province, 150 louis d'or, que je refusay, de peur que l'on ne supprimant ensuite ce manuscrit'.³⁸¹

Nickson, in her exploration of the *Liber Sententiarum* prior to Philipp van Limborch's publication of it in 1692, proposes that Graverol may have been the owner of two inquisitorial records: the *Liber Sententiarum* and the inquisitorial register 1281-1319 he mentions in his letter to Jurieu and in his *Notice ou Abrégé Historique des Vingt-Deux Villes* (1696).³⁸² Nickson distinguishes between the earlier register and *Liber Sententiarum* by Locke's notes and correspondence with Limborch that he viewed two similar documents in Montpellier.³⁸³ However, Nickson does not find evidence of the register remaining in Graverol's possession after he was forced to convert to Catholicism after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685).³⁸⁴ Dossat argues, based on the evidence from Lelong, that this was the *Processus & Sententiae contra Valdenses*; Lelong clearly states that 'ces procédures sont conservées au Château d'Aubais, près de Nîmes, dans la Bibliothèque de M. le Marquis d'Aubais, num. 101'.³⁸⁵ The majority of other manuscripts listed by Lelong are owned by Colbert, which furthers the idea that it is Gui's *Processus & Sententiae contra Valdenses* which Graverol kept within his library. Also, Graverol's description of the manuscript showcasing the 'véritables sentiments des Albigeois', fits with the *Processus & Sententiae contra Valdenses* which are renowned as eyewitness accounts by Waldensian (whom Graverol equated with Albigensians) heretics themselves.³⁸⁶ Therefore, Graverol argued that Albigensians and Waldensians were deeply connected. This was the opposite view to Auguste Galland's conclusions forty years earlier and yet both authors consulted the same source of Bernard Gui's sentences.

Guillaume Besse (c.1610- c.1668)

The most controversial figure with a local interest in the sources upon the Albigensians was Guillaume Besse, a seventeenth-century lawyer and historian born in Carcassonne. His

³⁸¹ Nickson, "Locke and the Inquisition of Toulouse", 91.

³⁸² Ibid.

³⁸³ Ibid., 86.

³⁸⁴ Ibid., 91.

³⁸⁵ Y. Dossat, *Les crises de l'inquisition Toulousaine* (Bordeaux: Bière, 1959), 40; Lelong, *Bibliothèque historique de la France*, 373.

³⁸⁶ Nickson, "Locke and the Inquisition of Toulouse", 91.

interest in local history is shown in his study of the Counts of Carcassonne in 1640. Several years later Besse wrote a history of the Counts of Narbonne entitled *Histoire des ducs, marquis et comtes de Narbonne* (1660).

In this genealogy of the Counts of Narbonne Besse transcribed three Latin documents copied by Pierre Polhan and Pierre Izarn in the early thirteenth century.³⁸⁷ These three manuscripts, which Besse collated into an appendix entitled “Charte de Niquinta”, he claimed were given to him by Pierre Caseneuve, the prebendary of Saint-Étienne de Toulouse in a fragment of parchment.³⁸⁸ The three manuscripts are accounts of a Cathar council that took place in Saint-Félix de Caraman in 1167, supposedly transcribed by Polhan and Isarn in 1223 or 1232. Besse suggested that these fragments described the sermon of a Cathar Pope named Niquinta and the ordination of Albigensian bishops, including the dioceses highly populated with Albigensians, Toulouse and Carcassonne.³⁸⁹ By including these documents, Besse emphasised how the Albigensians adopted the structure of the Catholic Church. This attempt by the Cathars to organise their heretical movement along the same institutional hierarchy depicted them as a corrupted form of the authoritative Church. The Albigensians are shown to be hierarchically organised, through councils, popes and dioceses, their activities are not merely a popular movement, but reflected the establishment of a separate church.³⁹⁰ This counter-church extended from the Pyrenees and Lombardy into the north of France.³⁹¹ The notion of a church council with a pope that ordained bishops suggested the heretics were ordered and cohesive, which is unlike many other early modern polemicists’ views of the Albigensians, who were typically accused of causing violent disorder and chaos.

This source has caused much controversy between medievalists as to the accuracy and authenticity of Besse’s charter.³⁹² This debate arises from the fact that the source is unique; all other Albigensian records being inquisitorial, theological or liturgical texts.³⁹³ It has also

³⁸⁷ G. Besse, *Histoire des ducs, marquis, et comtes de Narbonne* (Paris: chez Antoine de Sonnaville, 1660), 324-325. The most recent English translation is in *Heresy and Inquisition in France, 1200-1300*, ed and trans. J.H. Arnold and P. Biller (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016), 16-19.

³⁸⁸ Dossat, ‘A propos du concile cathare de Saint-Félix’, 201-214.

³⁸⁹ B. Hamilton “Cathar Links with the Balkans and Byzantium”, in *Cathars in Question* ed. A. Sennis, *Heresy and Inquisition in the Middle Ages* 4 (York: York University Press: 2016), 142.

³⁹⁰ Zerner, *L’histoire du Catharisme*, i.

³⁹¹ *Ibid.*

³⁹² Biget, “Un faux du XIIIe siècle?”, 105-133; Dalarun, Dufour, Grondeux, Muzerelle and Fabio, “La ‘charte de Niquinta’, analyse formelle”, 135-201.

³⁹³ B. Hamilton, “Introduction” in H. Eterianus, *Contra Patarenos* eds. B. Hamilton, J. Hamilton, S. Hamilton (Leiden: Brill, 2004): 80.

been questioned because of Besse's dating of the manuscript, when Pierre Isarn was dead by 1232.³⁹⁴ Scepticism about the document began as early as Dom Vaissète and Claude Devic's *Histoire générale de Languedoc*, which questioned the origins of the text.³⁹⁵ The traditional defence of Besse's transcription was raised by Antoine Dondaine in 1946 and critiqued by Yves Dossat in 1955-6 who was sceptical of the language used.³⁹⁶ Much speculation followed, and suggestions arose that Besse created the text, or it was the work of an earlier forger.³⁹⁷ Besse was known to invent sources and it has been suggested that he falsified this document to prove the presence of heresy in the region in 1167, in order to blame the Albigensians for the murder of Viscount Trencavel of Béziers in the same year.³⁹⁸ Yet the document makes no mention of the murder of Viscount Trencavel and it seems unlikely that Besse would have simply invented such sweeping structural statements about the Albigensian Church.³⁹⁹ This led to a re-evaluation of the work in 1999 at a conference in Nice dedicated to the charter of Niquinta, the proceedings of which were edited by Monique Zerner.⁴⁰⁰ Zerner compared another two copies of the charter that Besse sent to Étienne Baluze in 1654, which remain in the Baluze papers in the Bibliothèque nationale de France.⁴⁰¹ Monique Zerner remained sceptical of the source and concluded that Besse did not consult with another extract of *De heresi* published by Nicolas Vigner's (1530-1596).⁴⁰² Research undertaken by scholars from the Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes, culminated with 'l'impression finale que l'on retire de ces observations est celle d'un document homogène, contemporain des événements relatés et dû à un même rédacteur'.⁴⁰³ This research suggested that to Besse, at least, the text was believably medieval and, thus, original.⁴⁰⁴

However, whether Besse forged this manuscript or not, the circulation of such a document demonstrates the significance of the Cathar heresy to early modern scholars. If Besse did

³⁹⁴ Hamilton, 'Cathar Links with the Balkans', 141-2.

³⁹⁵ J. de Vaissète and C. Devic, *Histoire générale de Languedoc* ed. A. Molinier (Toulouse, 1872-1915), VI, 619.

³⁹⁶ Hamilton, in *Contra Patarenos*, 80-81.

³⁹⁷ Biget, "Un faux du XIIIe siècle?", 105-133.

³⁹⁸ D. J. Smith, *Crusade, Heresy and Inquisition in the Lands of the Crown of Aragon: (c. 1167 - 1276)* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 81.

³⁹⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁰ Zerner, *L'histoire du Catharisme*, x.

⁴⁰¹ Baluze, *Mélanges, relatifs surtout à l'histoire du Midi*, fols. 38, 39r.

⁴⁰² Zerner, *L'histoire du Catharisme*, 223-225.

⁴⁰³ D. Muzerelle, 'Un document medieval?', in *L'histoire du Catharisme Le "concile" de Saint-Félix, 1167*, (Nice: Centre d'études médiévales, 2001), 199.

⁴⁰⁴ Ibid.

invent this hierarchical structure of a counter-church, it was his time and effort to do so. As the copies sent to Étienne Baluze prove, the charter of Niquinta was considered of interest to some of the most influential intellectual figures of seventeenth-century France. Besse's book was widely circulated and the charter was swiftly copied by his contemporaries; Christopher Sandius printed a copy in his *Nucleus Historiae Ecclesiasticae Exhibitus in Historia Arianorum* (Cologne, 1676).⁴⁰⁵ Jean Jacques Percin, a Dominican from Toulouse, edited the charter further in his *Monumenta conventus Tolosani O. FF. Praed.*, (Toulouse, 1693).⁴⁰⁶ Percin produced his version editing the Latin and renaming the charter, *Praedicta damnatione non obstante, crearunt haeretici papam nomine Niquintam seu Nicetam*.⁴⁰⁷ Percin's copy is an abridged version, focussed on the bishoprics of Toulouse, Carcassonne and Aran, which in the course of the text explains the word *consolamentum*.⁴⁰⁸ Besse's account shows confusion over the Albigensian ritual of *consolamentum*, as Besse mentions *consolamentum* being administered twice.⁴⁰⁹ Therefore, Besse's transcription of the "Charte de Niquinta" was influential in early modern France and generated ideas about the structure, organisation and alternative episcopal authority established by the Albigensian movement.

Conclusion

What unites these disparate writings - from translations and transcriptions of thirteenth-century sources to genealogies and celebratory city histories, biographies of bishops and didactic treatises? Ultimately, historians crafted a regional identity that owed a great deal to the legacy of medieval heresy. All local writers viewed the Cathars as an expression of a continuum and of widespread attitudes in the Midi against Papal and monarchical claims to authority in the region. Regional historical writing of the early modern Midi emphasised the significance of medieval heresy and the consequences of the inquisition, emphasizing that it irrevocably changed the region's religious and political culture. Many authors pinpointed the outcome of the Albigensian Crusade as the catalyst for the privileged relationship between

⁴⁰⁵ C. Sandius, *Nucleus Historiae Ecclesiasticae Exhibitus in Historia Arianorum* (Cologne: Joannem Nicolai, 1676), 390.

⁴⁰⁶ Zerner, *L'histoire du Catharisme*, 14.

⁴⁰⁷ J.-J. Percin, *Monumenta conventus Tolosani O. FF. Praed.* (Toulouse, 1693), paginated separately in a section entitled *Notae ad concilia*, 1.

⁴⁰⁸ Ibid; Zerner, *L'histoire du Catharisme*, 14.

⁴⁰⁹ Zerner, *L'histoire du Catharisme*, 14-15.

the province of Languedoc and the monarchy.⁴¹⁰ Historians of medieval heresy played an important role in defining the relationship between the King and the Estates of Languedoc.

However, there was also a notable shift in regional historians' methods. Although the idea of medieval heretics as inherently deceitful was widespread, there was also an increased value placed upon the use of inquisitorial depositions, which paradoxically gave voice to the views of heretics. Many of the regional historians who tackled the topic of medieval heresy did so from a jurist's approach to evidence; they had no qualms with analysing the depositions of inquisitorial trials as evidence of heretical ideas.⁴¹¹ Research into medieval heresy helped to establish a network of regional historians; they borrowed medieval manuscripts from each other and in their conversations and debates revised earlier arguments. They edited, translated and made available a great variety of sources that contributed significantly to erudition and the intellectual culture of seventeenth-century France.

⁴¹⁰ Catel, *Histoire des Comtes*, 135.

⁴¹¹ Krynen and Poumarède 'Juristes toulousains (1500-1830)'.

Chapter 2

Mendicant Authors

During the seventeenth century, mendicant authors researching the foundation of their orders celebrated the inquisitorial role their thirteenth-century predecessors had played against medieval heresy. In particular, the majority of Dominican and Franciscan writing on the Albigensian and Waldensian heresies approached this from the perspective of two saints - St Louis and St Dominic.⁴¹² In books dedicated to the king of France, St Louis was used as an allegorical figure of kingly authority against heresy, mendicant authors typically drawing allusions between medieval heretics and Calvinists in the 1600s.⁴¹³ In contrast, St Dominic was used to demonstrate what mendicants could achieve through the conversion of heretics, showing ideas of medieval heretics as willing to recant when faced with true piety.⁴¹⁴ This chapter will examine the impact hagiographies of St Dominic and St Louis had upon ideas of medieval heresy amongst mendicants; ideas that were inseparable from concepts of sainthood, persecution and the continuum of the orders' histories.

The hagiographical myth that St Dominic inspired the conversion of Cathar women, who became the first nuns at the convent of Prouille, was central to the narrative of the founding of the Dominican Order. Alongside this foundation narrative, St Dominic was mythologised as an inquisitor against the Albigensians. This remained the pervasive history of the foundation of the Order until the early eighteenth century. It was not until Jacques Échard's work *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum inventiti notis historicis et criticis illustrati*, published in Paris 1719-1721, that the tales of St Dominic's inquisitorial status and the conversion of Albigensian heretics were called into question.⁴¹⁵ Jacques Échard (1644-1724), a Dominican historian, was chosen by the Order to continue the research of Jacques Quétif

⁴¹² This is evident even from the titles of Dominican and Franciscan works on the topic, such as: J.-M. de Vernon, *Le roy très-chrestien, ou La vie de St Louis, roy de France* (Paris: G. Josse, 1662); J. Benoît, *Suite de l'histoire des Albigeois. Contenant la vie de saint Dominique* (Toulouse: J. & G. Pech, 1693). See also Lelong, 373-378.

⁴¹³ A. Boureau, "The King", in *Rethinking France: Lieux de Memoire* ed. P. Nora (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001): 205.

⁴¹⁴ L. J. Sackville, "The role of heresy in Dominican self consciousness" in *Sackville Heresy in Thirteenth-Century Catholic Texts*, doctoral thesis, (York: University of York, 2005), 96, accessed June 9, 2016, <http://etheses.whiterose.ac.uk/10961/1/422535.pdf>.

⁴¹⁵ Montagnes, "L'historigraphie de saint Dominique", 449.

(1618-1698) who had begun surveying printed Dominican literature.⁴¹⁶ Échard's two-volume study of Dominican authors included research on manuscripts as well as printed material; he examined handwritten works from the Bibliothèque de Roi, the archives of Dominicans in Paris such as Saint-Jacques and rue Saint-Honoré, as well as documents from Toulouse sent by correspondence.⁴¹⁷ For each Dominican writer Échard wrote biographical notes and a bibliography of their sources, including his critique of their writings.⁴¹⁸ This led to a re-evaluation of Dominican historiography and a reconstruction of the Order's ideas of the part played by medieval heretics in their foundation. Prior to this the myth of St Dominic's Albigensian conversions to the Dominican order was consolidated by seventeenth-century mendicant authors intertwining their ideas of the Albigensian heresy with historical research on the foundation of the Order of Preachers.⁴¹⁹ This chapter will go on to investigate this phenomenon of how the Albigensian and Waldensian heresies became thoroughly interwoven with mendicant orders' foundation myths.

The mendicant authors chosen throughout this chapter predominantly published their work in French. A more extensive study would be necessary to include Latin texts that explore the Albigensians and Waldensians.⁴²⁰ In particular, I have focussed on publications printed in the south of France and manuscripts from the Dominican Archives in Toulouse as these, due to the geographical association, typically devoted larger sections to the Albigensian and Waldensian heresies. First, this chapter will examine the works of Jean Marie de Vernon (16?-1695), a Franciscan, who espoused hagiographical accounts of the Albigensian Crusade. Vernon's work is representative of the wider mendicant thought, beyond the Dominican Order, on the importance of the accounts of saints in understanding medieval heresy.⁴²¹

Nonetheless, Dominican authors contributed the most to this field, particularly from the 1640s onwards; manuscripts by Pierre Cambefort (c.1600s-c.1660s) and Jean de Giffre de Réchac (1604-1660) reiterated fifteenth-century stories of St Dominic's interactions with the

⁴¹⁶ J. Échard, and J. Quétif, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum recensiti notis historicis et criticis illustrate ad annum 1700*, 2 (Paris: C. Ballard and N. Simart, 1719-1721).

⁴¹⁷ B. Montagnes, "L'histoire de la littérature de l'Ordre des frères prêcheurs, œuvre de Jacques Quétif et de Jacques Échard", *Mémoire dominicaine*, 4 (1994): 82.

⁴¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 75.

⁴¹⁹ Montagnes, "L'historiographie de saint Dominique", 447-478.

⁴²⁰ In particular, further research could be undertaken into Jean-Jacques Percin's use of medieval sources - Percin *Monumenta conventus Tolosani*.

⁴²¹ J.-M. de Vernon, *L'Histoire véritable du bienheureux Raymond Lulle, martyr, du tiers-ordre S. François*. (Paris: G Josse, 1668).

Albigensians and characterised the order's foundation as a reaction to medieval heresy.⁴²² This made developing a history of the Albigensian and Waldensian heresies a major priority of Dominican historiography - in Toulouse archivists transcribed medieval sources and compiled the convent library catalogue which listed multiple heretical texts.⁴²³ The significance of the Albigensian heresy to Dominican hagiographies is also clear in the early modern campaign for the beatification of the thirteenth-century Avignonet Martyrs, inquisitors killed at the hands of Cathars.⁴²⁴ In the wake of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes their martyrdom took on new implications, and allusions to Albigensians and Protestants became direct comparison fuelled by the extirpation and forced conversion of the Huguenots. However, Dominican authors in the 1690s - Jean-Jacques Percin and Jean Benoît - still subscribed to stereotypical depictions of Albigensians, and the myth of St Dominic's inquisitorial efforts remained the cornerstone of the foundation of the Order of Preachers.

This chapter will conclude with the contrasting views of two Carmelites - Augustine Theodore Du Roydault and Athanase de St Charles who demonstrate that within the same Order commentators perceived contemporary clashes with Calvinists and, as a result, medieval heresy differently. Ultimately, I have chosen sources from the Franciscans and Carmelites, as well as the Dominicans, to represent the overarching views of different orders and how deeply intertwined their ideas of medieval heresy were with their interpretation of contemporary religious violence.

The majority of the historiography on early modern monastic perceptions of the medieval focuses upon the erudite philology and collection of medieval manuscripts by contemplative orders such as the Benedictines of the Congregation of Saint Maur.⁴²⁵ However, the mendicant orders, the Dominicans, Franciscans and Carmelites, were fervent commentators

⁴²² P. Cambefort, *Livre contenant les plus remarquables choses de la vie et miracles... de saint Dominique*, M.S. (1646-54); J. Giffre de Réchac, *Les vies et actions mémorables des saintes et bien-heureuses tant du premier cue du tiers-ordre du glorieux père patriarche S. Dominique* (Paris: chez S. Huré, 1635); J. Giffre de Réchac, *La vie du glorieux patriarche saint Dominique, fondateur et instituteur de l'ordre des FF. Prescheurs, et de ses premiers seize compagnons: avec la fondation de tous les convents et monastères de l'un et l'autre sexe, dans toutes les provinces du royaume de France et dans les dix-sept du payx-Bas* (Paris, Sébastien Huré, 1647).

⁴²³ *Lutte Contre l'hérésie de l'Inquisition toulousaine*, Archives Dominicaines, Archives Départementales de Haute Garonne, Toulouse: 112H 26; *Catalogue de la bibliothèque des Frères prêcheurs*.

⁴²⁴ *Lutte Contre l'hérésie de l'Inquisition toulousaine*.

⁴²⁵ For the Maurists see: Gasnault, *L'érudition mauriste*; Ultee, *The Abbey of St Germain des Prés*; L. Holmberg, *The Forgotten Encyclopedia: the Maurists' dictionary of arts, crafts and sciences, the unrealized rival of the Encyclopedie* (Umeå: Umeå Universitet, 2014).

in the early modern debate on medieval heresy. Franciscan and Dominican authors firmly believed inquisitorial efforts to be evidence of piety and, in some cases, deserved saintly veneration.⁴²⁶ Not only did Dominican and (albeit to a lesser extent) Franciscan historians emphasise the inquisitorial work undertaken by St Dominic (c.1170-1221) and the crusade led by St Louis (1214-1270), they also compared these saints to seventeenth-century contemporaries involved in political debate against the Huguenots. Louis XIII and Louis XIV were encouraged to respond to contemporary heresy based upon thirteenth-century models of pious kingship.⁴²⁷ This production of historical works on the subject of the Albigensian Crusade aimed to raise the profiles of the orders, particularly as the seventeenth-century was a period of unsure reform and reinvention of their missional values.

By the seventeenth century the monastic orders of the Franciscans and Dominicans had expanded through new foundations and missions beyond Europe and were experiencing prominent reform movements. Missions to New France encouraged a re-evaluation of how orders engaged with heretics and non-believers.⁴²⁸ As well as this outward focus, both the Dominicans and Franciscans underwent reforms which were part of the wider changes instigated by the Council of Trent in the latter half of the sixteenth century in the face of the contemporary opposition of French Huguenots.⁴²⁹ As the orders went through these periods of reform, Dominican and Franciscan scholars returned to their foundation for the authoritative narrative of how to practice as an order. The history of the Dominican order's foundation in Toulouse in 1216, was interwoven with the Albigensian Crusade. In particular, Dominican historians re-examined the life of their founder, St Dominic, as the definitive leader of the order's ideals, and an inspirational opponent to heretical thinking. Dominic's ideals of education, poverty and charity were viewed as fundamental principles to which the order could return in times of expansion and crisis.⁴³⁰ Dominican authors emphasised the danger heretics posed to a peaceful society and expressed traditional views of the necessity to uphold orthodoxy. To Dominican writers the very nature of inquisition was bound within existing structures and organisations; working alongside the king and local government.

⁴²⁶ Vernon, *Le roy très-chrestien; Martyrs D'Avignonet*.

⁴²⁷ Boureau, "The King", 205.

⁴²⁸ C. Galland, *Pour la Gloire de Dieu et du Roi: les récollets en Nouvelle-France aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles* (Paris: Cerf, 2012), 37.

⁴²⁹ B. Montagnes, *Les Dominicains en France et leurs réformes* (Paris: Les éditions du Cerf, 2001).

⁴³⁰ J.-L., Biget, "Introduction", *L'ordre des Prêcheurs et son histoire en France méridionale, Cahiers de Fanjeaux* 36 (2001): 7.

Franciscan ideas upon the Albigensian heresy were similarly concerned with the origins of their order in France, although they did not share the Dominicans' geographical focus upon Languedoc. The Franciscans had played a lesser role in the Albigensian Crusade, in comparison to the Dominicans. Indeed, Franciscan historians were more interested in the cult of saints who had battled heresy and how this related to the order's relationship with the monarchy, particularly through the example of St Louis, circulating the idea of St Louis as a pious monarch supportive of the religious orders which had been propagated since his death.⁴³¹ Capetian propaganda led to St Louis' canonisation, twenty seven years after his death, and the historical writings of the mendicant orders demonstrate that veneration of the saintly king continued to be influential in the seventeenth century.⁴³²

Franciscan ideas of medieval heresy

Franciscan historians aimed to commend the position of their order in society by appealing to the inquisitorial authority of the king. Both Louis XIII and Louis XIV were compared to St Louis in their disapproval of unorthodoxy, particularly against Calvinism, and puns upon the name of Louis were common.⁴³³ The qualities of a saint and the duties of a king converged in a stance against heresy, a motif that was often employed to persuade the king to take action against Protestantism. The seventeenth century was full of this rhetoric of conflict and calls for direct action, however it was also tinged with the memory of the French Wars of Religion, which served as a strong warning against violent methods. It was these competing narratives of memory between the victorious Albigensian Crusade and the civil violence of the French Wars of Religion that served only to complicate policy and religious history writing.

The radical aims of the Franciscans during the Wars of Religion have been widely recognised.⁴³⁴ M. C. Armstrong demonstrates that the Franciscans represented the forefront of the Catholic League.⁴³⁵ The Franciscans were less influential upon policy during the seventeenth century. Indeed it has been argued that they went into decline whilst a revived

⁴³¹ D. Delogu, *Theorizing the Ideal Sovereign: the rise of the French Vernacular Royal Biography* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), 10.

⁴³² Boureau "The King", 205.

⁴³³ Ibid.

⁴³⁴ M. C. Armstrong, *The Politics of Piety: Franciscan Preachers During the Wars of Religion, 1560–1600* (Rochester, N.Y: University of Rochester Press, 2004), 8-10.

⁴³⁵ Ibid., 8.

episcopacy, in conjunction with new orders Jesuits and Capuchins increased in standing.⁴³⁶ This may have been a motivation for their renewed interest in the inquisitorial processes of medieval history, as they harked back to an era where the Order and seemingly the King played a greater role in dictating the outcome of religious policy. Armstrong has also noted the continuing significance of medieval ideas and institutions in the early modern period through the traditions of the Observant Friars.⁴³⁷ Whilst this theme of continuation of medieval practices has been explored in the historiography, it has rarely been discussed in terms of engagement with ideas of medieval heresy. Yet, in early modern books on medieval heresy this notion of continuity between the medieval past and the author's present-day context are clear. In the works of Jean Marie de Vernon there is an appeal to the continuity of the past, through the inheritance of kingly responsibility to enact legislation against heresy.⁴³⁸ Not only did Vernon suggest that the royal bloodline inherits the role of defender of orthodoxy, he also implied a tradition of heretical belief inherited by Protestantism from Catharism.⁴³⁹

Jean Marie de Vernon (16?-1695)

Jean-Marie de Vernon (16?-1695), was a Franciscan historian, and well-known biographer of significant saints and missionaries. Vernon's biographies - such as the one of the devout mystic Raymond Lull (1235-1315) - were intended as role models for his readers.⁴⁴⁰ His works were written in a hagiographical style; Vernon's biography of Raymond Lull documented the miracles of the Franciscan martyr.⁴⁴¹ Vernon, like other mendicant authors, approaches medieval heresy as a counterpoint to the hagiographical proofs of sainthood.

Jean-Marie de Vernon's interest in medieval heresy is most evident in his *Le Roy Très-Chrestien, ou La Vie de St Louis Roy de France* (1662). This historical work in three parts is written in a hagiographical style; exploring the life of St Louis as a model for godly kingship. Indeed, *Le Roy Très-Chrestien* is dedicated to King Louis XIV, and describes to the king how

⁴³⁶ On the increased Jesuit interest in medieval history see G. Lavieille, "The Jesuits and the Cult of Saint Louis in the 17th Century: the Celebration of the Most Christian King", *Les Cahiers de Framespa* 11, (2012), accessed Aug 14, 2017, <https://journals.openedition.org/framespa/2025>.

⁴³⁷ Armstrong, *The Politics of Piety*, 2-3.

⁴³⁸ Vernon, *Le roy très-chrestien*, aiii.

⁴³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁰ Vernon, *L'Histoire veritable*, 6.

⁴⁴¹ Ibid.

St Louis was ‘la source de vos Grandeurs, et l’origine de vostre Gloire’.⁴⁴² By remarking that St Louis was the source of Louis XIV’s grandeur and glory, Vernon aimed to recommend his order to the king through the flattery of a direct comparison between his majesty and St Louis’ piety. Vernon does not restrict his analysis of the role of the monarchy in protecting France from heresy to St Louis and the Albigensian Crusade. Indeed, in his first chapter Vernon lists the leaders of various sects that grew in the Central Middle Ages, from Marsilius of Padua, Peter of Bruis, and Peter Valdo to the Albigensians, Beguins and finally John Wycliffe.⁴⁴³ Vernon had a sense of a continuous tradition of heresy throughout the medieval period. As shown by his comparison with Louis XIV, Vernon is preparing a wider message for how the monarchy should deal with all heresy, through his historical account of how St Louis supported action against the Albigensians. Thus, Vernon’s views of the Albigensians are mostly allegorical: he characterised the Albigensian heresy as representative of the wider evil of heresy in the world. The Albigensian heresy was used by Vernon as a parable of how the monarchy should react to religious dissent and disorder.

The main primary source for Vernon’s account is Joinville’s *Life of St Louis*; Vernon relies on a seventeenth-century edition, edited by Claude Ménard in 1617.⁴⁴⁴ The first printed edition of Joinville’s *Life of St Louis* had been published seventy years earlier in Poitiers, edited by Antoine-Pierre de Rieux. Antoine-Pierre de Rieux’s edition had been criticised for its lack of faithfulness and added passages. In comparison, Ménard’s edition was well respected by his contemporaries for its faithfulness to the original. Indeed, Vernon comments upon his use of the Latin manuscripts:

Ménard qui les a trouvées dans de vieux manuscrits en termes Latins les a communiqué au public de la même manière, dans ses curieuses Observations sur la Vie de Saint Louis composée par Joinville, et nous les avons traduites en nôtre Langue.⁴⁴⁵

By recognising Ménard’s use of ‘vieux manuscrits en termes Latins’ Vernon is encouraging the reader to view his source, even though it is a seventeenth-century edition, as based upon the original manuscripts. By emphasising the age of the Latin documents, Vernon is

⁴⁴² Vernon, *Le roy très-chrestien*, aiii.

⁴⁴³ *Ibid.*, 5.

⁴⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 101.

⁴⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

indicating to his readership, whose values have been shaped by a tradition of Renaissance humanism, the authoritative nature of his sources. Vernon made clear that Ménard used the oldest copy available, rather than copying the Poitiers version. His work could therefore be trusted as presenting a hagiographical ‘exemple d’un...Monarque operoit des merveilles’.⁴⁴⁶ Vernon furthers the reader’s trust in Ménard by following this with a transcription, from Ménard’s edition, of the lettres-patentes of Louis to the inhabitants of Albi.⁴⁴⁷ Vernon suggests that whoever ‘examinera diligemment le contenu de ces Patentes y verra tant de preuves des grandeurs de... sa [Louis’] religion’. There is a claim about himself - that he has examined the sources ‘diligemment’ - and he furthers his hagiographical argument with ‘preuves des grandeurs’.⁴⁴⁸

However, such proofs of St Louis’ piety were unnecessary. The legacy of Capetian propaganda was so influential that St Louis remained a central anti-heretical figure in the early modern imagination.⁴⁴⁹ The sheer volume of works concerned with St Louis demonstrates that the thirteenth-century monarch was commonly used as a prominent rhetorical tool against heresy, depicting medieval heresy as deserving of crusade and implying the same of early modern unorthodoxy. The reputation of St Louis as defender against heresy was achieved through widespread publications of Jean de Joinville’s source. The first printed text, edited by Antoine-Pierre de Rieux and published by the brothers Marnef in Poitiers in 1547, was dedicated to Francis I, suggesting comparison between the current monarch and St Louis.⁴⁵⁰ In 1609, the bookseller Guillemot published what was largely a copy of the Poitiers edition, but accompanied by a genealogy of the House of Bourbon, presumably to draw clear links between the reigning king Henry IV’s dynastic house and Louis IX, whose son Robert had married Beatrix of Bourbon in 1272. This highlights the significance of the inheritance of the divine authority of the saintly king.

⁴⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁷ Ibid., 101-103.

⁴⁴⁸ Ibid., 103.

⁴⁴⁹ Boreau, “The King”, 205.

⁴⁵⁰ Latour, “Mérites et facéties d’une publication oubliée”, 207.



Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France

1. Michel Snyders, *Généalogie des descendants de saint Louis*, 1619, Source gallica.bnf.fr/Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.

Another genealogy showing the links with St Louis was published ten years later in 1619 (illustration 1, *left*). This copperplate engraving by Michel Snyders was printed as Louis XIII began to take political decisions independent from his mother's instruction, mirroring Louis IX's relationship with his powerful mother Blanche of Castile. The engraving depicts St Louis '*terti Ord D. Fran*' lying beside his sword and the emblem of the *fleur de lys* at the foot of a genealogical tree demonstrating the continuation of saintly quality through the flowing vines of familial connection. The fact that the genealogy is entitled '*descendants de saint Louis*' instead of descendants of King Louis IX shows the commentator's emphasis on his saintliness. Louis' piety and defence against heresy were qualities the

seventeenth-century French monarchy claimed to inherit.⁴⁵¹

Thus, Vernon's work needs to be considered in the context of the wider rhetoric surrounding St Louis as an ancestral epitome of kingship against medieval heresy. Indeed, there appears to be an increase in the publication of works upon St Louis in the 1660s. Two panegyrics celebrating St Louis and glorifying his legacy were published in 1662 and 1666. As well as Vernon's *Le Roy Tres Chrestien* another edition of Joinville's work was edited by Charles du Fresne du Cange, *Histoire de S. Louys IX du nom Roy de France Ecrite par Jean Sire de Joinville* (1668), based upon Ménard's version.⁴⁵² Du Cange (1610-1688) was renowned as a

⁴⁵¹ Boreau, "The King", 205.

⁴⁵² C. Du Fresne Du Cange, *Histoire de S. Louys IX du nom Roy de France écrite par Jean Sire de Joinville* (Paris: chez Sebastien Mabre-Cramoisy, 1668), 1, accessed March 17, 2019, <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k5575244j>.

historian and respected as a jurist, holding the office of treasurer of France of the generality of Amiens.⁴⁵³ He was an expert in medieval and Byzantine history, with an extensive collection of manuscripts in his library and wide-ranging historical writings. This shows the significance of Joinville in the seventeenth century, that a historian of Du Cange's reputation would publish a further copy. Faced with no access to a manuscript copy of Joinville, Du Cange was reduced to scrupulously comparing the editions of De Rieux and Ménard, which revealed many errors.⁴⁵⁴ For example, Du Cange uses a passage from a medieval chronicle by Guillaume Guiart (d. 1316) in 1264 to check names and families, Du Cange concludes that 'Claude Ménard et autres... se sont mépris trop grossièrement, quand ils ont avancé que Gilles de Trasegnies estoit de la famille des Lusignans'.⁴⁵⁵ This critique of early modern translations using other thirteenth century sources to corroborate Joinville's biography produced a more accurate text. It is a reflection of Du Cange's contextual knowledge of thirteenth and fourteenth-century France.

As we see, the view of medieval heresy espoused by Franciscan accounts of the Albigensian Crusade was of a deeply mistaken or evil movement which contrasted starkly with the piety of St Louis, who was idealised for his dual role as both monarch and saint. This is unsurprising, particularly amongst mendicant writers, as St Louis' life was intertwined with the establishment of the Dominican and Franciscan orders in France; the thirteenth-century king was renowned for his promotion of lay spirituality that had been significant to the formation of the mendicant movement.⁴⁵⁶ Housley's argument that the French monarchs after St Louis were associated by his legacy with crusading is limited to the fourteenth century, but this rhetoric of inquisitorial crusade was reawakened in the seventeenth century.⁴⁵⁷ The symbolism of St Louis as a pious king engaged in a holy war was long-lasting and pervasive throughout French culture, particularly in early modern opposition to the Turks and Calvinists.

⁴⁵³ J. Considine, *Dictionaries in Early Modern Europe: Lexicography and the Making of Heritage* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008) 263.

⁴⁵⁴ Du Fresne Du Cange, *Histoire de S. Louys*, preface, page marked eii.

⁴⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 35.

⁴⁵⁶ M. C. Gaposchkin and S. J. Field (eds.), L. Field (trans.), *The sanctity of Louis IX: early lives of Saint Louis by Geoffrey of Beaulieu and William of Chartres* (Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press, 2014), 6.

⁴⁵⁷ N. Housley, "Joinville and the *Vie de Saint Louis*: Crusading and Piety", in *The Crusaders* (Stroud: Tempus, 2002), 107.

Franciscan definitions of the Albigensians as diametrically opposed to St Louis was also due to the characterisation of the heretics as tyrants, acting against the liberty of France. Alain Boureau has remarked upon the conflicting ideas of St Louis projected upon the King Louis XIII, including this projection of the king as bringer of liberty from the shackles of tyrannical heresy.⁴⁵⁸ St Louis was also viewed as a just lawgiver and a defender of the Gallican church as the “roi tres chretien”.⁴⁵⁹ Heretical leaders, in comparison, were often described as tyrants. Pierre des Vaux de Cernay referred to the Raymond of Termes and the Count of Foix as tyrannical.⁴⁶⁰ Daniel Baraz argues that the meaning of the word tyranny in response to heresy changed, from the medieval attribution of the word to acts of cruelty, to have a political meaning.⁴⁶¹ In their context, post-Wars of Religion, an early modern audience interpreted the term “heresy” as political sedition, as well as unorthodoxy. Vernon’s *Le Roy Tres Chrestien* shows these ideas of heresy as political dissent and the rightful monarch as the freer of the people from tyranny.⁴⁶²

Indeed, Vernon’s account of the relationship between medieval heresy and St Louis differed from that of his contemporaries as he focussed on portraying St Louis as a ‘franciscaine tertiaire’, akin to himself.⁴⁶³ The adoption of this kingly authority over heresy as a particularly Franciscan trait sets Vernon’s political aims apart from Dominican and Carmelite authors. As the patron of the Franciscan tertiaries St Louis was not only a role model to the Franciscans, but an example to the wider world of Franciscan bravery and achievement in the face of heresy.⁴⁶⁴ This work does not merely demonstrate Franciscan beliefs about the role of the monarchy in inquisition but shows how the third order of Franciscans wanted to be perceived as devout, pious, strong and long-lasting. Akin to Dominican historians’ obsession with St Dominic, Franciscan authors used St Louis in his role as patron of the Third Order of St Francis as a heroic figure, who personified the wider Franciscan ideals.⁴⁶⁵ By choosing to focus on St Louis instead of St Francis, the conversation becomes far more centralised upon France, specifically the Midi, and the relevance of the order in the fight against contemporary heresy.

⁴⁵⁸ Boureau, “The King”, 205.

⁴⁵⁹ Ibid., 204.

⁴⁶⁰ D. Baraz, *Medieval Cruelty: Changing Perceptions, Late Antiquity to the Early Modern Period* (Cornell University Press, 2003), 88.

⁴⁶¹ Ibid, 179.

⁴⁶² Vernon, *Le roy très-chrestien*, 14.

⁴⁶³ Ibid., aiii.

⁴⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁵ Ibid.

De Vernon's aim to promote the role of his Order, is corroborated by his later writings, such as his history of the Franciscan Order, *Histoire du Tiers-Ordre de St Francois* (1667). In this work De Vernon uses St Louis' response to the Albigensians in a short hagiography at the end of the work. This shorter, twelve-page 'vie de saint louis' was one among many biographies of saints and holy figures significant to the order, beginning with St Francis of Assisi himself.⁴⁶⁶ The fact that St Louis is mentioned shortly after St Francis, the founder of the Order, and St Elizabeth of Thuringia, the first nun of the Franciscan Order often honoured as its patroness, demonstrates the significance of St Louis to De Vernon, and to members of the Franciscan Order in late seventeenth-century France.⁴⁶⁷ Interestingly, De Vernon does not include the short biographies of the saints (with the exception of St Francis) in the contents table at the beginning of the work, implying perhaps that St Elizabeth of Thuringia and St Francis were added at a later point in the process.⁴⁶⁸ This may have been because of the material Vernon had already prepared on St Louis for his *Le Roy Tres Chrestien*; the short biography clearly recycles some of his earlier writing and has the same reliance upon Jean de Joinville.

However, not all De Vernon's ideas are clearly to be found in Joinville. An example is his commentary upon the relationship between the king and the inquisitors:

Ayant établi l'inquisition par toute la France contre l' hérésie Albigeoise, il avoit tant de respect pour les Inquisiteurs, que lors qu'ils le venoient trouver pour les affaires qui concernoient leur charge, il quittoit toute autre occupation, afin de les entendre et les expedier en diligence.⁴⁶⁹

Vernon does not refer to a medieval source for this evidence that Louis IX had so much respect for the Inquisitors that he would abandon the affairs of the court, however, this remark furthers the idea that Vernon favours inquisitorial measures as a method of control of heresy. He commends Louis' ability to create such a comprehensive and centralised method of control, pointing out that the inquisition extended to all of France, and that the inquisitors

⁴⁶⁶ J.-M. De Vernon, *Histoire générale et particulière du Tiers-Ordre de St François*, (Paris: G. Josse, 1667), 465-477.

⁴⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁸ Ibid., page marked "table des articles, paragraphes et chapitres de ce volume".

⁴⁶⁹ Ibid., 469.

referred directly to the king for direction. De Vernon emphasises the Gallican nature of inquisition and the importance of the king in lawgiving as leadership of inquisitorial measures. The inquisition in Toulouse in the thirteenth century was instigated by the Gallican Church, even if it had papal backing. Louis XIV took a similar approach to his leadership of the Gallican Church when dealing with unorthodoxy, first exerting his authority before turning to papal confirmation. In this Gallican-dominated political landscape Huguenots and Lutherans in Catholic polemic were often construed as republicans, holding contempt for monarchical authority.⁴⁷⁰ Vernon is also clearly for force as punishment for heretical behaviour, he commends the fact that Louis ‘defendoit les blasphemés sous peine d’avoir la langue percée d’un fer chaud: juste punition qu’il faisoit exécuter sans dispenses.’ The fact Vernon specifies that Louis executed this judgement ‘sans dispenses’ and refers to the inquisition established in ‘toute la France’, emphasises the ability of St Louis to eradicate heresy through lawful means.⁴⁷¹ This reinforces the idea that Vernon’s *Histoire du Tiers-Ordre de St François* is intended as promotion of the Franciscan order through association with the King in action against heresy.

Vernon’s *Histoire du Tiers-Ordre de St François* (1667) is also of interest as it provides us with a glimpse into seventeenth-century Franciscan archives in Languedoc. De Vernon selects those aspects of the Archives in Toulouse that he considers useful for his history of the Franciscan Order in Toulouse. One such selection is the account of Father Raymond Lachan, who carried a cross through the streets of Montauban warning the citizens of their need to repent, an event, which De Vernon claims, ‘a montré la vérité de sa [Raymond’s] Prophetie, puis que ne s’estant point corrigez, ils sont tombez dans le malheur de l’hérésie, ou ils croupissent encore par un aveuglement estrange.’⁴⁷² Vernon considers this prophecy of Montauban falling into heresy to have been fulfilled by the Calvinist population in the Midi. Montauban has been described as the ‘Huguenot heartland’ with the vast proportion of the 12,000 inhabitants subscribing to Calvinist beliefs in the latter half of the sixteenth century.⁴⁷³ Vernon’s view of earlier Franciscan’s attempts to invoke penitence in Montauban as prophetic of unorthodox, early-modern Calvinists subscribes to this wider view that the geographical coincidence of multiple forms of heresy could be explained divinely.

⁴⁷⁰ N. Aston, “Church & State in France”, in *The Cambridge History of Christianity: Volume 7, Enlightenment, Reawakening and Revolution 1660-1815* ed. S. J. Brown and T. Tackett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 2006), 22.

⁴⁷¹ Vernon, *Tiers-Ordre de St François*, 469.

⁴⁷² *Ibid.*, 405.

⁴⁷³ Connor, *Huguenot heartland*, 3-5.

Dominican Rhetoric on the Albigensian Crusade

The importance of the Albigensian Crusade in the historical imagination of the Dominican Order cannot be overstated. The Order's foundation was directly linked to the struggle against Catharism. The religious community of the Dominicans was founded in 1214, at the preaching centre of Fanjeaux where Dominic de Guzmán was titular rector, six years after the Albigensian Crusade was declared by Pope Innocent III.⁴⁷⁴ By 1230 the foundation of the Couvent des Jacobins in Toulouse marked the establishment of the Dominican Order. Initially the roughly forty Dominican brothers living in the convent supported those who participated in the Crusade. The itinerant preaching style upon which the order was founded was intended to counter the popularity of Cathar sermons.⁴⁷⁵ Hinnebusch suggests that the vow of poverty taken by the Dominicans provided an alternative to those attracted to the Waldensian rejection of worldly wealth.⁴⁷⁶ After the death of the bishop of Toulouse Folquet de Marseille, who upheld strict anti-Albigensian views, in 1232 the Dominicans increased their participation in the inquisition under the leadership of Raymond de Fauga (Bishop of Toulouse 1232-1270). The response to the Albigensian heresy in the inquisitorial processes that followed involved individual Dominican brothers voluntarily pursuing known heretics, or working alongside the local diocese.⁴⁷⁷ Crucially, this enthusiasm for quashing heretical beliefs, particularly in Toulouse, was a fundamental founding feature of the Dominican order.

Dominican authors were attracted to the Albigensian Crusade for St Dominic's supposed role as an inquisitor, and how their founder's actions might influence their current organization and practice.⁴⁷⁸ In the Dominican historiography of the early modern period there was established a clear continuum between the thirteenth century and contemporary Dominican practice, including inquisitorial attitudes towards heresy. By the seventeenth century, Dominican writers considered the Order to have inherited an inquisitorial approach to heresy

⁴⁷⁴ W. A. Hinnebusch, "Poverty in the Order of Preachers", *The Catholic Historical Review* 45, no. 4, (1960): 437.

⁴⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁷⁶ Ibid., 436.

⁴⁷⁷ Biget, "Introduction", *L'ordre des Prêcheurs*, 12.

⁴⁷⁸ M.-H. Vicaire, "Persequutor hereticorum" ou les "persecutions de saint Dominique", *Cahiers de Fanjeaux* 6 (1971): 75-84.

through St Dominic's condemnation and conversion of the Albigensians.⁴⁷⁹ the Order's involvement in thirteenth-century inquisition and centuries of consolidation of these practices. The cult of St Dominic was central to their understanding of the history of the Albigensian Crusade. Indeed, the focus upon Dominic was used to reinforce the Order's association with battling heresy, rather than his adoption of a lifestyle of chastity and poverty, or his encouragement of educated preaching. Although Dominic died in 1221, almost a decade before the foundation of the mendicant inquisition, the idea that he was an inquisitor was explored greatly by seventeenth-century Dominican writers.⁴⁸⁰ To such authors, the hagiographical proofs of Dominic's sainthood and his stance against the Albigensian heresy were more important than erudite revisionist approaches to St Dominic's biography. However, in the early modern period Dominicans interrogated inquisitorial sources and the traditional historiography of Dominican hagiography was finally challenged in the early eighteenth century.

The creation of a myth of St Dominic continues to draw the attention of historians of early modern Dominican historical writing. Bernard Montagnes, a Dominican brother and archivist in Toulouse, explored seventeenth-century Dominican memory narratives of the events that transpired at Fanjeaux and Prouille.⁴⁸¹ R. J. Loernertz and, more recently, Jean Blanc have focussed on the archives in Prouille in particular as a powerful tool in the construction of Dominican historiography.⁴⁸² Understandably, Montagnes was far more concerned with the depiction of St Dominic than medieval heretics in his explorations of Dominican historiography.⁴⁸³ Montagnes focussed on the south of France but used some examples of authors from Paris. However his contextualisation of these texts is focused on their authorship and use of archives from Prouille, Carcassonne and Toulouse.⁴⁸⁴ Similarly, Christine Gadrat examined Dominican historical writing in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries and demonstrated the interwoven nature of erudite scholarship, such as the overlap between André de Saint-Géry and Jean-Jacques Percin's historical works upon

⁴⁷⁹ A. Reltgen-Tallon, "L'historiographie des Dominicains du Midi: une mémoire originale?", *Cahiers de Fanjeaux* 36 (2001): 395-9.

⁴⁸⁰ S. Tugwell, *Early Dominicans: Selected Writings* (New York: Paulist Press, 1982) 111-112.

⁴⁸¹ Montagnes, "L'historiographie de saint Dominique", 447-478.

⁴⁸² J. Blanc, "Les archives de Prouille", *La fondation de Prouille, Mémoire dominicaine* 23, (2008): 21-30; R. J. Loernertz, "Archives de Prouille", *Archivum fratrum praedicatorum* 24 (1954): 5-49.

⁴⁸³ Montagnes, "L'historiographie de saint Dominique", 447-478.

⁴⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 448.

the convents of Rodez and Toulouse.⁴⁸⁵ Gadrat admitted that Dominican literature was less erudite than Mabillon and the Maurists, but raised significant questions about the intellectual network of Dominican historians. She recognised that Dominicans circulated manuscripts (corresponding with prominent Maurists and individual scholars such as Peiresc) and maintained important archives, which contributed to a more scientific approach to studies of medieval history.⁴⁸⁶ Despite this research, there still remains a lack of interest in Dominican perceptions of medieval heresy, and the use of ideas upon the Albigensians in early modern Dominican rhetoric. The historiography is predominantly concerned with the mysteries created by multiple layers of narrative from the thirteenth, fifteenth and seventeenth centuries on the subject of St Dominic's hagiography.⁴⁸⁷ An examination of Dominican views on medieval heretics adds further nuance to this debate and sets it within the context of the French Counter-Reformation.

The assumption that St Dominic had played a prominent role in the suppression of the Albigensians was not a novel idea of the seventeenth century.⁴⁸⁸ It was built upon the surviving sources of the Albigensian inquisition by influential Dominican authors, such as Bernard Gui (1261-1331) and Humbert of Romans (d.1277) which emphasised the preponderant role of the Dominican order in inquisition. Early modern historians also drew from the perpetuation of the myth of St Dominic as inquisitor by Alain de la Roche (1428-1475) and the visual representations of St Dominic proclaiming judgement over heretics or leading Albigensians to salvation. In particular, the fifteenth century paintings of Pedro Berruguete for the monastery of St Thomas, Ávila, were famed for their depictions of St Dominic burning books (illustration 2, *next page*) and presiding over the trials of Albigensian martyrs. Berruguete painted multiple allegorical depictions of St Dominic's interactions with the Albigensians, including a trial of a heretical bishop and Dominic reading sentences against two heretics (who the artist has stylistically depicted as already prepared for execution) at an *auto-da-fé* (illustration 3, *next page*). Another hagiographical proof that Berruguete painted was the burning of St Dominic's writing alongside Albigensian texts

⁴⁸⁵ C. Gadrat, "L'érudition dominicaine au XVIIe et au début du XVIIIe siècle: André de Saint-Géry et l'histoire du couvent de Rodez". In: *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes* 161 (2001): 651.

⁴⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 652.

⁴⁸⁷ Montagnes, "L'historiographie de saint Dominique", 447-478.

⁴⁸⁸ Sackville, "The role of heresy in Dominican self consciousness", 92-95.



2. Pedro Berruguete, *St Dominic de Guzman and the Albigensians*, c.1493, Museo de Prado.

where the saint's book was miraculously cast aloft from the fire (illustration 2, *left*). These visual depictions of St Dominic as an inquisitor against the Albigensians remained popular into the early modern period and only confirmed the narrative of medieval heretics as the antithesis of sainthood: depraved and deserving of judgement.

This visual rhetoric of St Dominic as an inquisitor persisted in the historical narratives of the Dominican order into the seventeenth century. This is clear from the painted depictions of Dominic and the Albigensian heretics in ceiling panels

of the chapel of Peter Seila's house, also known as the "Maison de l'Inquisition", in Toulouse. Peter Seila's house was donated to Dominic de Guzmán in 1215 and is considered the place where the Dominican order was founded.⁴⁸⁹ Between 1648 and 1650 the engraver Balthazar-Thomas Moncornet (1600-1688), a Dominican novice, painted fifteen wooden caissons of the chapel ceiling with scenes from St Dominic's life. One panel portrays St Dominic's encounter with a Cathar woman. Catholic commentators on the Cathar heresy were particularly horrified by the role played by women in heretical communities, even acting as evangelists and preachers for the Albigensian heresy. This is reflected in the inquisitorial documents where the testimony of female deponents is recorded at length. Hence, it is significant that Dominic is associated



3. Pedro Berruguete, *St Dominic de Guzman presiding over an Auto-da-fé*, c.1493, Museo de Prado.

⁴⁸⁹ C. C. Ames, *Righteous Persecution: Inquisition, Dominicans and Christianity in the Middle Ages*. (New York: Cornell, 2008), 263.

with the conversion of Albigensian women, despite the fact that there remains a lack of evidence as to the success of his attempts to convert heretics in the South of France.



4. Balthazar-Thomas Moncornet, *St Dominic converting a heretic woman*, seventeenth-century ceiling painting, Maison Seilhan, Toulouse.

The image of *St Dominic converting a heretic woman* differs from earlier painted depictions of St Dominic and Cathars, particularly in its representation of a medieval heretic. In this painting (illustration 4, *left*) the Cathar woman is shown confronted with death and sin and recanting her heresy; her face displays beatific penitence reflecting the expression of St Dominic who blesses her with an outstretched arm. This painting adopts a less vehement attitude towards medieval heretics, the Albigensian woman is shown to be in need of reconciliation to God and to orthodoxy, however she is not depicted as irreconcilable or devoid of virtue.

Indeed, the narrative of redemption of the Cathar women as the first nuns of the Dominican order shows how Dominican historians viewed heresy as transitory and impermanent. The power of St Dominic and Catholicism is depicted as transformative. This painting demonstrates that two competing narratives of medieval heresy were held in tension, between heretics deserving of redemption and recantation and those condemned to judgement.

It is evident that the trope of St Dominic as inquisitor had become fundamental part of the imagery used to describe the Dominican order, and that this was furthered in the seventeenth century through historical reimagining of the origins of the order.⁴⁹⁰ The inquisitorial role of a selected few Dominicans in the thirteenth century became an overall characteristic associated with the entire order.⁴⁹¹ Dominican historians' exploration of the Albigensian heresy was reawakened by the growth of the Huguenot population in sixteenth-century Languedoc. Contemporary efforts against Calvinists relied upon the legitimacy of a narrative of the historical role played by the Dominican order in Inquisition. The Dominicans returned to historical figures and medieval inquisitorial processes both for inspiration about how to deal with the Huguenot population and also for reassurance that their role was justified, and

⁴⁹⁰ Reltgen-Tallon, "L'historiographie des Dominicains du Midi", 398.

⁴⁹¹ Ibid.

that the order was important to the spiritual welfare of France.⁴⁹² The memory of the Dominicans was reconstructed once more in the seventeenth century as the peaceful struggle against heresy continued after the Wars of Religion.

Publications from the Dominicans upon the Albigensian Crusade flourished in two decades of the seventeenth century - the 1640s and the 1690s. These two decades represent periods of intense tension between proponents of orthodoxy and the Calvinist, Huguenot population in the south of France. Languedoc in the 1630s underwent tumultuous uprisings under the Duke of Montmorency. In response over the following decade Cardinals Richelieu and Mazarin extended royal control over the province, through more direct taxation, a new intendant and the billeting of troops. In the 1690s the aftermath of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes once again escalated friction with the remaining Huguenot population. In both these decades of the seventeenth century, then, the king's policy against the Calvinists was clear and Dominican scholars were able to publish works that supported the monarch's firm handling of sectarian dissent.

It is clear that this association between the Dominicans and inquisition was significant in the 1640s, with provision of 150 livres given to the *inquisiteur de la foi* Pere Jean Dominique Rey in 1643.⁴⁹³ As Robert Alan Schneider argued in his study of early modern Toulouse, a 'formidable obstacle to Reformed thinking was the Dominican Inquisition established... after the Albigensian Crusade'.⁴⁹⁴ The structures of the thirteenth century remained present in the organisation of the Dominican convent in Toulouse, including the role of an *inquisiteur de la foi*. The "Inquisitor of the Faith of the Kingdom of France" was a Dominican from the convent of Toulouse appointed to uphold orthodoxy. The position of Inquisitor of the Faith was established in 1233-4 and had its last post in the 1700s, exemplifying the continuity in attitudes against heresy in the region.⁴⁹⁵ Although the inquisitor of the faith became markedly less respected after the scandal of the appointed inquisitor Jacobin Louis Rochette (d.1538)

⁴⁹² In particular, Dominicans focussed on St Dominic and St Louis as models for Louis XIV - J. Benoît, *Les Portraits des trois principaux heros de l'histoire des Albigeois, S. Louis, Louis Le Grand, et S. Dominique*, (Toulouse: J. & G. Pech, 1693), 29, Tolosana, accessed March 10, 2017, <http://tolosana.univ-toulouse.fr/fr/notice/075578735>.

⁴⁹³ "Provisions d'inquisiteur en faveur du P. Jean-Dominique Rey 1643", in *Inquisiteurs*, Archives Départementales de la Haute-Garonne, 112 H28.

⁴⁹⁴ Schneider, *Public Life in Toulouse*, 92.

⁴⁹⁵ W.L. Wakefield, *Heresy, Crusade and Inquisition in Southern France, 1100-1250* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1974), 140.

being charged with Protestantism and burned at the stake.⁴⁹⁶ In fact, the role of inquisitor in Toulouse was not as demanding in the seventeenth century, with the numbers of Protestants and practitioners of magic prosecuted declining between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in the records of the city archives.⁴⁹⁷ However, the role still retained a civic reputation to warrant provision of significant funds.⁴⁹⁸

Another reason for the flurry of works written in the same period is the amount that Dominican historians were inspired by, and borrowed from, one another.⁴⁹⁹ In the 1640s such similarities between historical writing can be seen in the works of Pierre Cambefort (c.1600s - c.1660s) and Jean de Giffre de Réchac (1604-1660), who both perpetuated myths about St Dominic through drawing upon fifteenth and sixteenth century sources from the archives at the monastery of Prouille.

Pierre Cambefort (c.1600s - c.1660s)

Pierre Cambefort, a priest at Fanjeaux, wrote a history of the Dominican Order which addressed ideas about the Albigenian heresy and the role of St Dominic in thirteenth-century inquisition. The work was entitled *Livre contenant les plus remarquables choses de la vie et miracles... de saint Dominique* and includes four miracles performed by St Dominic during his time at Fanjeaux.⁵⁰⁰ Starting in 1646, Cambefort did not publish his history of the order, but it was kept in manuscript form in the archives at the monastery of Prouille. Indeed, Cambefort made use of the archives of the monastery at Prouille in his account.

Cambefort cited his sources, noting that Father Étienne Tournery gave him permission to use the archives of the couvent de Fanjeaux in 1628.⁵⁰¹ He writes in 1640 that the Prior Jean Carquet, recommended him to the archives of Prouille for his research.⁵⁰² This shows the significance of the areas of Fanjeaux and Prouille to the historical ambitions of Cambefort. His writing was clearly that of a local historian who was also aiming at a hagiography in

⁴⁹⁶ Ibid.; B. Montagnes, "Un inquisiteur de Toulouse accusé d'hérésie en 1534, le dominicain Arnaud de Badet", *Revue d'histoire de l'Église de France* 71, no. 187, (1985): 233.

⁴⁹⁷ For records of the Protestants and magicians in Toulouse in the seventeenth century see "Protestants 1560-1657, 1711". *Affaires de religion*, Archives Municipales de Toulouse, GG825.

⁴⁹⁸ For the provisions of the Inquisitor of the Faith, see "Provisions d'inquisiteur en faveur du P. Jean-Dominique Rey 1643".

⁴⁹⁹ Montagnes, "L'historiographie de saint Dominique", 448.

⁵⁰⁰ V. J. Koudelka, "Notes pour servir à l'histoire de Saint Dominique: Le Signadou de Fanjeaux", *Archivum fratrum praedicatorum*, 43 (1973): 11.

⁵⁰¹ Montagnes, "L'historiographie de saint Dominique", 448.

⁵⁰² Ibid.

support of the Dominicans' founder. This importance of geographical focus is further shown by his recognition of his sources. Cambefort took care to write down when he transcribed certain documents within his work. For instance, within a series of texts on the foundations of Limoux and Revel he notes that he transcribed fragments on Limoux on 'le 7 juillet 1654'.⁵⁰³ By providing dates for his transcriptions, Cambefort is justifying their authority to be used as sources for the history of the Dominicans. However, Cambefort often included transcribed documents out of context. For example, when writing on the foundation of Prouille he copies directly the beginning paragraph of Gui's "De fundatione monestarii pruliani" from Prouille's archives, misrepresenting the act of the foundation of the monastery.⁵⁰⁴ Cambefort conflates the nine women described in Gui's account of Prouille's first nuns with the story of Dominic's conversion of several Cathar women, combining the two into a powerful narrative of the rejection of heresy and the embracing of the Dominican order.⁵⁰⁵ Cambefort's view of medieval heretics, in the case of these first nuns, is one of people misled who could be reconciled back to God and the Church through pious intervention.

Jean de Giffre de Réchac (1604-1660)

Jean de Giffre de Réchac, in contrast, was not based in the Midi but, from 1620, lived in the Convent of the Annunciation, Paris.⁵⁰⁶ However, he was equally concerned with writing a history of the Dominican order that emphasised the miraculous aspects of St Dominic's life that confirmed sainthood, and therefore was interested in the Albigenian heresy. His *Les Vies et actions mémorables des saintes et bien-heureuses, tant du premier que du tiers ordre du glorieux... S. Dominique* (1635) alphabetically described different members of the Order.⁵⁰⁷ Réchac argued that Dominic came to Languedoc to 'déraciner l'hérésie des Albigeois', however, he emphasised the conversion of heretics.⁵⁰⁸ Opposite the frontispiece is a large illustration of St Dominic surrounded by nuns wearing the traditional black of the Dominican order, denoting the origins of the order in the monastic community of Prouille.

⁵⁰³ P.-A. Amargier, "II. Fondation des couvents dominicains de Limoux et Revel, 1324, 1377", *Annales du Midi* 74 (1962): 322.

⁵⁰⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁰⁵ N. M. Schulman, *Where Troubadors were Bishops: The Occitania of Folc of Marseille (1150-1231)*, (New York: Routledge 2001), 132.

⁵⁰⁶ J. Halbronn, *Le Dominicain Giffre de Réchac (1604-1660) et la naissance de la critique nostradamienne, au XVII^e siècle*, Postdoctoral research, (l'Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, 2007), accessed Jan 19, 2018, <https://www.scribd.com/document/358744723/Post-doc-Halbronn-Last>.

⁵⁰⁷ Giffre de Réchac, *Les vies et actions mémorables*.

⁵⁰⁸ Ibid., preface, section 2, page marked b ii.

Indeed, Réchac writes in the preface about the ‘tendre amour que notre Père Saint Dominique apporté aux filles de son Ordre’, demonstrating the importance of Prouille and the supposed conversion of Cathar women in Dominican foundation narratives.⁵⁰⁹ Réchac suggested that Cathar women were in need of the ‘tendre amour’ of God (via St Dominic). He implied that medieval heretic women were rejected by society and that their heretical beliefs stemmed from lack of care. But upon recanting and joining the convent at Prouille they became an accepted part of a Catholic community.

Réchac’s history of the Dominican order was edited after he visited Toulouse in 1640, with later editions including a greater analysis of the Albigensian Crusade.⁵¹⁰ Invited to lecture upon Biblical languages in Toulouse, he incorporated into his visit a pilgrimage to Fanjeaux and Prouille at the end of 1642.⁵¹¹ Gadrat suggests a potential overlap in the period that Cambefort and Réchac examined the archives. Jean Carquet provided access to the archives for Pierre Cambefort from 1636-1639, and this was closely followed by Jean Giffre de Réchac’s visit in 1642.⁵¹² Undoubtedly this visit influenced Réchac’s work upon St Dominic, written a year later. Approved for publication in October 1643, it did not appear on the Paris presses until January 1647. The date of publication of his biography of St Dominic remains controversial as it suggests that Réchac borrowed from Cambefort.⁵¹³ However, Réchac may have shown Cambefort some of his work during his research in Prouille. Consequently, it is difficult to discern whether Cambefort was inspired by Réchac or vice versa. Indeed, Réchac may have met Pierre Cambefort during his visit to Fanjeaux and Prouille.⁵¹⁴ It is thought that the similarity of Cambefort and Réchac’s works is explained by their sharing of notes and exchange of ideas. However, they were also working from the same base of sources. Réchac thoroughly researched the archives of Prouille, Toulouse and Bordeaux, yet his analysis of this archival research is limited. The work is more an extensive compilation of sources than an exercise in historical criticism.

⁵⁰⁹ Ibid., preface, section 7.

⁵¹⁰ Giffre de Réchac, *La vie du glorieux patriarche*, 53, 157-160, 234.

⁵¹¹ Montagnes, “L’historiographie de saint Dominique”, 448.

⁵¹² Gadrat, *L’érudition dominicaine au XVIIe siècle*, 646.

⁵¹³ Montagnes, “L’historiographie de saint Dominique”, 448.

⁵¹⁴ Ibid.

Toulousain transcriptions of thirteenth-century manuscripts

Further evidence of the continued interest in historical understanding of the Albigensian inquisition is clear in the transcription of medieval sources by the Dominican Order. The Dominicans reflected the wider shift in seventeenth century historical writing towards the scholarly use of antiquarian practices.⁵¹⁵ Enthusiasm for preserving the past is clear in the number of documents transcribed in the Dominican archives in this period. Moreover, the significance placed upon the archives in Toulouse by the Order of Preachers, focussed their historical writing on the stronghold of the Dominican Order and the inquisitorial history of the city. Dominican librarians copied manuscripts of inquisitorial documents to conserve them, whilst mendicant historians transcribed sections of sources in their books as evidential proofs. One such document transcribed by the Dominicans in 1675, entitled ‘sentences de l’Inquisition portant excommunication des capitouls et du viguier 1235, 1237’, is still held within the Dominican archives of the Archives Départementales de Haute Garonne.⁵¹⁶ The permission for the transcription of this manuscript is explained in the opening paragraph that mentions how the Dominican convent of Toulouse presented a petition committed to copying multiple manuscripts to the Archbishop of Toulouse, Joseph de Montpezat de Carbon, with the aim of seeking the truth from many different copies to establish an accurate account of early inquisition ‘per fratrem Gullielmum Arnaldi et fratrem Stephanum Inquisitores’.⁵¹⁷ The manuscript register starts with an account of the work of these inquisitors Guillaume Arnaud (d. 1242) and Étienne de Saint- Thibéry (d.1242), and below this is included the excommunication on 24 July 1237 of the viguier, the official representative of the count, and the consuls.⁵¹⁸ This excommunication took place because they had not fulfilled the sentence against Alaman de Roaix, who had been convicted *in absentia*, to be burned.

The transcribed manuscript is archived alongside notes that describe the concerns of the office of inquisitor in sixteenth and seventeenth century Toulouse. These included sixteenth-century trials, such as the doctor Nicolas Beaumont, who was charged with using magic, and

⁵¹⁵ On continuity and change in Dominican erudition in the seventeenth century see Gadrat, *L’érudition dominicaine au XVIIe siècle*.

⁵¹⁶ “Sentences de l’Inquisition portant excommunication des capitouls et du viguier 1235, 1237” in *Lutte Contre l’hérésie de l’Inquisition toulousaine*.

⁵¹⁷ *Ibid.* 1.

⁵¹⁸ *Ibid.*

a copy of the 1540 edict against association with heretics.⁵¹⁹ The way this document is now categorised in the archives, demonstrates how the transcription of medieval documents is considered by modern archivists as part of the early modern ‘lutte contre l’hérésie’.⁵²⁰ The Dominicans clearly valued the thirteenth-century inquisitions enough to transcribe them and keep them in good condition, so they could be readily consulted and kept within the collections of the Order.

Campaign for the Avignonet Martyrs

One such example of the cult of saints that the historical reimagining of the Albigensian Crusade encouraged was the attempts by the Dominican Order to canonise the Avignonet martyrs. In 1242 a group of eleven Dominicans, Franciscans and Benedictines, including the Dominicans Bernard of Roquefort, Garcia d’Aure, and Guillaume Arnaud, were undertaking work for the Albigensian inquisition based at a farmhouse outside Avignonet when they were killed by Albigensians. This episode is recorded in several depositions in Doat 22 and 24, where the murders are described alongside the looting of the brothers’ horses and possessions.⁵²¹ In the early modern period, with the re-evaluation of the Albigensian Crusade in the light of the Reformation, the importance of the Dominican Order’s position in upholding orthodoxy against heresy was reinvigorated and the Avignonet Martyrs were cast by mendicant writers as inspirational figures of faithfulness to God deserving of canonisation.

From the sixteenth century onwards regular correspondence with Rome from the convent in Toulouse requested their canonisation. A 1537 papal bull granted a plenary indulgence to all those who prayed in L’église de Notre-Dame-de-Miracles of Avignonet, on June 4th.⁵²² This bull mentions two miracles that happened in Avignonet after the people had done their penance for the murders committed: the appearance of an angel attributed to the Virgin Mary; the subsequent statue of the Virgin Mary that appeared on the steps of the Church with no known patron and sculptor. The bull is within a collection of evidence provided by the Dominicans for the miracles related to the Avignonet Martyrs. The importance of the

⁵¹⁹ “Extrait des registres du parlement affaire de hérésie et de magic (Nicolas de Beaumont) 1522” and “édit pour l’extirpation de l’hérésie 1540” in *Lutte Contre l’hérésie de l’Inquisition toulousaine*.

⁵²⁰ *Lutte Contre l’hérésie de l’Inquisition toulousaine*.

⁵²¹ Doat, Doat 22, fols. 257v-258v and Doat 24, fols 163v-164v

⁵²² “Bulle accordée en faveur de la confrerie et des miracles établie dans l’église paroissiale d’Avignonnet”, *Martyrs D’Avignonet*, 3.

authenticity of the bull is clear as a signed note of authenticity makes clear: ‘Le present extrait...de mot a mot est apiece collationné par nous autoire’.⁵²³ The authenticity of the source is included in the dossier of evidence to add further weight to the Dominican argument for the canonisation of the Avignonet martyrs.

Dominicans from Toulouse composed several letters spanning from 1537 to 1728 requesting the canonisation of the martyrs upon the grounds that they had died upholding the Catholic faith in the fight against heresy. These letters listed many signs and wonders experienced by the friars as hagiographical proofs of their sainthood. For instance, the Dominican inquisitors were supposedly confirmed as candidates for sainthood by the miraculous manifestation of the Virgin Mary’s statue at the Notre Dame des Miracles Church in Avignonet, harking back to her apparition to St Dominic in 1206.⁵²⁴ According to Dominican tradition the Virgin Mary appeared in 1206 to Dominic when he was at the village of Prouille and provided him with a rosary as a tool of prayer against the Albigensians. The apparitions of Mary played a significant role in the miraculous sightings of the Dominican Order and were closely linked to the inquisition.⁵²⁵ The Virgin Mary’s purity and protection were viewed as the antithesis of the destructive force and insidious deceptiveness of medieval heresy. The idea of the Virgin Mary as life-giving contrasted with the murderous actions of the Cathars against the Avignonet martyrs.⁵²⁶ Once again, early modern Dominican ideas of medieval heresy are shown through juxtaposing the heretics with symbols of piety and purity. The fact that seventeenth-century writers used the martyrdom of inquisitors and the subsequent miraculous statue of the Virgin Mary to confirm their sainthood was part of a wider veneration of the role of inquisitor.

Despite this, there was some reluctance by the papacy to canonise the martyrs. As Christine Caldwell Ames points out, the majority of efforts of Dominican colleagues to get their martyred brothers canonised failed.⁵²⁷ The Dominican order had to wait until the nineteenth century for the Avignonet martyrs to be recognised by the papacy; they were finally beatified in 1866. In the early modern period, the role of the inquisitors at Avignonet was far more

⁵²³ Ibid.

⁵²⁴ “Canonisation Premières Informations” in *Martyrs D’Avignonet*, 4-6.

⁵²⁵ Ibid.

⁵²⁶ Ibid.

⁵²⁷ Ames, *Righteous Persecution*, 61.

important to Dominican historians, based in Toulouse and the surrounding areas of Languedoc, than to the Church as a whole.

The Convent of Toulouse Library Catalogue

Seventeenth-century Dominicans valued research upon medieval heresy and gathered secondary works, as well as original documents, upon this subject in their extensive collections; within the Bibliothèque de Patrimoine of Toulouse there is a copy of the library catalogue of the Dominican convent in Toulouse from 1683.⁵²⁸ This *Repertorium Librorum* lists the different editions, and volumes that the library housed. From this we can tell that the Dominicans in Toulouse owned many historical works by ‘Controvertistes’.⁵²⁹ Indeed, they were particularly concerned with martyrology - from multiple works by the ecclesiastical historian Caesar Baronius, to martyrologists such as the Milanese Cistercian Bonifacio Simonetta.⁵³⁰ The interest in heresy was wide-ranging and covered topics from Muhammad to the Turks and Hussites.⁵³¹ It is clear that, as well as this general overview of heresy and opposition to the Roman Church, the Dominican convent stocked books with a particularly French angle; there was a section devoted to ‘histoires de France’.⁵³² The library catalogue again underlines the fact that the Dominicans were also concerned with the history of heresy in Toulouse specifically.⁵³³ Undoubtedly Dominican students would have known their order’s role in the inquisition against the Albigensians and the subsequent inquisitorial legacy of the Dominicans in the region around Toulouse.

The catalogue appears to be comprehensive, including detailed references to multiple volumes and indications of their shelfmarks, as well as instructions to readers for finding the books.⁵³⁴ Indeed, this suggests that these works were used by the Dominicans in the convent, as the catalogue is aimed at making the collections accessible to readers. Instead of merely listing the works housed in the library, the *Repertorium Librorum* detailed instructions as to how the catalogue could be used to locate a particular title.⁵³⁵ Not only can we establish from

⁵²⁸ *Catalogue de la bibliothèque des Frères prêcheurs*.

⁵²⁹ *Ibid.*, 121v., ‘Controvertistes’.

⁵³⁰ *Ibid.*, 116v. ‘Caesar Baronius’, ‘Bonifacio Simonetta’.

⁵³¹ *Ibid.*, 133. ‘Mahumetti Sectam’, ‘l’histoire des Turcs’, ‘historia hussitarum’.

⁵³² *Ibid.*, 117v.

⁵³³ *Ibid.*, 117v. e.g. Guillaume Catel *Histoire des comtes de Tolose* (1623) and *Mémoires de l’histoire du Languedoc* (1633)

⁵³⁴ *Ibid.*, 102.

⁵³⁵ *Ibid.*, 1.

the catalogue that the Dominicans had an established interest and readership in heresy and the history of Languedoc, it can also be suggested that they were interested in contemporary scholarship on the issue. Very few of the works recorded in the Dominican library were published prior to the seventeenth century; this is predominantly a collection of the most recent scholarship on medieval heresy. For instance, the library catalogue includes copies of volumes 21-27 of *Maxima Bibliotheca veterum patrum* (1677), a collection of medieval heresy by Marguerine de La Bigne, which had only been published six years before. The library catalogue also demonstrates the kinds of sources available to the Dominicans, as the convent owned copies of several compilations of sources apart from the *Maxima Bibliotheca*, various collections of Papal Bulls and councils. Ideas of medieval heresy formed a major part of seventeenth-century Dominican learning and erudition. The librarian evidently considered heresy a worthwhile subject, given the continuing acquisition of relevant texts and newly published editions of medieval works.

The Dominican archives became an invaluable source for Dominican historians writing on medieval heresy, particularly those based in Toulouse in the latter half of the seventeenth century. Pete Biller examined Dominican uses of inquisitorial registers in the introduction to a modern edition of Doat 25-26, which implied that there was a ‘growth of interest in the reading and scholarly use of the materials’ amongst Dominican authors 1650-1700.⁵³⁶ The Dominican order embraced antiquarianism through their tendency to seek justification in the past. Unlike most antiquarians, however, the Dominicans did not re-examine antiquity, but the issue of thirteenth-century Albigensian heresy as this was the context within which Dominic founded the order. To early modern Dominicans the importance was in revisiting the sources of this period of the Albigensian Crusade. For traditional Dominican historiography viewed medieval heresy as the cause and the catalyst for the foundation of the order; it was initially what brought Dominic to Languedoc. The Dominicans aimed to refer to their institutional past in order to inform their future role in spiritual warfare in France. As such, early modern Dominican historians defined the Order’s role in the education and prosecution of unorthodoxy, by turning to medieval inquisitorial documents. In particular, three Dominican authors in Toulouse drew upon the sources kept within the Dominican archives: Antonin Regnault, an academic theologian at the University of Toulouse; Jean-

⁵³⁶ Biller, Bruschi, Sneddon, *Inquisitors and heretics*, 15.

Jacques Percin, who wrote a history of the Toulouse monastery; Jean Benoît, the producer of a history of the Albigensians and the Albigensian Crusade.⁵³⁷

Antonin Regnault (c.1605-1676)

Antonin Regnault (c.1605-1676), also known as Antonin Reginald, was an influential academic theologian who defended a scholarly approach to Thomistic theology. His study of the Council of Trent's decree on justification and grace, published after his death in 1706, was lauded for its erudition.⁵³⁸ However, his histories of the Albigensians were not published, but demonstrate an equally thorough approach to research. Regnault used the inquisition registers in the convent to write studies of the Avignonet Martyrs and Dominican inquisitors. The latter was never published but was kept in the archives of the Dominicans in Toulouse in manuscript form entitled *Chronicon Inquisitorum Tolosanorum*.⁵³⁹ The *Chronicon Inquisitorum* was focussed on the role of the convent in Toulouse in inquisition and explored the role of prominent Dominican inquisitors. Regnault used inquisitorial registers in Toulouse at a similar time, or even prior, to the Doat Commission and therefore he was consulting the same documents, instead of seventeenth-century transcriptions.⁵⁴⁰ Pete Biller has suggested that Antonin Regnault's research can be traced in the marginalia of the inquisitorial register of medieval depositions from the Lauragais, 1245-6, (Bibliothèque de Toulouse: MS 609) as a seventeenth-century hand has noted 'inq' by the names of inquisitors.⁵⁴¹ Biller assessed that Regnault consulted this at some point between 1650s and 1676, which is comparable to Doat's transcription of the register in October 1669.⁵⁴² Unfortunately, the manuscript of the *Chronicon*, which was kept in the Dominican archives in Toulouse has subsequently been lost.⁵⁴³ However, Antonin Regnault's work was closely examined by Jean-Jacques Percin, in

⁵³⁷ For Regnault's defence of the Thomistic doctrine of grace see A. Regnault, *Doctrinae divi Thomae Aquinatis tria principia: cum suis consequentiis: ubi totius doctrinae compendium et connexio continetur* (Toulouse: Raymond Bosc, 1670)

⁵³⁸ A. Reginaldi [Regnault], *De mente S. Concilii Tridentini circa gratiam se ipsa efficacem; opus posthumum* (Antwerp: B. Foppens, 1706).

⁵³⁹ Échard, and Quétif, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum*, vol. 2, 661-663.

⁵⁴⁰ Biller, Bruschi, Sneddon, *Inquisitors and heretics*, 17.

⁵⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 15.

⁵⁴² *Ibid.*, 18; Percin, *Monumenta conventus*, 57-62.

⁵⁴³ Biller, Bruschi, Sneddon, *Inquisitors and heretics*, 15.

fact the *Chronicon* was extensively copied by Percin in his history of the convent of Toulouse.⁵⁴⁴

Jean-Jacques Percin (1623-1711)

Jean-Jacques Percin was a Dominican historian based at the convent of Toulouse from 1650. Percin's extensive history of the Dominican monastery in Toulouse, *Monumenta conventus Tolosani ordinis FF. Praedicatorum primi*, was written 1688 to 1690, in the wake of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes and at the start of a period of institutional support for historical writing in the Dominican Order. As part of his history of the order Percin explored the role of Dominican inquisitors in the Albigensian Crusade. He included a separate short historical work on the Albigensian heresy, published at the end of his *Monumenta*, named *Opusculum de Haeresi Albigensium*.⁵⁴⁵ He also wrote a list of inquisitors *Nomina Inquisitorum* which mentioned many of the principal inquisitors of the Doat registers.⁵⁴⁶

The Master of the Order Antonin Cloche (1628-1720) encouraged Percin to write this history of the convent in Toulouse, intended as a monograph that would reflect the values of the Order as a whole. Percin adhered to the traditional view that the hagiography of St Dominic was intertwined with the Albigensian Crusade, he described St Dominic as 'Pater Dominicus primus Inquisitor'.⁵⁴⁷ Cloche supported Percin in his research and wrote to the convent at Prouille to grant Percin permission to access their archives:

Le R. P. Percin, de nôtre couvent de Toulouse, ayant entrepris par nôtre ordre de composer l'histoire dudit couvent, et ayant besoin pour la perfection de son ouvrage de voir les mémoires et les papiers anciens de nôtre monastère de Prouille, nous avons voulu vous écrire cette lettre pour vous temoigner que vous nous ferez plaisir de lui communiquer les manuscrits anciens dudit monastère.⁵⁴⁸

⁵⁴⁴ Échard and Quétif, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum*, vol. 2, 663.

⁵⁴⁵ Percin, "Opusculum de Haeresi Albigensium" in *Monumenta conventus*, 191-227 (paginated separately 1-36).

⁵⁴⁶ Percin, *Monumenta conventus*, 109.

⁵⁴⁷ Ibid., 85.

⁵⁴⁸ A. Cloche, "Letter to Prouille", in Gadrat, *L'érudition dominicaine au XVIIe siècle*, 647.

This letter is evidence of the Dominican Order's support for historical studies of the Order which used archives dating back to the thirteenth century. It exemplifies the interrelated nature of Dominican archival management and historical writing. Dominican historians consulted first and foremost the Order's own archives, which due to the Albigensian inquisition included inquisitorial registers. Although Percin had access to these archives, Percin was seemingly an indolent scholar, borrowing excerpts of inquisitorial manuscripts from Regnault and, as Pete Biller has shown, numbering his pages of transcriptions inaccurately.⁵⁴⁹

Despite his access to inquisition registers in the archives of Toulouse, and the fact that he often quoted directly from medieval manuscripts, most of his understanding of the Albigensian heresy was drawn from Regnault's *Chronicon Inquisitorum Tolosanorum*. As Quétif and Échard explain, Percin examined inquisitorial registers by copying much of Regnault's research from his history of the inquisitors of Toulouse.⁵⁵⁰ Percin did not claim all this work as his own and cited the Regnault's *Chronicon* as the 'catalogo inquisitorum a Fr. nostro Antonino Reginaldo compilato'.⁵⁵¹ Yet, as Pete Biller has demonstrated 'most of Percin's references to the inquisition registers of Toulouse come from Reginald [Regnault]'.⁵⁵² Further evidence from Percin's referencing shows that he numbered these registers 1, 2, 4, and 6, implying that there were two other registers he did not use.⁵⁵³ Percin's most detailed explanation of the heresy depositions is in his discussion of the Avignonet Martyrs, taken from Regnault, demonstrating that the martyrdom of the inquisitors at Avignonet remained preminent in early modern Dominican thought. Ames's research into the cult of sanctity surrounding inquisitors, notes Percin's interest in the Avignonet martyrs, as he recorded that 'their relics has been held and honoured as holy by the order'.⁵⁵⁴ This veneration implies that to Dominicans the inquisitors were fighting a worthy spiritual battle, and it suggests further contempt for medieval heresy and the need for heretics to be eradicated or converted.

Percin's *Monumenta* was published in the same year as Jean Benoît's two works on the Albigensians and it was printed by J & G Pech, the same printers as Benoît's books. It can,

⁵⁴⁹ Biller, in Biller, Bruschi, Sneddon, *Inquisitors and heretics*, 17, 19.

⁵⁵⁰ Échard and Quétif, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum*, vol. 2, 663.

⁵⁵¹ Percin *Monumenta conventus Tolosani*, 52.

⁵⁵² Biller, Bruschi, Sneddon, *Inquisitors and heretics*, 16.

⁵⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁵⁴ Ames, *Righteous Persecution*, 62.

therefore, be assumed that Percin and Benoît's histories were part of the same campaign by the Master of the Order, Antonin Cloche, to re-examine the history of the Dominican Order.⁵⁵⁵ Yet, neither Percin nor Benoît's books changed the traditional historiography of the central importance of the myth of St Dominic as inquisitor.

Jean Benoît (1632-1705)

Jean Benoît, was the Dominican historian who wrote most prolifically on the topic of the Albigensians in the early modern period. Benoît wrote an entire history devoted to the sect and how their suppression was intertwined with the life of St Dominic which was published in Toulouse in 1693.⁵⁵⁶ The statement of privilege to print the book with the blessing of the king reads that Benoît has been given permission 'imprimer, vendre et debiter un Livre intitule l'Histoire des Albigeois...avec une Carte Geographique des Valees'.⁵⁵⁷ The inclusion of a map alongside the historical account associates the Albigensians with the Languedoc region. Benoît's *Suite de l'Histoire des Albigeois contenant la vie de Saint Dominique* (1693), is subtitled '*services importants que l'Ordre de S. Dominique a rendus a l'Eglise pour l'extirpation des Hérésies*'.⁵⁵⁸ The fact that Benoît was defending the role of the Dominicans against heresy was also a political statement about the aims of seventeenth-century Dominicans in tackling contemporary heresy. Benoît's work was printed in Toulouse, which is significant as his book was published only eight years after the extirpation of the Huguenots by the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Not only was Toulouse the birthplace of the Dominican Order but it remained a firmly Catholic stronghold in a region that had had, until the Revocation, a relatively large proportion of Huguenots.

Given Louis XIV's determination to extirpate Protestantism, the matter of inquisition had immense contemporary significance. The recalcitrance of many *nouveaux convertis* and the outbreak of a guerrilla war in the Cevennes in 1702 only served to heighten the significance of historical precedents in the minds of supporters of and propagandists for orthodoxy.⁵⁵⁹

Benoît's *Les Portraits des trois principaux héros de l'histoire des Albigeois, S. Louis, Louis*

⁵⁵⁵ B. Montagnes, "Le tricentenaire d'Antonin Cloche." *Archivum fratrum praedicatorum* 57, (1987): 221-289.

⁵⁵⁶ Benoît, *Suite de l'histoire des Albigeois.*, 1

⁵⁵⁷ Ibid., "Extrait du Privilege du Roy".

⁵⁵⁸ Ibid., title page.

⁵⁵⁹ J. Bergin, *Crown, Church and Episcopate* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 247.

Le Grand, et S. Dominique (1693) was dedicated to the Bishop of Nîmes, Esprit Fléchier (1632-1710), who became involved in the ‘conversion Crusade’ which had reached their pinnacle in the Languedoc region by the 1680s. The bishopric of Nîmes was given to Fléchier who was a renowned preacher of orthodoxy and had quashed the Huguenots in Brittany in 1685, and the bishopric of Alès became the responsibility of the missionary Chevalier de Saux, in the hope that their collaboration could contain the Protestant threat.⁵⁶⁰ Fléchier evidently viewed historical inquisition as inspiration for action against Calvinists; indeed, in the same year that Benoît published his *Les Portraits* Fléchier produced a history of the Grand Inquisitor, Cardinal Ximenes de Cisneros.⁵⁶¹ Benoît appealed to Fléchier’s interest in historical leaders of inquisition and his position as leader of the forced conversion of Huguenots to increase the popularity of his own work amongst proponents of orthodoxy.

Benoît’s work lacks a critical analysis of the narrative of St Dominic. Benoît himself used the reputation of other theologians to give greater backing to his work, with approbations from fellow erudite Dominican theologians such as Antoine Massoulié (1632-1706) and Antonin Cloche (1628–1720), the Master of the Order of Preachers from 1686 to 1720.⁵⁶² The fact that such prominent leaders of the Dominicans endorsed Benoît’s *Suite de l’Histoire* despite the flaws in the text demonstrates the importance to the Dominican Order of a history of the Albigensians and St Dominic alongside each another. Jean Benoît’s hagiography of St Dominic claimed that his programme to convert the Albigensians was incredibly successful and he intertwined this account with the historical events of the Albigensian Crusade. Benoît considers Dominic to be central to the Albigensian narrative, claiming that a history of the heresy that did not include Dominic would be ‘imparfaite’, akin to a history of Arianism without the life of St Athanasius or the Pelagians without St Augustine.⁵⁶³ By including allusions to the Church fathers Benoît is raising the profile of St Dominic, elevating him from a mere founder of an order to a central figure in the foundation of church history.

Benoît viewed medieval heresy as only effectively combatted by sainthood. When faced with insurrection and lack of doctrine God sends a saviour in the form of a saint to battle against these heretical forces and show them the error in their ways. To Benoît this role is fulfilled by St Dominic. He also argues against those who focus on Simon de Montfort as the victor

⁵⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁵⁶¹ E. Fléchier, *Histoire du cardinal Ximenes* (Paris: Jean Anisson, 1693).

⁵⁶² Benoît, *Suite de l’histoire des Albigeois*, i.

⁵⁶³ Ibid., preface, a3.

against the Albigensians, claiming that whilst he may be called a hero for his military campaigns the greater, spiritual battle was won by St Dominic and that it is an ‘injustice, de ne pas donner a nôtre saint Patriarche le titre de Héros Apostolique, puisque si dans tous les combats, et dans tous les Sièges où Simon de Montfort a fait briller les vertus... Saint Dominique y paroissant à la Tête des Troupes’.⁵⁶⁴ This is evidently an embellished narrative, since St Dominic’s involvement in the campaigns against Albigensians was limited. However, the legacy of the inquisitorial role the Dominicans played has changed the historiographical debate to include, particularly by members of the Dominican Order, a veneration of St Dominic for his role in military battles against the Albigensians, instead of his promotion of preaching against them.

Benoît’s use of the word hero appears throughout his *Suite de l’histoire* and was a dominant feature of his *Les Portraits des trois principaux héros de l’histoire des Albigeois S. Louis, Louis Le Grand, et S. Dominique* (1693), where it even appears in the title.⁵⁶⁵ Benoît clearly associates destruction of heresy with heroism and in a poem ‘Parallele de S. Louis avec Louis Le Grand’ juxtaposes the words ‘hérésie’ et ‘héroïsme’ as wordplay against one another.⁵⁶⁶

Cette Histoire qui nous apprend
L’Hérésie éteinte & soûmise.
Fait voir deux Héros dans l’Église,
Saint Louis & Louis Le Grand.⁵⁶⁷

To Benoît the Albigensian heresy was not merely mistaken theology but the absolute antithesis of virtuous heroism, it was morally wrong and cowardly. This persuasive wordplay is reminiscent of his comparison between St Louis, Louis le Grand and Louis XIV.⁵⁶⁸ Benoit notes in *Les Portraits* that not only do the three kings share the same name but that they were all united in their efforts in ‘l’entiere extirpation des Hérésies des Albigeois, des Vaudois & des Huguenots, qui ont déchiré l’Église depuis le douzième siècle jusqu’à présent’.⁵⁶⁹

⁵⁶⁴ Ibid., preface, a3v.

⁵⁶⁵ J. Benoît, *Les Portraits des trois principaux héros*.

⁵⁶⁶ Benoît, *Suite de l’histoire des Albigeois*, 237.

⁵⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁶⁹ Benoît, *Les Portraits des trois principaux héros*, dedicatory epistle, fol. 4.

It might appear that Dominican thought on the Albigensian heresy did not change radically between the thirteenth century and the 1690s. Dominicans clearly still considered heresy a major problem, although their details on the theology, beliefs and practices of Albigensians were under-discussed in comparison to their focus on the violence and deceitfulness of the sect. The dominant theme of seventeenth-century Dominican texts on medieval heresy is the contrast between the heretics and the virtuous saintly piety of St Dominic and St Louis. This is presumably due to the motivations behind Dominican writings, which often appealed to the king and showcased Dominican involvement in inquisition with the highest of praise. The Dominicans were determined to demonstrate that their inquisitorial roots were still relevant. As such, they created a continuous narrative of their commitment to uphold orthodoxy, although their efforts were now directed against Huguenots. The Dominicans depicted a trajectory of continuity between the Albigensian heretics in Languedoc and early modern Calvinism, albeit without the detail of other polemical rhetoric on the theological or inherited similarities between the groups. Instead, the Dominicans viewed this as a continuity of religious dissent in the Midi, which constituted a chaos that required order through inquisitorial conversion or punishment. Seventeenth-century constructions of Dominican historiography consolidated the legend of St Dominic as inquisitor and perpetuated the ideal of Dominican involvement in inquisitorial procedure. To explain various accounts of their founder's reaction to the Albigensians, and the differing policies adopted throughout the seventeenth century against Calvinists, Dominican writers divided heretics into two groups which they characterised as mistaken and reconcilable, and evil and deserving of judgement.

Carmelite politics and anti-Calvinist rhetoric

The Dominicans and Franciscans were not the only mendicant Orders invested in contradicting Protestantism, from the viewpoint of Calvinism as an inherited heretical theology from medieval sects. The Carmelite, Augustine Theodore Du Roydault, authored an illustrated work entitled *L'hérésie expirante sous le règne de Louis le grand* (1685).



5. Frontispiece of A. Roydault, *L'hérésie expirante sous le règne de Louis le grand* (1685), Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des manuscrits, Français 2355.

This work is handwritten, with occasional gold lettering and a golden border, and a brightly-coloured painted frontispiece (illustration 5, *left*) shows the sun casting out darkening clouds over the temple and valley below.⁵⁷⁰ Underneath the frontispiece Louis, the sun king, or 'Pere du jour' is described as dispelling the infected night stars, the heretics.⁵⁷¹ In this poem Du Roydault also proffers envy as a sinful consequence of heresy, portraying heretics as 'feux malins', malignant fires, of little consequence in comparison to the sun.⁵⁷² The reason for Du Roydault's elaborate design and poetical language is clear in the manuscripts' date of production, 1685, which designates the work as a celebration of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. The 'infecta' to which Roydault refers was the spread of Calvinism. These common symbols of heresy as a disease or darkness were used in contrast to the dazzling brightness of

Louis the Sun King.⁵⁷³ In commemoration of the exile of the Huguenots from France he returns to earlier concepts of medieval heresy throughout the treatise to strengthen the association between Calvinism and spiritual depravity.

The Latin inscription on this frontispiece 'infecta repurgat', reinforces the imagery of the darkness clearing.⁵⁷⁴ Roydault expresses support for the early medieval notion of heresy as an infection that must be purged by the exclusion of the diseased segment from the healthy body

⁵⁷⁰ Du Roydault, *L'hérésie expirante*, frontispiece.

⁵⁷¹ Ibid.

⁵⁷² Ibid.

⁵⁷³ Ibid.

⁵⁷⁴ Ibid.

of believers. This clearly links the treatise with the description of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in the dedicatory letter addressed to the king:

ais, le dirai-je, et la postérité croira-t'elle qu'un trait de plume ait fait ce que la fureur de l'epee n'a pu faire! il signa LE GRAND EDIT qui fut verifie et publie un Lundi vint deuxieme d'Octobre 1685, par lequel les Edits de Nantes et de Nimes sont revoquez: le faux culte aboli.⁵⁷⁵

Du Roydault's work is, therefore, a glorification of the Revocation, and was presumably commissioned as such. His interest in 'postérité' is further reflected by the historical examples of heresy being defeated that he compares the Revocation to, ranging from Augustine's reaction to the Donatists to St Louis' role in the Albigensian Crusade.⁵⁷⁶ Du Roydault clearly charts a continuum of heresy throughout history, that is countered by a consistent reaction by true Christian monarchy. The eradication of the Albigensians, to Du Roydault, was a foreshadowing of the extirpation of the Huguenots.

However, there were some members of the Carmelite Order that used medieval heresy as proof that persecution of Protestants was ineffective. For example, Athanase de St Charles' *Moyens de destruire l'hérésie en France, sans force, sans artifice, sans peine, sans alarmes, sans inquietude et sans depense* (1678) is clearly arguing that heresy would be most easily defeated with 'raison et de la modération, [parce que] l'horreur des combats l'inquiétude des alarmes...voir beaucoup de sang répandue'.⁵⁷⁷ Father Athanase de St Charles was a Carmelite of the Observance of Rennes, based at the Couvent de Billettes, Paris. The Couvent de Billettes faced ideological and theological divisions throughout the seventeenth century, with disputes recorded between its members. Although Athanase de St Charles seems at odds with Du Roydault's support of the Revocation the two Carmelites agree on the importance of political stability and the renunciation of heresy. They merely disagree on the means to achieving this. De St Charles provides examples from the cruelty and cost of the Albigensian Crusade to argue against force as the foremost policy.⁵⁷⁸ Instead he tries to provide practical solutions to persuade Protestants to abjure. For instance he suggests 'permettre aux pasteurs

⁵⁷⁵ Ibid., 29-30.

⁵⁷⁶ Ibid., 16-18.

⁵⁷⁷ A. de St Charles, *Moyens de destruire l'hérésie en France, sans force, sans artifice, sans peine, sans alarmes, sans inquietude et sans depense* (1678), BNF, Département des Manuscrits: Français 2398, 6.

⁵⁷⁸ Ibid. 33.

et aux scavans dans; a controverse de visiter les malades' and 'mettre quelque benefice...seulement employ pour la subsistence de ceux qui sont abjuration a Paris'.⁵⁷⁹ It is clear, therefore, that not all members of mendicant orders in the seventeenth century viewed the persecution of the Albigensians as a useful comparison, nor a model upon which to base future policy.

Despite his glorification of the Revocation, Du Roydault agrees that violent methods are less effective, as the pen is mightier than the sword. He argues that prior to the Revocation he could not see any end to the violence: 'il n'en coule que les ruiffeux de sang, et des siècles entiers ne suffisent pas pour en terir les sources'.⁵⁸⁰ The views of mendicant writers, therefore, should not be generalised, as multiple symbols and images of holy war and peaceful stability were juxtaposed in the rhetoric on medieval heresy. In particular, the Carmelite Order lacked a cohesive view on the Albigensian heresy, drawing multiple lessons from history, often concluding in opposing views on the role of contemporary policy in enforcing orthodoxy.

Conclusion

Ideas on medieval heresy by mendicant orders were deeply intertwined with notions of sainthood and were used by Dominicans and, to a lesser extent Franciscans, to draw sharp dichotomies between virtuous, pious, authoritative sanctity and deceptive, impure, seditious, tyrannous heresy. Mendicant authors returned to medieval manuscripts in order to explore how to deal with heretical beliefs in the South of France. In particular, the Dominican association with inquisitorial process furthered the geographical association between the Huguenots and the Albigensians and Waldensians. The significance of the centre of Toulouse as a bastion of Catholicism against the heresy of the surrounding area, allowed allusions to links between Protestantism and the Albigensian Crusade to be easily made.

The seventeenth century saw a revival of the myth of Dominican leadership of the Albigensian Crusade, particularly through the cult of the Avignonet Martyrs and adoration of the founder St Dominic. The question remains, however, why did the Dominicans turn to transcription of medieval manuscripts when the historical narratives of the seventeenth

⁵⁷⁹ Ibid., 61, 71.

⁵⁸⁰ Du Roydault, *L'hérésie expirante*, 2.

century remained largely unchanged from previous centuries? The reiteration of the legend of Dominic's inquisitorial exploits in Dominican works, has been dismissed as lack of erudition by recent studies examining Pierre Cambefort, Jean Benoît or Jean-Jacques Percin. Yet, Cambefort, Benoît and Percin all visited many archives, transcribed original medieval documents, and referred to recent and well-respected editions available to them in convent libraries. The issue is perhaps the motivations behind such historical research. Unlike the Maurists, who were attempting to achieve accuracy and a greater understanding of medieval Latin, Dominican writers were less concerned with the sources themselves than how their content fitted with existing Dominican historiography.

However, reform of the Dominican Order as part of the counter-Reformation sparked a re-evaluation of the history of the Order. Significantly, the scholarship of medieval heresy changed as Dominican writers consulted and transcribed thirteenth-century sources conserved in their archives. By the early eighteenth century the intellectual tradition of the Dominican Order arising as a result of Dominic's involvement in the Albigensian inquisition was under question. The two streams of thought in Dominican historical writing of the seventeenth century on medieval heresy - the reiteration of the myth of Dominic as inquisitor and the increasing awareness and transcription of medieval manuscripts - led to a re-examination of the sources in the eighteenth century by Dominican authors. This eventually resulted in revisionist thinking about the hagiographical stories of St Dominic as an inquisitor in the Albigensian Crusade, a debate that continues within the Dominican Order to this day.

Chapter 3

The Doat Commission

‘for the conservation of our crown rights and to serve history’

· Louis XIV’s Commission to Jean de Doat.⁵⁸¹

The Doat Commission (1663-1670) demonstrates the French monarchy’s interests in collecting and transcribing documents upon medieval heresy. In 1663 Jean-Baptiste Colbert commissioned local official Jean de Doat to transcribe documents in the south of France that were relevant to the ‘conservation of our crown rights and to serve history’. Doat selected the manuscripts that he considered worth conserving and hired scribes to copy these documents. Large batches of the documents were then sent periodically to Paris, to Pierre de Carcavi, Colbert’s librarian, who authenticated and checked the manuscripts for errors, before including them in Colbert’s collection. This chapter seeks to place the Doat Commission and other state-commissioned projects in the cultural context of scholarship on medieval heresy in early modern France.

As part of his collecting activity, Doat visited the Dominican archives in Toulouse and selected three inquisition registers to copy, as well as further heresy depositions from the archives in Carcassonne. The majority of these transcriptions can now be found in the volumes Doat 21-36, which have provided rich sources for historians’ understanding of inquisitorial processes. These documents provide an insight into the methods of inquisitors, and by examining their questioning of heretics, historians have been able to establish some of the priorities of institutional action against medieval heresy. More significantly, these sources are rare accounts of heresy by heretics themselves, albeit in the environment of a trial. For the purpose of this study, the transcription of these documents suggest that the scribes and Jean de Doat were aware of the rarity and importance of these documents to the history of heresy in the Midi.

The question that arises from the transcription of these lengthy inquisitorial documents is how Doat decided to interpret the royal commission to collect documents for ‘the conservation of our crown rights and to serve history’?⁵⁸² Why did Doat choose these heresy

⁵⁸¹ For an explanation of the commission see Biller, Bruschi, and Sneddon *Inquisitors and Heretics*, 20.

⁵⁸² Ibid.

proceedings to transcribe and what does this demonstrate about early modern ideas of medieval heresy? The selection of Albigensian and Waldensian depositions as part of Doat's process of transcription demonstrates the state's interest in thirteenth-century heresy in the Midi. Through correspondence, notes and copyists' summaries of documents it is clear that scholars in the latter half of the seventeenth century valued these inquisitorial sources. This chapter will explore the collecting methods of the Doat commission from the perspective of seventeenth-century fascination with medieval heresy and manuscripts collecting.

The historiography of the Doat Commission

The Doat Commission has long been recognised as a feat of book collection and copying, particularly of documents on the history of the Midi. Many of the originals of these documents have subsequently been lost, which has made the Doat collection a significant source in the understanding of medieval heresy and inquisition. Often these records only survive within the transcriptions of the Doat Commission, such as the records for the Abbey at Belleperche.⁵⁸³ However, the Doat collection is significant as a source not only for historians of medieval inquisition but also for those seeking to understand early modern interest in the medieval.

Leopold Delisle recounts the Doat Collection's transfer from Colbert's library to the Bibliothèque de Roi in 1732 in his guide to the manuscript collections of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.⁵⁸⁴ Early twentieth century writers were most concerned with the bibliographic history of the Doat commission. Later, P. Lauer produced an inventory of the manuscript collections on the history of the provinces of France that included a description of the contents of the Doat collection relevant to each geographical location.⁵⁸⁵ In contrast, Henri Omont's study of the Doat Collection considered its seventeenth-century context and the process of selecting, copying and collecting undertaken by Doat and the scribes.⁵⁸⁶

⁵⁸³ C. Hoffman Berman, *The Cistercian Evolution: The Invention of a Religious Order in Twelfth Century Europe* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), 127.

⁵⁸⁴ L. Delisle, "Doat", in *Inventaire général et méthodique des Manuscrits Français de la Bibliothèque nationale* (Paris: H. Champion, 1876), xcvi.

⁵⁸⁵ P. Lauer, *Collections Manuscrites sur l'histoire des provinces de France Inventaire*, Bibliothèque nationale de France département des manuscrites (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1911), 4, accessed November 9, 2018, <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k209169n>

⁵⁸⁶ H. Omont, "La collection Doat à la Bibliothèque nationale. Documents sur les recherches de Doat dans les archives du sud-ouest de la France de 1663 à 1670", *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes*, 77 (1916), 286-336,

Despite being composed in 1916, Omont's work remains one of the most influential upon Doat's role in the commission, due to his transcriptions of the memos shared between Doat and Colbert throughout the activity of the commission.⁵⁸⁷ These letters demonstrate the complexities of the organisational structure of the commission, and provide insight into its efficacy.⁵⁸⁸ More recently, Laurent Albaret produced a major study of the Doat commission for the forty-ninth symposium of the Cahiers de Fanjeaux, which explored the commission's seventeenth-century context and the collection's usefulness as an archive of sources for medievalists.⁵⁸⁹ Whilst both Albaret and Omont's studies of the Doat Commission explain the early modern context within which the transcribing of these medieval depositions took place their focus is not on early modern ideas of medieval heresy, but the methodology and approach of Jean de Doat and his scribes. Both Albaret and Omont examine the seventeenth-century commission in order to establish the accuracy of the transcriptions and their importance within Colbert's collection.

Historians of Cathars and the Midi have long recognised the importance of the Doat Commission as an invaluable source upon the beliefs and practices of the Albigensians and Waldensians. Charles Schmidt, Charles Molinier, Célestin Douais and Jean-Marie Vidal all used the Doat collection to write histories of the Middle Ages.⁵⁹⁰ Yvres Dossat began classification of the documents of the Doat collection.⁵⁹¹ The sheer amount of material produced by the Doat Commission has meant that it has often been used by medievalists to corroborate other sources on the inquisition against the Albigensians, such as the Fournier registers. Jean Duvernoy drew comparisons between Doat and other texts to establish the authenticity of the copying, for example he directly compared copy of chapter VI of the *Summa against the Cathars and Vaudois* by Moneta of Cremona in Volume XXXVI of Doat with other copies of the manuscript.⁵⁹² This inspired Duvernoy to produce a partial edition of extracts from the Doat Collection and the Centre d'Études Cathares in Carcassonne houses many translations of particular depositions undertaken as part of this work.

accessed Oct 19, 2015, http://www.persee.fr/web/revues/home/prescript/article/bec_0373-6237_1916_num_77_1_451131 .

⁵⁸⁷ Ibid., 294-336.

⁵⁸⁸ J. de Doat, "Mémoires..." (1664-67) in *Papiers relatifs à la mission du président Jean de Doat en Béarn, Pays de Foix, Guyenne et Languedoc*, BNF, Département des Manuscrits, NAF 22765.

⁵⁸⁹ Albaret, "La collection Doat", 57-93.

⁵⁹⁰ C. M. Douais, *Documents pour servir à l'histoire de l'Inquisition dans le Languedoc, publiés pour la Société de l'Histoire de France* (Paris: Renouard, 1900).

⁵⁹¹ Albaret, "La collection Doat", 57.

⁵⁹² J. Duvernoy, *Summula Contra Hereticos: un Traite Contre les Cathares du XIIIème siècle* (1987), 2, accessed August 3, 2018 <http://jean.duvernoy.free.fr/text/pdf/summula.pdf>.

Medieval historians examining the Doat Collection have proposed concerns over the seventeenth century copying process. This is to a certain extent counter-intuitive, as the Doat Commission provides a provenance of the manuscripts copied, stating which archives or monasteries they were sourced from and even verification of their authenticity by the royal librarian Gratian Capot.⁵⁹³ However, there are clear choices in the structuring and language of the depositions that were either edited by the inquisitors or by the Doat Commission in the 1660s.⁵⁹⁴

Mark Pegg pointed out the inherent issues of the early modern copying process; he expressed doubts about the accuracy of Doat's scribes, the omission of thirteenth-century marginalia and implies a preference for those manuscripts that were not clearly altered by a seventeenth-century hand.⁵⁹⁵ Whereas, Chris Sparks considered the majority of the work by the Doat scribes as 'good-quality', but highlighted the exception of Doat 24 fols. 54r-5v as an example of poor transcription.⁵⁹⁶ Medievalists have adopted a methodology of comparing the Collection Doat with other copies of the sources; Pete Biller has compared the contents of Doat 25-6 with other seventeenth century scholars who examined "register 6" at the archives of the Dominicans in Toulouse, particularly the work of Antonin Reginald (a Dominican theologian).⁵⁹⁷ Caterina Bruschi has analysed the "filters" that apply to the Doat inquisitorial registers, and has thus considered the impact of the copyists employed by Doat, and how their methodology may have influenced how these works were recorded.⁵⁹⁸ Bruschi employs these "filters" in order to aid the medieval historian in their use of inquisitorial sources, and to derive the provenance and dialogical stories of depositions for the direct examination of Catharism, instead of considering the ideology of the early modern context.

Questions over the meticulousness of the Doat Collection can be raised due to the copying process, as Jean de Doat had to manage multiple scribes employed across various destinations in the Midi. These transcribers were employed to copy a wide variety of ecclesiastical and legal manuscripts and, thus, were not specialised in the style or language of

⁵⁹³C. Sparks, *Heresy, Inquisition and Life Cycle in Medieval Languedoc* (York: Boydell & Brewer, 2014), 18.

⁵⁹⁴ Biller, Bruschi, Sneddon, *Inquisitors and Heretics*, 4.

⁵⁹⁵ M. Pegg, *The Corruption of Angels: the Great Inquisition of 1245-1246* (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009), 20-21.

⁵⁹⁶ Sparks, *Heresy, Inquisition and Life Cycle*, 18.

⁵⁹⁷ Biller, Bruschi, Sneddon, *Inquisitors and Heretics*, 4.

⁵⁹⁸ Bruschi, "Magna diligentia est habenda per inquisitorem", 92.

one particular document. In the memos made by Doat to Colbert on the expenses of the commission Doat complained that ‘on eut peine à trouver des personnes capables de ce travail ceux... n'escrivoient pas assez bien’.⁵⁹⁹ Doat grumbled over the difficulty to find scribes able to undertake the work of the commission, translating both Latin, Spanish and Occitan questions the skilfulness of their transcriptions.⁶⁰⁰ This memo demonstrates, however, that scribes were rewarded financially according to their ability, the best transcribers received seven *sols* which implies that accuracy was a major concern of the Commission.⁶⁰¹ Therefore, the early modern transcription of thirteenth-century medieval depositions of Albigensians and Waldensian heretics demonstrates the concern, in the 1660s as today, with sources on medieval heresy being accurate and accessible.

The debate over the ability of seventeenth-century scribes has led to the impetus for the creation of an accurate modern edition; Pete Biller, Caterina Bruschi and Shelagh Sneddon produced a Latin edition and English translation in 2011 of inquisition depositions from 1273 to 1282 found in Doat volumes 25–26.⁶⁰² This edition has been followed by the translation of a new edition and translation by Peter Biller, Shelagh Sneddon Lucy Sackville upon Doat volumes 21-24.⁶⁰³ It is this project, ‘The Genesis of Inquisition Procedures and the Truth-Claims of Inquisition Records: The Inquisition Registers of Languedoc, 1235-1244’, which this thesis aims to contribute towards, furthering scholarship on the seventeenth-century context of the Doat manuscripts.⁶⁰⁴ The wider cultural and intellectual impact of the commission remains relatively undetermined in relation to early modern scholars interest in medieval heresy.⁶⁰⁵ The Doat Commission has not been used to declare the ideology of early modern scholars on medieval heresy partially as this was not the commission’s expressed

⁵⁹⁹ J. de Doat, “Mémoire des dépenses faites par le sieur de Doat... en Béarn, et les trois dernières en Guyenne et en Languedoc” (1664), BNF, Département des Manuscrits, *Papiers relatifs à la mission du président Jean de Doat en Béarn, Pays de Foix, Guyenne et Languedoc*, NAF 22765, fol. 1-37.

Omont transcribed this in Omont, “La collection Doat”, 294.

⁶⁰⁰ Ibid.

⁶⁰¹ Ibid.

⁶⁰² Biller, Bruschi and Sneddon, *Inquisitors and Heretics*.

⁶⁰³ I am grateful to Pete Biller, Lucy Sackville and Shelagh Sneddon, for sharing with me their research and translation for a modern edition of Doats 21-24 in the forthcoming publication P. Biller and L. Sackville (eds.), *Inquisition and Knowledge*.

⁶⁰⁴ Further information on the AHRC project ‘The Genesis of Inquisition Procedures and the Truth-Claims of Inquisition Records: The Inquisition Registers of Languedoc, 1235-1244’ is available online. <https://www.york.ac.uk/res/doat/project/> Accessed July 3, 2016.

⁶⁰⁵ Whilst Laurent Albaret, Henri Omont and others have examined the early modern context their focus has been predominantly on the methodology of the commission and how this relates to modern authors’ perception of the medieval sources, instead of how it impacted early modern scholars.

aim, and because there are limited allusions to the collection in contemporary writings.⁶⁰⁶ It is necessary then, when discussing how the Doat commission reflects early modern ideas of medieval heresy to address both these issues; the motivations and the influence of the commission.

The Aim of the Doat Commission

The sheer range of manuscripts the Doat commission collected, from documents on land ownership, foundation charters of abbeys, papal bulls, edicts and trial records, speaks to the broad aims of the commission beyond scholarly interest in medieval heresy.⁶⁰⁷ What can we conclude from such a vast array of material? To understand why documents on medieval heresy were significant to the early modern commission it is necessary to place the deposition records of the inquisition in the Midi in the context of the overall collection and the wider issues facing the monarchy in France in the 1660s. In fact, many of the documents collected are from the sixteenth century, relevant to the king's concerns over privileges, rights and ownership of land in the Midi.⁶⁰⁸ As such, the Doat Commission fits into the wider culture of information collection present in Louis XIV's court under the authority of Colbert.

It is no coincidence that the Doat commission began in the early 1660s, particularly considering the rising influence of antiquarianism in the intellectual culture of the Midi and the pressing need for information as a political tool in the war with Spain. The French kingdom was surrounded by Hapsburg territory and the border between the south of France and Spain had been a point of contention throughout the seventeenth century. Rivalries between the Houses of Habsburg and Bourbon escalated into violence throughout the 1630s and 1640s reaching a pinnacle with the French victory in June 1658 at the Battle of the Dunes. An uneasy peace was reached by the Treaty of the Pyrenees (1659) but Jean-Baptiste Colbert instigated programmes that sought manuscripts that proved the rights of the French crown to the southern provinces.⁶⁰⁹ The Doat Collection was intended as evidence for ambassadors negotiating with Spain further treaties, or as documentary support for outcry at over-encroachment on French territory.⁶¹⁰ These manuscripts would enrich Colbert's collection enabling him to make an informed decision when devising policy.⁶¹¹

⁶⁰⁶ Albaret, "La collection Doat", 57-8.

⁶⁰⁷ *Inventaire de la Collection Doat*.

⁶⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰⁹ Albaret, "La collection Doat", 63.

⁶¹⁰ Soll, *Information Master: Jean-Baptiste Colbert*, 104.

⁶¹¹ *Ibid.*

A similar situation on the western border of France demonstrates this need for information gathering over the king's rights in his outer-territories in this period. Jean-Baptiste Colbert wrote to Pierre Carcavi in 1664 explaining the grievance of Huguenots in Bern about the pays de Gex, as Louis XIV ordered the demolition of twenty-five temples of the reformed religion in Gex in 1662. This had caused Bernese Huguenots to protest that when Gex had been ceded to France, at the end of the Franco-Savoyard War under the 1602 treaty with the Duc of Savoy, the king of France had inherited the terms of relationship of the Duc of Savoy. This treaty stated that the ruler of the area of Gex could not interfere with the reformed religion. This raised questions over the privileges of the king and Colbert's first response was to gather further evidence to prove the king's case.⁶¹² He argues that 'La république de Bern prétend que ce pays a este cède au roy par le traité de 1602' and asks Carcavi 'm'envoyer les traittez faits entre ledit duc de Sayes et les Bernoise'.⁶¹³ This letter shows two of the motivations of Colbert's interest in collecting documents, akin to the Doat Commission, he was concerned by refuting the claims of reformed religion, maintaining order within the kingdom and protecting the king's rights from various claimants.

The Doat Commission shows the monarchical claim to control over the Midi both in the present and the medieval past, including jurisdiction over heretics. The project particularly focussed on the archives of Languedoc, as well as examining documents in the archives of Bearn, the country of Foix, and Guyenne. As the royal commission proclaimed, Doat was 'pour faire recherche des titres concernant les droites de la couronne, et qui peuvent servir à l'histoire'.⁶¹⁴ This brief statement of the aims of the commission shows the wider culture of information collection by the Crown and the intellectual power associated with tradition and historical precedent. The commission's support for royal sovereignty over the south of France is exemplified by the language of the instructions given to Doat concerning access to manuscripts and archives. He was to examine 'tous les trésors des chartres de Sa dit Majesté et dans toutes les archives des villes et lieux'.⁶¹⁵ The fact that municipal and ecclesiastical archives are mentioned alongside the Trésors des Chartres, the royal archives, signifies how the king believed he had an overarching claim to the information within these medieval

⁶¹² J.B. Colbert, "Lettre de Jean-Baptiste Colbert (ministre d'Etat) à Pierre de Carcavy datée du 12 juillet 1664, à Fontainebleau (1664)", in *Correspondance administrative sous le règne de Louis XIV* ed. G. B. Depping, IV (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1855) 307-308.

⁶¹³ Ibid.

⁶¹⁴ G. Capot in Doat 21, fol. 50r.

⁶¹⁵ Ibid.

collections, if not the manuscripts themselves. Not only was Doat given permission to copy these manuscripts by the Crown, the information within them about medieval heresy became the property of the king's minister, as they were incorporated into the Bibliothèque de Colbert. Eventually the facsimiles became the property of the king; the Bibliothèque de Colbert conserved the copied manuscripts until 1732 when they were obtained by the Bibliothèque du Roi.

This has led some early modernists to view the commission as an attempt by Louis XIV to extend his absolutist control.⁶¹⁶ Whilst Mark Pegg claims that the purpose of the Doat commission was 'simply to collect interesting things (political, legal, historical) for Colbert's library'.⁶¹⁷ However, Jacob Soll examined the political implications of the Doat commission and argues that the collection of information under Louis XIV was part of a centralisation of absolutist power, suggesting that the fact the commission was given 'the status of an affair of state, illustrates the crown's sense of absolutist prerogative'.⁶¹⁸ Whilst rightly identifying the purpose of the commission 'partly pertained to Louis's sovereignty over the Pyrenees', yet as Soll states this was only 'partly' the role of the commission.⁶¹⁹ Jacob Soll mentions the Doat Commission as part of his wider argument about the importance of information-gathering to the French state, but does not specifically address the collection of inquisitorial registers.⁶²⁰ The idea of securing the border with Spain through information gathering does not fully explain the collecting of the depositions of medieval heretics.

Clearly, the depositions of Albigensians and Waldensians were considered important to Doat otherwise they would not have been so copiously transcribed. The inquisitorial depositions may have been merely collected as part of Doat's systematic methodology consulting the archives of Toulouse, yet, there is evidence of his rejection of certain documents for transcription.⁶²¹ Doat's decision to copy these documents may have been based upon the reputation of the Dominican archives, and the importance to the Crown of maintaining good relationships with the Dominicans in their stronghold in Toulouse.⁶²² The extent of the collection implies that Jean de Doat considered inquisitorial procedures relevant to the aims

⁶¹⁶ Soll *Information Master: Jean-Baptiste Colbert*, 151.

⁶¹⁷ Pegg, *The Corruption of Angels*, 20.

⁶¹⁸ Soll, *Information Master: Jean-Baptiste Colbert*, 104.

⁶¹⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶²⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶²¹ Sparks, *Heresy, Inquisition and Life Cycle*, 17; Biller, Bruschi and Sneddon, *Inquisitors and Heretics*, 4, 23.

⁶²² Albaret, "La collection Doat", 71.

of the commission. Over six volumes of depositions exist within the commission: 736 penances collected by Peter Sella (Doat 21) and further depositions before various inquisitors Doat 22-26.⁶²³ It must be questioned, why did Doat consider these sources worth recording if the commission was concerned with the king's control of the Pyrenees? It is only by placing the collection of the penances and depositions in Doat 21-26 within the context of the wider commission that it is clear that establishing the king's rights and sovereignty was not the sole aim of the commission but also 'to serve history', and in the late seventeenth century medieval heresy was perceived as an important subject of historical study.

The inquisitorial depositions formed part of Doat's remit to transcribe manuscripts for historical posterity.⁶²⁴ This supports the wider cultural idea in early modern Languedoc, and a recurring theme throughout this thesis, that medieval heresy had a long-lasting impact that changed the history of France irrevocably.⁶²⁵ The Doat Commission undertook a methodology that was concerned with geographical location. Instead of adopting a thematic or chronological approach to historical sources Doat selected and copied documents according to archival collections. Jean de Doat was instructed to select anything in the Crown's interest; the collection process was not themed to particularly focus on heresy. By the geographical specificity of the Commission to the ecclesiastical and municipal collections of the Midi, an area deeply changed by the Albigensian inquisition, it is unsurprising that the legal process of dealing with heresy was deemed worth transcribing to 'serve history'.

Jean de Doat (c.1600-1683)

Jean de Doat was the son of a lawyer from Pau. He married Judith Marie de La Balq and bought the lordship Doat in October 1663. Little is known about Jean de Doat prior to his appointment to the commission, except that Doat became the President of the *Chambre des Comptes* of Navarre of the *parlement* of Pau in 1665.⁶²⁶ In his role as President of the *Chambre des Comptes* of Navarre he wielded provincial power, and in meetings of the Estates of Bearn he acted in a notarial role. Although his power was localised, it was through this role that he made a network of national contacts including Pierre de Carcavi. In 1663 Doat travelled to Paris and brought to Carcavi for Colbert's library a copy of the inventory of Béarn's titles from the archives of the Chamber of Accounts of Pau.⁶²⁷ Carcavi noted down

⁶²³ Sparks, *Heresy, Inquisition and Life Cycle*, 16.

⁶²⁴ Sparks, *Heresy, Inquisition and Life Cycle*, 14.

⁶²⁵ McCaffrey, "Memory and Collective Identity in Occitanie".

⁶²⁶ J. Dufour, *La bibliothèque et le scriptorium de Moissac* (Librairie Droz, 1972), 22.

⁶²⁷ Albaret, "La collection Doat", 61-2.

on this inventory the documents that it would be useful to have transcribed and this initial list of manuscripts became a foundation for the early phase of the Doat Commission.⁶²⁸

Carcavi asked Doat to participate in this commission due to his existing ability to select relevant documents. When Doat copied for Carcavi an inventory of the archives of the Chambres des Comptes de Pau, Carcavi noted Doat's capacity for undertaking this kind of research:

Mr de Doat a pris la peyne de les faire copier et collationer sont sous signer du greffier de la chambre, et ceux qu'estoyent escrits en Gascon ou en Béarnais, il les a fait traduire en français, ces 54 volumes sont en ordre et pret a etre relliez.⁶²⁹

Albaret implies that Carcavi's memo was more than a singular note on the titles of Navarre and, instead, analysed Doat's research skills for the future commission.⁶³⁰ Carcavi certainly records the details of Doat's techniques - observing that Doat got the copies signed by a notary and that he went to the effort to translate all the sources into French.

As a result, Jean-Baptiste Colbert chose Doat to undertake transcriptions of manuscripts from across the Midi in 1663. Doat managed the project, financially and in the appointment of scribes, and selected which manuscripts should be transcribed. Batches of inquisitorial depositions were copied 'on the order and in the presence of Monsieur John of Doat'.⁶³¹ If copying was undertaken on the order of Doat he evidently played a role in the selection process of which documents were chosen to be copied. The commission was not transcribing documents indiscriminately as Jean Dufour noticed studying the library at the Abbey of Moissac; when Jean de Doat visited Moissac, he examined more recent documents of the abbey, but did not transcribe the manuscripts.⁶³² The selection of which documents were chosen to be copied appears to be based on Doat's discretion, the commission suggests that 'faire des extraits de ceux qu'il jugera necessaires'.⁶³³ Unfortunately the criteria of this

⁶²⁸ Ibid., 62.

⁶²⁹ P. de Carcavi, *Catalogues et documents divers relatifs aux manuscrits de Colbert*, BNF, Département des Manuscrits: Latin 9363, 28v. BNF Gallica, accessed April 12, 2019, <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10309660b>.

⁶³⁰ Albaret, "La collection Doat", 62.

⁶³¹ Doat 25, translated in Biller, Bruschi, and Sneddon, *Inquisitors and Heretics*, 979.

⁶³² Dufour, *La bibliothèque de Moissac*, 22-23.

⁶³³ Doat 21, fol. 50r.

selection is unknown to us, although the availability of documents would certainly have played a part. Whilst the correspondence of the Commission provides limited explanations for the prioritization of certain manuscripts over others, Doat's notes emphasized the importance of the 'Croisades depuis 1245' featured in volume 16 on Doat's inventory of 210 volumes of material.⁶³⁴ The Doat commission, therefore, provides evidence of the importance of the Albigensian Crusade to those documenting the history of Languedoc in the seventeenth century, and provokes questions about the role of royal authority in this process.

Jean de Doat faced many difficulties in accessing documents, from outright refusal for his scribes to view manuscripts, denial of access to inventories and prevention of moving the manuscripts to the copyists' office for transcribing.⁶³⁵ At the Abbey of Gimont a monk refused to use his keys to open the library.⁶³⁶ Local nobility did not aid Doat in his cause and even rioted as they felt threatened by the potential violation of their privileges. In Carcassonne the commission was subject to violence as Doat's secretary was killed in the street.⁶³⁷ In response to frequently being barred from entry to libraries, Doat sought *lettres-patentes* which provided him with the authority of the king to request and even confiscate manuscripts.⁶³⁸ The *lettres patentes* demanded that:

les gardes desdits archives et autres qui seront chargés desdits titres soient tenus de vous [Doat] les représenter, et qu'en cas de refus vous [Doat] les y puissiez faire contraindre par toutes voyes deues et raisonnables.⁶³⁹

Doat was, therefore, allowed to use 'raisonnables' measures to acquire manuscripts and entry to archives. It remains true, however, that the methodology of the transcribers would have been limited by the resources of the commission and the availability of particular documents. The memos Doat used to account for the expenses of the Commission provide further evidence of how the project was fraught with difficulties, from drunken scribes and

⁶³⁴ J. de Doat, "Fol. 12 Notice sur la Collection Doat", Paris, [ca.1663?]. Paris, BNF, Département des Manuscrits, Languedoc Bénédictins 170.1, 16.

⁶³⁵ J. de Doat, "Mémoire sur les difficultés qui se sont rencontrées en l'exécution de la commission du S' de Doat", Paris, BNF, Département des Manuscrits, *Papiers relatifs à la mission*, NAF 22765, fol. 47.

⁶³⁶ Soll, *Information Master: Jean-Baptiste Colbert*, 104.

⁶³⁷ Ibid.

⁶³⁸ K. Pomian, "Les historiens et les archives dans la France du XVIIe siècle", *Acta Poloniae Historica* 26, (1972): 109, accessed Sept 16, 2018, http://rcin.org.pl/Content/5738/WA303_19716_1972-26_APH_05_o.pdf.

⁶³⁹ Louis XIV, "Lettres patentes pour les recherches de Doat en Guyenne, 1 Avril 1667", Paris, BNF, Département des Manuscrits, *Papiers relatifs à la mission*, NAF 22765, fol. 53.

incompetent copyists to lack of pay and unbearable conditions.⁶⁴⁰ The fact that Doat selected the depositions of medieval heretics to copy despite all these problems demonstrates their relevance to Colbert and the importance of the Doat Commission. Therefore, Doat selected the depositions of medieval heretics to be of value, implying that early modern scholars saw medieval heresy as a viable subject of study that may have some relevance for policymakers in the seventeenth century.

Jean-Baptiste Colbert (1619-1683)

Jean-Baptiste Colbert (1619-1683) was an influential minister in Louis XIV's court, renowned for his development of domestic economic policy as Louis XIV's minister of finance from 1665 to 1683. Colbert was also a patron of the arts and sciences, and collector of rare manuscripts; he acted as the instigator of the Doat commission. Colbert's interest in gathering manuscript material began with his organization of Cardinal Mazarin's library from 1651, and upon Mazarin's death he inherited his papers. From this collection Colbert began to build an extensive library, the Bibliothèque de Colbert, which became an archival repository for many manuscripts of medieval heresy and was a collection that exemplified the late seventeenth century culture of knowledge.⁶⁴¹

One impetus for this sudden fascination with collecting medieval manuscripts was the pursuit of intellectual control through an accurate understanding of the world. Jean-Baptiste Colbert was one of the main conduits of information to the king; in twice-weekly meetings he delivered reports on fiscal policy and other pertinent issues to the king and other ministers. Soll has explored Colbert's role in information-gathering for the king, and has argued in reference to Colbert's economic policy that he developed new statecraft tools based upon 'information management, such as... archiving'.⁶⁴² Soll overstates Colbert's efficiency and the scope of his intelligence network.⁶⁴³ In reality, Colbert's reach was reliant on cooperation on a provincial and local level.⁶⁴⁴ The Minister of Finances wanted to develop France fiscally and intellectually and the library was geared towards these aims. This systematic approach to

⁶⁴⁰ Doat, "Mémoire sur les difficultés", fol. 46-48.

⁶⁴¹ Alexandra Walsham has written on the shift towards collecting archives for cultural as well as political reasons in early modern Europe in Walsham, "The Social History of the Archive", 9-48.

⁶⁴² Soll, "Colbert, Louis XIV and the Golden Notebooks", 151.

⁶⁴³ Walsham, "The Social History of the Archive", 20.

⁶⁴⁴ Ibid.

library collections has recently been explored by Alexander Bevilacqua in reference to Colbert's Arabic manuscripts; Bevilacqua contends that 'the French state collected according to a minutely organized program' and emphasised the importance of acquisition of books to the French state.⁶⁴⁵ The importance of acquisition was a common idea during the reign of Louis XIV, where the king encouraged the collection of objects and ideas from across the world to establish his imagery as the sun-king. It is well documented that Louis XIV enjoyed collecting items of intellectual as well as material worth.⁶⁴⁶ In 1664 Colbert became superintendent of the King's buildings, arts and manufacture, and this new office gave him the responsibility of the royal library.⁶⁴⁷ Colbert's library and the Bibliothèque de Roi often overlapped, with manuscripts exchanged and copied. Bevilacqua goes on to compare Colbert's management of the royal library to a 'research institute' due to its handling of large collections of data.⁶⁴⁸ As a result, Colbert gained a reputation of contributing greatly to the academic and intellectual influence of France. Indeed, he is credited with the founding of the l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres in the same year as the start of the Doat commission, shortly followed by l'Académie des Sciences in 1666 and the Paris Observatory a year later.

Indeed, the collection of manuscripts had become a cultural phenomenon by the latter half of the seventeenth century, with auctions and the exchange of manuscripts from personal libraries. As individuals patronized book-buying and collected vast private libraries the state was becoming increasingly aware of the worth of these collections, both for their monetary value, and the intellectual information and political control they could provide.⁶⁴⁹ This contrast between the French state's interests in collections in comparison to private patronage and individual antiquarians is explored by Jacob Soll. He contrasts the Doat collection to the book-collecting of other savants such as Peiresc, suggesting that Colbert was politically motivated compared to Peiresc's intellectual pursuit of knowledge.⁶⁵⁰ However, both stemmed from a similar origin in this cultural context of collecting information. The Doat Commission, although unique, was, thus, based upon typical principles of information collection in the early modern French state. Since the fourteenth century the French

⁶⁴⁵ A. Bevilacqua, *The Republic of Arabic Letters: Islam and the European Enlightenment* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 2018), 29.

⁶⁴⁶ Wellington, *Antiquarianism and the Visual*, 31.

⁶⁴⁷ Albaret, "La collection Doat", 58.

⁶⁴⁸ Bevilacqua, *The Republic of Arabic Letters*, 30.

⁶⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁵⁰ Soll, *Information Master: Jean-Baptiste Colbert*, 104.

monarchy had collected archives particularly those documents relevant to the keeping of a particular territory.⁶⁵¹ It was Colbert who, concerned with the tensions between Huguenots and the Catholic majority, often chose transcriptions of manuscripts often related to religious controversies.⁶⁵² Colbert, therefore, set an agenda where medieval heresy was considered pertinent to seventeenth-century religious and political struggles, and in which manuscripts of medieval heresy depositions had value and potentially provided lessons for early modern statecraft.

Pierre de Carcavi (c.1603-1684)

Pierre de Carcavi (c.1603-1684), the son of a banker in Lyon, acted as a councillor of the *parlement* of Toulouse from 1632 to 1636 before purchasing the office of counsellor in the Grand Conseil, Paris. Carcavi was a highly influential scholar and mathematician whom Colbert appointed to catalogue Cardinal Mazarin's library. His success at classifying Mazarin's manuscripts prompted Colbert to appoint him as his personal librarian from 1663 until 1667 when he was replaced by Étienne Baluze. On Colbert's recommendation in 1666 Carcavi became custodian of the Bibliothèque de Roi and worked to establish the two libraries as major collections. In this role he established a copyist workshop to copy works from the Trésor des Chartes and developed the collections of Colbert's archives to include research not only from France, but across Europe and the Middle East.⁶⁵³ Carcavi's position within the Doat Commission was to deal with the incoming manuscripts and liaise with Jean de Doat, corresponding with him on any issues that had arisen in the project. The correspondence between Doat, Carcavi and Colbert in private notes and memos detail the practicalities of the commission.⁶⁵⁴ The copies were 'envoyer au garde de la Bibliothèque Royale' where they would be examined by Gratian Capot, the registrar of the commission.⁶⁵⁵ It was in the reliability of these sources that their power was held, hence why he employed Capot to check the documents for any errors. In the memoranda made by Doat and copied by Carcavi, the medieval heresy depositions were made more significant by the accurate

⁶⁵¹ Albaret, "La collection Doat", 59.

⁶⁵² Ibid., 58.

⁶⁵³ J. J. O'Connor and E. F. Robertson, "Pierre de Carcavi", *MacTutor History of Mathematics*, (University of St Andrews, Scotland, May 2010), accessed Sept 23, 2018: <http://www-history.mcs.st-andrews.ac.uk/Biographies/Carcavi.html>

⁶⁵⁴ Doat, "Mémoire sur les difficultés".

⁶⁵⁵ Doat 21, fol. 50r.

charting of their provenance, translation and transcription.⁶⁵⁶ The early modern focus on the authenticity of documents in the Doat commission is a contributing factor to medievalists' focus, since 1916, on the reliability of the Doat Collection.

A Culture of Collecting Manuscripts

The Doat commission was one of multiple major intellectual projects undertaken by the Crown in order to establish the privileges and rights of the king. Colbert instigated multiple commissions in the 1660s; in 1662 he requested the intendants to investigate the extent of the royal forests and four years later he ordered the verification of nobles' titles through documentation.⁶⁵⁷ Historians of medieval heresy had been gathering manuscripts before the Doat Collection. Pierre Dupuy (1582-1651), the keeper of the bibliothèque de Roi, created an inventory of the *Tresor des Chartes* to further solidify the lineage of the king and his rights to certain property. In fact, Dupuy's work is often listed alongside Doat in Lauer's inventory of the BNF's *departement des manuscrits* as evidence of the history of the South of France: 'Extraits des collections Dupuy, Gaignieres et Doat'.⁶⁵⁸ As well as amassing great knowledge of many unpublished manuscripts Dupuy gathered papers of notes upon them. These notes he worked into at least six works on the relationships between the church and state, such as *Traité des droits et des libertés de l'Église gallicane, avec les preuves* (1639) and *Histoire générale du schisme qui a été dans l'Église depuis 1378 jusqu'à 1428* (1654).

Similarly, André Duchesne (1584-1640), Richelieu's royal historiographer, was a prolific manuscript-collector. Akin to Jean de Doat, Duchesne was employed in direct service of the Crown. André Duchesne produced histories of medieval France, England and the Low Countries, which all glorified the French Crown and stated its supremacy. In particular, Duchesne countered the arguments of Jean-Jacques Chifflet (1588-1660) who supported the Spanish monarchy's claims of superiority. In Duchesne's manuscript collections, similar to the Doat Collection, medieval documents are used in support of the monarchical right to rule and used to oppose the Spanish Habsburg dynasty. Duchesne's interest in the medieval is further evidenced by his editions of writings by Pierre Abelard, Alain Chartier and Étienne Pasquier. Duchesne's collections of various manuscripts were published as extensive

⁶⁵⁶ Biller, Brucshi, Sneddon, *Inquisitors and Heretics*, 25.

⁶⁵⁷ Soll, *Information Master: Jean-Baptiste Colbert*, 82.

⁶⁵⁸ Lauer, *Collections Manuscrites sur provinces*, 4.

compendiums, for example the five volumes of his *Historiae Francorum scriptores* (1636-1649) were so labour intensive that they had to be completed by his son after Duchesne's death. However, Duchesne also collected many manuscripts which were not published, but instead conserved, and now form a large collection of more than 100 folio volumes in the Bibliothèque nationale de France.⁶⁵⁹

Another large-scale manuscript collection project which supported the Crown's rights to lands was Pierre de Marca's *Marca Hispanica*. Pierre de Marca (1594-1662) was a historian of Bearn and archbishop of Toulouse. In 1650 he worked with the Bishop of Orange Hyacinthe Serroni at a conference to formalize the Franco-Spanish border. He had experience of transcribing documents for the Crown through copying charters and correspondence with renowned collectors Dupuy, Duchesne and Jean Besly. De Marca, when commissioned to undertake research into the state of Catalonia, from 1652 acquired many manuscripts relevant to the land ownership and travelled there to map the geography and research the history of an area which was closely linked to France politically and economically. He appointed Étienne Baluze (1630-1718) as his secretary in 1656; Baluze went on to finish *Marca Hispanica*, organising its publication over thirty years later. The *Marca Hispanica* included many documents, that are now lost, to chart the history of the house of Barcelona's dynastic history arguing that the Counts of Barcelona, and therefore the Kings of Aragon were usurpers in the tenth century, a myth of De Marca's that was not contradicted until the nineteenth century. De Marca also included lots of evidence of Frankish legislature of the area which supported de Marca's idea of French sovereignty. De Marca, however is not only concerned with the king's sovereignty, and describes how the Albigensians were already subject to a decree issued in 1194 by Alfonso I in Catalonia.⁶⁶⁰ Pierre de Marca describes this first official act of the Catalan inquisition before the Toulouse inquisition was officially established in Toulouse in 1229.⁶⁶¹ De Marca's implied condemnation of medieval heretical theology however, was not mirrored in his four theological treatises, which drew criticisms of heresy themselves, when they were printed by Paul de Faget in 1668. This brought De Marca into disrepute and Baluze denied Faget's

⁶⁵⁹ L. Delisle, *Le Cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque impériale* (Paris: Imprimerie Impériale, 1868), 333-334.

⁶⁶⁰ P. De Marca, *Marca Hispanica sive limes Hispanicus* (Paris: Muguët, 1688), 1384.

⁶⁶¹ Ibid.; N. Roth, *Conversos, Inquisition, and the Expulsion of the Jews from Spain*, (University of Wisconsin Press, 2002), 20.

account of De Marca's life. De Marca is also linked to the Doat Commission as it is thought that Doat and Pierre de Marca would have met in meetings of the Estates of Béarn.⁶⁶²

Étienne Baluze (1630-1718)

De Marca's secretary Étienne Baluze became the librarian of Colbert's collection in 1667 and continued to work in this position when the library passed to Colbert's son, the Marquis de Seignelay. In 1668 he published De Marca's *Marca Hispanica*, the culmination of his work transcribing large collections of land charters from Catalonia. Colbert employed Baluze to find documents that backed Louis' dynastic claims, and he was involved in receiving the batches of the final stages of the Doat Commission.⁶⁶³ Baluze adopted a universalist approach to the state archives, the activity of which he describes in his *Histoire des capitulaires des Rois Francois* (1677), a history of the royal archives.⁶⁶⁴ Supported by Colbert in these ambitions for the library, Baluze obtained huge quantities of documents and manuscripts, increasing the size of the library and enriched Colbert's collection. Étienne Baluze also copied texts for his own archive and acquired around 1,100 printed works.⁶⁶⁵ Baluze's downfall was becoming embroiled in Cardinal de Brouillon's attempt to prove the House of Auvergne were part of the genealogy of the La Tour family, and his support for Christophe Justel's *Histoire de la maison d'Auvergne* (1645), which contained forgeries of documents proving the family's noble rights. The scandal that ensued caused Baluze to leave Paris.

Baluze's view of the importance of medieval heresy as an object of study was evident not only in his collecting methods, but also in his historical writings. Baluze re-examined thirteenth-century inquisitorial manuscripts using recent philological advances by Jean Mabillon and the Maurists at St Germain-des-Pres, with whom he corresponded frequently.⁶⁶⁶ Baluze included transcriptions of manuscripts on medieval heresy within his *Miscellanea* (1678–1715). In the first volume Baluze published documents from Colbert's library and the

⁶⁶² Albaret, "La collection Doat", 61.

⁶⁶³ Boutier, *Étienne Baluze, 1630-1718*, 286.

⁶⁶⁴ Soll, *Information Master: Jean-Baptiste Colbert*, 101.

⁶⁶⁵ "Étienne Baluze, (1630-1718)", University of Leeds Special Collections website, accessed 17 January 2018, <https://library.leeds.ac.uk/special-collections/collection/1294>.

⁶⁶⁶ Boutier, *Étienne Baluze, 1630-1718*, 385.

archives of Narbonne relating to the condemnation of Béguins in Languedoc.⁶⁶⁷ The largest section of this was from a manuscript of the Carcassonne inquisition - the original has subsequently been lost - produced by the activity of the Dominican inquisitor Jean de Beaune (c.1320).⁶⁶⁸ Dossat analysed the contents of this manuscript in his analysis of the archives of the inquisition of Carcassonne and Toulouse, noting that Jean de Beaune referred to a letter from the Dominican cardinal Guillaume de Peyre Godin, a document that was not copied by the Doat commission in October 1669.⁶⁶⁹ Baluze's work does include some documents that were transcribed by Gratian Capot nine years earlier, such as *Littera magistrorum* which provided inquisitors with information to distinguish heretical doctrine from sixty articles, which Bernard Gui mentions seeing in 1319.

The Doat Commission

After Carcavi's approval of Doat's inventory and extracts from the archives of Navarre, the Doat Commission started in May 1664. To fulfil Colbert's commission Doat visited archives in Périgord, Limousin and Albret and produced inventories that he sent to Carcavi, from the copyist's studio he set up in Pau. Jean de Doat sent the first set of copied documents to Paris in July 1664 and by August 1666 began to increase the scope of his work. Whilst twelve copyists remained in Béarn to finish the work there, Doat broadened his field of research to include the archives of Guyenne and Languedoc.

First, Doat travelled to Foix, where he remained until October, then travelling to Rodez passing through Toulouse. In 1667 he began to travel more widely around the neighbouring abbeys and priories surrounding Toulouse, before accepting a further commission in April to explore the archives of Guyenne. In June he returned to Rodez and after making five new batches of copies sent to Paris returned to Foix where he received his last commission in October 1667 to visit the archives of Languedoc and Foix.

This 1667 commission to Languedoc and Foix is the most pertinent to this study of ideas of medieval heresy. It was in response to this commission that Doat established a copyist office

⁶⁶⁷ S. Piron, "Un cahier de travail de l'inquisiteur Jean de Beaune", *Oliviana: Mouvements et dissidences spirituels XIIIe-XIVe siècles* 2, (2006): 1-22, accessed April 14, 2017, <https://journals.openedition.org/oliviana/26#tocto1n3>

⁶⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁶⁹ Dossat, *Les crises de l'inquisition toulousaine*, 52-53.

in Carcassonne, which grew in size in July with six additional copyists and made a shipment of four bales to Paris. The copyist office in Carcassonne was responsible for transcribing many of the manuscripts on medieval heresy. Throughout the Doat collection the seventeenth-century copyists wrote opening summaries of the manuscripts in French, allowing easy reference, explaining the Latin and denoting the key aspects of each file. One such introduction to a collection of manuscripts (now held in volume Doat 23) describes it as:

Interrogations and depositions of Albigensian heretics by the inquisitors of the Faith, whose substance and dates are marked in particular titles. Extracts from a book of archives of the inquisition of the city of Carcassonne.⁶⁷⁰

The scribes noted the archives from which manuscripts originated, to provide evidence for further authentication and if the document was to be used in a legal process. This demonstrates that the Doat commission was not copying the documents out of happenstance, but purposefully examined the ‘archives of the inquisition’, showing early modern fascination with inquisitorial processes and subsequently medieval heresy. As this synopsis of the compilation explains each deposition is further explained by an introductory summary as ‘their substance and dates are marked in particular titles’.⁶⁷¹ The specific interest in the individuals ‘Albigensian heretics’ and ‘the inquisitors of the Faith’ is also shown in the introductory passages, which name people involved in the depositions and the cities or villages where they came from. Once more, these details aid the reader in identifying the document, provide helpful evidence for legal uses and allow the authentication of the medieval origins of the parchment. However, they also show an interest in medieval heresy itself, both in the identity of the individuals involved but also how it was oppressed and recorded.

These introductions also demonstrate the standardised process of copying across the project. It is described that this copying was undertaken ‘systematically, [of] every pertinent feudal or ecclesiastical document.’⁶⁷² The introduction for depositions taken from the Toulouse archives follows the same structure as the introduction about the Carcassonne archives:

⁶⁷⁰ Doat 23 fol.1r

⁶⁷¹ Ibid.

⁶⁷² Soll, *Information Master: Jean-Baptiste Colbert*, 104.

Interrogations and depositions of several Albigensian heretics before the inquisitors of the faith, of which the substance and the dates are indicated in the individual titles. Extracted from the notebooks of the archives of the Toulouse inquisition. From the year 1243 to the year 1247.⁶⁷³

This demonstrates that the scribes followed a methodical order when describing the provenance of the documents, both for record-keeping as part of the copying process but also to prove the origin of the manuscript and its authenticity. Indeed, the form of the depositions in Doat 22-26 are consistent throughout; each deposition is rewritten in uniform hand and given a title and summary in French.⁶⁷⁴ All of this implies the intention that these depositions be referred to and used by scholars of medieval heresy. This summary explains that the manuscript copied was found in the inquisitorial archives of Toulouse. The fact that the scribes went to look at the inquisitorial archives demonstrates that sources on medieval heresy were a priority of early modern scholars and of the commission.

The commission faced challenges; by August the Carcassonne office was forced to move to l'Isle-en-Albigeois because of extreme weather. Doat, a few days later, after a disagreement with one of his clerks left Carcassonne to return to Bearn himself. He returned to Toulouse in November 1667 and selected manuscripts to transport to the copyist office in l'Isle-en-Albigeois from the Jacobins and the archives of the Inquisition. This is most likely when the other depositions of heretics were copied, and December 9th the project sent the shipment to Paris. The commission continued until February 1669 when Doat transferred his office to Albi and restructured the project so twenty scribes continued to copy collected manuscripts until the work was finished.⁶⁷⁵ Doat left the scribes working on this activity when he travelled to Paris in May 1669 to report to Colbert the results of his research into the archives of Guyenne and Languedoc. The scribes of the project continued to work in Toulouse and Carcassonne between September and October 1669, with the overall commission drawing to a close in 1670.

The extensive nature of the project, however, meant that it was revisited in 1677. Étienne Baluze had made notes on several inventories of further manuscripts to be copied, and the

⁶⁷³ Doat 22.1r

⁶⁷⁴ Sparks, *Heresy, Inquisition and Life Cycle*, 17.

⁶⁷⁵ Albaret, "La collection Doat", 72-3.

intendant of Languedoc, d'Aguesseau, supported the reinstatement of the commission.⁶⁷⁶ Philippe Boudon (1626-1711), trésorier de France à Montpellier, received the commission which once more encouraged the collecting of manuscripts “to serve history”. On November 28, 1681, eleven manuscripts sent by Boudon arrived at Colbert’s library, and in a letter sent in January 1682 Boudon promises his services for collecting ‘environ deux cents volumes manuscrits, outre plusieurs actes anciens que je pourrai recouvrer en accompagnant monsieur Daguesseau’.⁶⁷⁷ However, this second archival collection under Baluze was soon abandoned.

The influence of the Doat Commission

A major reason why the Doat Commission has not been used to cast light on the ideology of early modern scholars on medieval heresy is due to the limited allusions to the collection in subsequent early modern works on medieval heresy.⁶⁷⁸ It remains fairly unclear, to what extent the Doat transcriptions of the depositions served historians in the early modern period. Medieval historians examining the Doat commission have been more concerned with the reliability of the transcriptions of medieval inquisitorial sources than with how the Doat commission shaped early modern ideas of medieval heresy, and subsequently our own. Although the Doat commission was prolific, stretching to two-hundred and fifty-eight volumes, the amount that these transcriptions were used by seventeenth and early eighteenth-century scholars is difficult to ascertain. The use of the inquisitorial depositions in Doat 21-26 by early modern scholars was limited, instead they referred to the original manuscripts or contemporary works to quote them second-hand.⁶⁷⁹ This is partially due to the Doat Collection only being completed in 1670 and, being held in the bibliothèque de Colbert access to it was restricted. The first mention of the Doat Collection is by Dom Devic and Dom Vaissète in their *Histoire Generale de Languedoc* (1730-45), which they describe as part of their ‘abondante moisson’ of research from Colbert’s library, which by this time belonged to his grandson, the Marquis de Seignelay.⁶⁸⁰ Seignelay allowed Devic and Vaissète

⁶⁷⁶ L. Delisle, “Les manuscrits de Colbert”, *Comptes Rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 7, (1863): 297, accessed Feb 5, 2016. http://www.persee.fr/doc/crai_0065-0536_1863_num_7_1_66761.

⁶⁷⁷ P. Boudon, “Letter to Colbert, 7th January 1682” (1682), quoted in A. Mirot, “Quelques lettres sur l'accroissement en manuscrits de la bibliothèque de Colbert (1682)”, *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes* (1941), 315, accessed May 19, 2019, https://www.persee.fr/doc/bec_0373-6237_1941_num_102_1_449248.

⁶⁷⁸ Albaret, “La Collection Doat”, 57-8.

⁶⁷⁹ Biller, Bruschi, Sneddon, 16.

⁶⁸⁰ Vaissète and Devic, *Histoire générale du Languedoc* 1 (1730-45), xv.

access to his library through his librarians Du Chesne and Milliet, including the large collection of Doat documents:

On y trouve entr'autres un ample recueil des titres conservés dans les différentes archives d'une grande partie de la Guyenne & du Languedoc, dont ce ministre fit prendre des copies il y a environ soixante ans ⁶⁸¹

These descriptions of the Doat Collection of manuscripts as an ‘abondante moisson’ and ‘ample recueil des titres’ demonstrates the wealth of the collection. Devic and Vaissète used examples from the Doat Collection in volume 4 of *Histoire Generale de Languedoc*.⁶⁸² Albaret identifies late eighteenth and nineteenth-century authors who used the collection to understand more of Catharism, but beyond Vaissète and Devic he does not specify any other users in the first half of the eighteenth century.⁶⁸³ Therefore, whilst the Doat Commission was not used by many early modern French authors, it shows early modern ideas on medieval heresy through the collecting processes of the commission itself.

Deposition Introductions

The early modern views of medieval heresy are most evident in the French introductions to the various depositions recorded by the Doat Commission.⁶⁸⁴ These introductory passages written in French were used to summarise the Latin transcribed beneath them. They were added to aid the reader combing through multiple documents of the Doat Collection to be able to find the relevant information.⁶⁸⁵ Despite the copyists updating the Latin to the *style classique* it can be assumed that the reader would be more familiar with the seventeenth century French than the Latin, as these summaries are clearly used for the reference of the reader.

⁶⁸¹ Ibid.

⁶⁸² Albaret, “La Collection Doat”, 57-8.

⁶⁸³ Ibid.

⁶⁸⁴ I am very grateful to Shelagh Sneddon for sharing with me her translations of Doat and this section on French introductions is indebted to her sharing her research with me, including her work on the language choice of the French introductions to be published in forthcoming *Inquisition and Knowledge*.

⁶⁸⁵ Biller, Bruschi, Sneddon, *Inquisitors and Heretics*, 25.

The most frequent details mentioned within these introductions are names of inquisitors, deponents and the dates that depositions were undertaken.⁶⁸⁶ Quantitative analysis of these introductory passages summarised in French in Doat 21-24 demonstrates which names appear more frequently; the most common names are evidently the inquisitors who conducted the depositions.⁶⁸⁷ This frequent reference to the inquisitors designates them as important recorders of medieval heresy. However, it is difficult to state whether seventeenth century scribes' focus on inquisitors in the summaries reveals their underlying assumptions on heresy from an early modern context, as names and dates are identifying factors for depositions, and the introductory passages in French are intended to be explanatory of the text below.⁶⁸⁸ Nonetheless, it suggests to the reader of multiple depositions through repetition that these inquisitors were experienced and reliable in their questioning, emphasizing their role within the inquisitorial process and in the production of judicial sources on heresy.

Sneddon, rightly, discusses the precision of the summaries and how aptly these introductions describe the depositions to which they are attached.⁶⁸⁹ Biller and Arnold argue that 'there is no evidence of deliberate tampering and there is no general problem of authenticity' in the transcriptions of attestations, and the French introductions were undertaken by the same scribes, albeit with different aims, which implies a level of accuracy. The scribes of Doat, duplicating hundreds of inquisitorial depositions used these introductions to track their progress and providing particulars for Gratian Capot, to aid the registrar in his process of verification and conservation. Moreover, the copyists knew that these short paragraphs would serve as points of reference to future readers or librarians of Colbert's collection. The seventeenth-century transcribers followed a set structure for these introductions beginning with the name of the inquisitor charging the sentences, followed by the diocese in which the deposition took place, the name of deponent and a brief description of its contents.⁶⁹⁰ The final detail which the copyists included as a reference for the reader was the date, which did not follow a set pattern but appear to provide as accurate a date as possible, for example instead of March 1236 the sentence of William Bernard and Gerald of Niort is marked '6 days before the nones of March 1236'.⁶⁹¹ This was not standardised throughout, other dates

⁶⁸⁶ Sneddon, forthcoming *Inquisition and Knowledge*.

⁶⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁹⁰ Doat 21-25

⁶⁹¹ Doat 21, fos. 39-44v 42v, 35r, 87r, 50v

only mention the month or are associated with a feast day.⁶⁹² Caterina Bruschi has demonstrated the multiple lenses through which the Doat depositions have been viewed, both through the questions of the inquisitor and the early modern transcriber. Bruschi argued that despite these filters the depositions provide ‘surplus’ details beyond the questions of the inquisitors.⁶⁹³ This superfluous testimony reveals the *quotidienne* of medieval heretics, and of even more interest to this study, these features were not omitted from the early modern transcriptions and indeed, often were highlighted in the seventeenth century transcribers’ summaries. The early modern French introductions impart evocative details as well as explanatory passages; these are underpinned by early modern ideas of medieval heretical beliefs. Many of the introductions try to summarise the practices and doctrines of medieval heretics - the prioritisation of information in these short paragraphs demonstrates the most significant aspects of the early modern conception of Cathar heresy to the scribes of the Doat Collection.

The beliefs of the Albigensians were discussed within the French summaries, for example, in the deposition of Bernard Oth (Doat 21.162v) where the scribe noted that Oth admitted that he ‘avoit mangé avec les heretiques, ouy leurs predications, et receu le baiser de paix, et quil avoit soutenu qu’on ne pouvoit point se sauver que dans leur foy.’⁶⁹⁴ By mentioning the practices of heretics the summaries are providing proof of the deponent’s heresy. However, the scribes extend this comparison stating Albigensian practices that were akin in structure or motivation to Catholic acts of worship, insinuating that heresy is a perversion of true doctrine. This notion of heretics following a debased theology, that was originally rooted in Catholicism before people were misled into false doctrine, was a common criticism of both Catharism and Protestantism.

The seventeenth-century copyists thought it was significant to mention the evidence of Bernard Oth’s participation in the heretical community. The scribes pointed to medieval heresy as a communal practice by referring to the fact that they ate together. The introduction to Bernard Oth’s deposition also mentions aspects of the ceremony of *consalamentum* such as listening to preaching and receiving the kiss of peace. However, the Doat scribes do not name this as the ceremony of *consolamentum*. Shelagh Sneddon analysed the French introductions

⁶⁹² For example, Doat 21, fos. 173v ‘3 days before the kalends of August’, 175r ‘the feast of St Giles 1241’

⁶⁹³ Bruschi, “Magna diligentia est habenda per inquisitorem”, 84.

⁶⁹⁴ Doat 21, fos. 162v

to the depositions of Doat for references to the *consolamentum* and noted that the French scribes did not have a singular word for describing the ritual, often using the verb “adore” and “console” interchangeably.⁶⁹⁵ This suggests that the scribes were unfamiliar with this practice of the Albigensians and, similarly, were confused by the laying on of hands by the Waldensians and were unsure of how to explain it easily to the reader. The early modern scribes were, on occasion, bewildered at how to summarise the complexities of consoling. In the hearing of Peter of Flaran of Mirepoix charged as a Waldensian by Ferrier (1243), a woman, Guillelma Alseua, is described as suffering an illness prior to being consoled. The introductory passage does not use the term *consolamentum* or to console, but instead describes the visit of a heretical “bishop” who ‘la fit rendre hérétique en la maniere y exprimée’.⁶⁹⁶ By simplifying the summary of the deposition to ‘en la maniere y exprimée’ the copyist condenses an explanation of Guillelma Alseua’s: sickbed confession; diet devoid of meat and eggs; denunciation of swearing, lying and lust. Nor does the introduction mention the act of consoling by the laying on of hands and spoken scriptures to invoke peace. The confusion over the actions of Albigensians and Waldensians emphasises the distance between the scribes and the thirteenth-century deponents in both historical context and theology.

Another reason why the scribes may not have drawn the distinction of describing *consolamentum* as a separate sacramental ritual, was because of the greater comparison that could be drawn with Protestant communion. The religious fellowship of eating together combined with the kiss of peace implied associations with seventeenth-century Calvinist practices. The kiss of peace was often used by Calvinists prior to communion to broker forgiveness and as an act of reconciliation. In comparison, Albigensians were known to embrace one another with a kiss of peace after the *consolamentum*. The seventeenth-century scribes would have had contemporary theological disputes on the Eucharist in mind and would not have missed this connotation between the Albigensian *consolamentum* and Calvinist communion, viewing both as corruptions of the mass. Early modern Catholic discernment of what constituted heresy was unavoidably intertwined with the sacrament of the Eucharist. Medieval inquisitors and seventeenth-century Catholic writers shared concerns that Eucharistic heresies were commonplace. Denial of the body of Christ as present in the Eucharist was a correlation between Albigensian, Waldensian and Calvinist thought. Doat’s

⁶⁹⁵ Sneddon, forthcoming *Inquisition and Knowledge*.

⁶⁹⁶ Doat 22, fol.171v

copyists, when describing heretical theology mention this disagreement with vital Catholic doctrine. This is clear in the interrogation of Pierre de Noye, who Claire Taylor has demonstrated was a key figure in the Albigensian community at Castelsarrasin as he hosted fellow heretics.⁶⁹⁷ In the deposition of Pierre de Noye (22.27r) an itinerant preacher teaches ‘que le corps de Jesus Christ n’estoit point dans l’hostie consacrée, et qu’il seroit desia mangé fut il si grand qu’une montagne’.⁶⁹⁸ This rhetorical device by the preacher, suggesting that if it was Christ’s body being eaten he would have had to have been as large as a mountain, demonstrates a deep lack of regard for the Eucharist.

This introduction to the deposition also demonstrates how much early modern copyists considered heresy to be spread via itinerant preaching. These mentions of itinerant preachers were one method of drawing clear associations between known heretics and the deponents, providing undisputed evidence of their associations with heresy through listening to heretical sermons; in Doat 23 fol. 79v ‘Peter of Laure, Roger of Montséret, and Peter of Cabaret...went to hear the preachings of Peter Isarn, bishop of the heretics, in the town of Cabaret’.⁶⁹⁹ The inclusion of the multiple names of those in attendance, the title ‘bishop of the heretics’ and ‘in the town of Cabaret’ demonstrate the early modern scribes sharing the same interest in the evidential proof of heresy as their inquisitorial forebears.⁷⁰⁰ Indeed, the majority of the deposition introductions argue that many turned to heresy as the result of hearing sermons by known heretical preachers. The introductions of the depositions ascertain attendance at heretical sermons first, then turn to the adoration of the heretics and acts of consolation.

The preacher’s simile of a mountain also conveys the sense of materiality in Albigensian belief.⁷⁰¹ As part of their belief in dualist forces’ interaction with the material world Albigensians rejected the tangible aspects of Catholic sacraments: eschewing sexual intercourse within the confines of marriage; refusing water as the means of baptism; denying the need for consuming Christ in the Eucharist. Indeed, the French summaries suggest that to early modern readers the theological concerns of medieval heresy which were most important to the Doat Commission were sacramental and soteriological. Evidently, the interests of the

⁶⁹⁷ C. Taylor, *Heresy in Medieval France: Dualism in Aquitaine and the Agenais, 1000-1249* (Boydell & Brewer, 2005), 232.

⁶⁹⁸ Doat 22, fol. 27r.

⁶⁹⁹ Doat 23, fol. 79v

⁷⁰⁰ Ibid.

⁷⁰¹ Doat 22, fol. 27r.

Doat Commission are skewed by the scope of the questioning of medieval inquisitors.⁷⁰² However, in the introductions of Doat 22 there is a clear emphasis placed on heretical views of the sacrament of marriage, baptism and Eucharist.⁷⁰³ The transcribers were also keen to show the dualism of Albigensian thought in the introductions to the inquisitorial hearings. In the account of R. Centolh the two opposing powers of God and the devil are explained to both have had a role in creation, ‘le diable le fit du limon de la mer, et Dieu l’anima’.⁷⁰⁴ This acceptance of good and evil powers creating the earth together displays how the dual powers impacted the material world.⁷⁰⁵ Nevertheless, in comparison to polemical and confessional sources, the scribes do not emphasise this Manichean dualist theology as much as the rejection of the sacraments.

Deposition introductions: Penances

These introductory summaries of the depositions also indicate that early modern scholars were interested in the punishments heretics received, namely the role of medieval penances. The interest of the early modern scribes in penances reveals a lot about how they perceived the character of a heretic, and whether they can be redeemed or require judgement. For instance, the deposition of Alaman of Rouaix, explains that he had previously been convicted of heresy and was supposed to take up a penance overseas, and yet he had resolutely refused to do so. This both demonstrates the legality of the issue of heresy and the association of heresy with wider sinfulness of obstinacy and selfishness. The deposition records that Alaman Rouaix, in June 1237, had been condemned as a heretic by Romano prior to this second deposition, as Romano had ‘autrefois imposé la croix et enioint de passer la mer pour penitence de l’hérésie don’t estoit diffamé: laquelle il n’avoit point voulu accomplir’.⁷⁰⁶ The word chosen to describe Alaman of Rouaix (besides heretic) is ‘diffamé’, that his reputation has been ruined and his honour defamed by his heretical choices. It is also heavily suggested that the deponent was obstinate and unwilling to change, ‘il n’avoit point voulu accomplir’.⁷⁰⁷ Recent work on penances by Harry Barmby demonstrates the importance of

⁷⁰² Bruschi, “Magna diligentia est habenda per inquisitorem”, 86.

⁷⁰³ Doat 22, fol. 32v; Doat 22, fol. 27r.

⁷⁰⁴ Doat 22, fol. 32r

⁷⁰⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁰⁶ Doat 21 ,143r - 143v

⁷⁰⁷ Ibid.

confession as part of inquisitorial punishment and that penances were often unfulfilled by deponents.⁷⁰⁸ However, the early modern scribes considered it worth noting that Alaman Rouaix refused to turn from heresy, repent and recant. From this we can infer two of the major narratives about medieval heretics, first that they were deceitful and second that heresy can be uncontrollable and at worst irreversible without divine intervention. Alaman of Rouaix ruined his reputation and yet remained stubborn in his deviance, failing to fulfil the penance he had been charged with.

This detail about the penances and former punishments of relapsed heretics is frequently considered by the seventeenth-century scribes worth featuring in the summary of the deposition. On the one hand, this makes logical sense, surely in a summary of a legal process you would record the outcome within your summary. However, there appears to be a focus on relapsed heretics, emphasising the perpetuating problem of heresy and how medieval heresy was invasive. This idea of relapsing is particularly clear in the introductory passages of Doat 21. It also appears in the deposition summary of Peter Durand of Toulouse, dated November 1241:

‘par laquelle ils condamnent hérétique Pierre Durandi de Toulouse, auquel Romain, legat du St Siege, avoit autresfois imposé 150 la croix pour penitence de l’hérésie dont il avoit este soubçonné, dans laquelle ledit Durand estoit depuis retombé.’⁷⁰⁹

The report of Pierre Durand as ‘retombé’, reinforces this idea of medieval heresy as a chronic problem, that heresy returned multiple times in Durand’s life, despite the attempts of the authorities to encourage him to recant. Moreover, Durand has not only “tombé” into heretical ways but “retombé”; the scribes emphasise that this was a recurring issue.⁷¹⁰

⁷⁰⁸ H. Barmby, *The punishment of heresy in Languedoc during the mid thirteenth century*, PhD thesis, University of Nottingham (2017). Abstract accessed July 10, 2019, <http://eprints.nottingham.ac.uk/id/eprint/48061>

⁷⁰⁹ Doat 21.155v

⁷¹⁰ Doat 21.154r

Deposition introductions: Female heretics

The French summaries are particularly significant as they are a rare early modern commentary on sources of women as medieval heretics.⁷¹¹ It was uncommon for seventeenth-century writers to use the accounts of female heretics; scholars had more readily available sources. Biller suggests that prior to Gottfried Koch's work in 1960 on women in medieval heresy, female heretics were 'noticed miscellaneously' by historians of heresy.⁷¹² Early modern confessional polemicists appealed to a male lineage of the apostolic succession between medieval heretics and early modern believers. However, it is important that the documents of female heretics were transcribed alongside those of men's depositions and were not omitted in the early modern collection and copying of these manuscripts. This indicates that Doat either considered the trials of female heretics to be historically significant or, as Biller implies, he copied the depositions indiscriminately. It is more likely the latter, as the French introductions express the early modern scribes' attitudes towards female heresy to be similar. In the deposition of Dias of Deyme, the introduction follows the same structure as those of male heretics, speaking first of her encounter with heretical preaching and then other heretics she associated with and finally her participation in the practice of *consolamentum*. Whilst this structure is predominantly due to the organization of questions by medieval inquisitors it demonstrates that the early modern scribes viewed the way men and women became heretics to be the same. In these introductions women are often defined by their relationship to men, once more reflecting the medieval Latin document, for instance Dias is noted as the 'wife of Bernard of Montaut'.⁷¹³ In particular, the hearing of Peregrina, wife of William Gasc, shows the way women supported the community of Albigensians and Waldensians in medieval Languedoc. In Peregrina's account of her dealings with other heretics she mentions several other women whom the scribes also chose to incorporate in their summative sentence on her deposition; all related to the Lord of Rabasten, his mother, two sisters, and wife Orbria..⁷¹⁴ As well as describing Peregrina in relation to her husband, this introduction makes evident Peregrina's association with the Count of Toulouse in her former position as lady-in-waiting to his wife; 'damoiselle de la femme du Comte de Thoulouse, soeur du Roy d'Aragon'.⁷¹⁵ This snippet from Doat 22 also demonstrates much

⁷¹¹ Sneddon, forthcoming in *Inquisition and Knowledge*.

⁷¹² Doat 23.70v

⁷¹³ Doat 23.70v

⁷¹⁴ Doat 22 fol. 29v-30r

⁷¹⁵ Doat 22 fol. 30r

wider aspects of the scribes' work, the style of historical thought and how greatly they were informed by their sources. By recording Peregrina's link to the Count of Toulouse the scribe clearly stated their interest in the history of the nobility of the region. This is unsurprising, as throughout the seventeenth century nobles in France sought proof of their status, due to a vast increase in noble offices throughout the early modern period and policies to check their exemption from taxes. It also shows the complex relationship early modern historians had with medieval inquisitorial sources. The Doat scribes were recruited from across the south of France and were scholars in their own right, they would have had pre-existing knowledge of the importance of the Counts of Toulouse, and the story of Raymond VI's betrayal, within the overarching narrative of the Albigensian Crusade. Their cultural context has shaped what the scribes consider necessary to include within the introductory sentences of each deposition. On the other hand, the scribes are clearly dictated to by the sources that they are copying, medieval inquisitors sought heretical links with nobility and this emphasis is emulated in the transcribers' summaries.

Conclusion

Overall, the Doat commission and other large manuscript collections of the 1650s-70s demonstrate the importance of medieval heresy in historical thought in seventeenth-century France. As a part of a wider cultural movement in the collecting of manuscripts, the Doat Commission shows that information upon medieval heresy was valued and considered significant enough to transcribe, preserve and move to collections in Paris. Not only was this a significant undertaking, moving this vast quantity of transcriptions to Paris placed them at the centre of the kingdom and made them more easily consultable.

The motivations for the Doat commission were twofold, to establish the king's privilege in the region and possession of the kingdom through evidential proof and to collect manuscripts of interest in the history of France. This commission was unique in the breadth of its scope and the geographical specificity of the Midi, which reiterates early modern associations between the region and medieval heresy. Not only was the Midi known for its high population of religious dissent, but also for its own customs and political traditions that did not align with the other regions of France. Historical data, therefore, informed contemporary legal issues, and established the control and effectiveness of central monarchical control,

fundamental to dealing with the Huguenots and domestic instability. The documents of the Albigensian Crusade were considered worthy of recording for posterity as the monarchy's issues in the thirteenth century manuscripts were mirrored by seventeenth-century unrest.

The focus by medievalists on the accuracy of the transcriptions by seventeenth-century scribes has led to modern editions of the Doat 21-30 documents. As a result, the introductory passages to depositions written by Doat's scribes are undergoing new scrutiny. The notes and introductions of the scribes demonstrates how inquisitorial documents shaped their thoughts on medieval heresy with notions on how heresy spread, was consolidated and ultimately quashed. It emphasises how greatly early modern thought on heresy paralleled the inquisitorial questions of the thirteenth century with a focus on links with nobility, the scope of the heretical community and the theology of the Albigensians and Waldensians disseminated via preaching. The scribes seem to follow the interests of inquisitors by including female heretics' accounts and highlighting the trials of those involved in high profile cases like the Avignonet murders. However, research into the language chosen by the early modern scribes also shows a lack of understanding of the act of *consolamentum*, demonstrating a struggle to encapsulate Albigensian and Waldensian theology outside heretics' own terminology. Although ultimately the transcriptions of the Doat Commission reveal ideas on medieval heresy that were not fully formed, they do show a willingness by early modern scholars to treat thirteenth-century dissent as an object of study 'serving (the) history' of France.

Chapter 4

Orthodox Catholic Bishops

When considering ideas of medieval heresy circulating in seventeenth-century France, it is necessary to consider those arising from Catholic orthodoxy. This chapter will explore how the trope of Albigensian and Waldensian heresies supported Catholic orthodoxy, through the writings of bishops. This chapter focuses on Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet (1627-1704) and other theologians who held positions of power in the Church and court, who referred to the Albigensian and Waldensian heresies as the proof of the dangers of heterodoxy.

By the reign of Louis XIII, medieval heresy was also a matter for the increasingly intellectual and orthodox centre of the French court. The heightened focus on upholding orthodoxy by the king's advisors is reflected by the *conseil de conscience*, started under Richelieu as an advisory board for the appointment of bishoprics, and firmly established in 1643 under the regency of Anne of Austria. By the 1650s the council was advising the king upon ecclesiastical matters ranging from monastic abuses to the implementation of policy concerning the Huguenots. Not only was court a more centralised advocate of orthodoxy, it also increasingly became a place where intellectual interest in the medieval was supported and flourished. The Bibliothèque de Roi collected medieval manuscripts and the *académies* became centres of learning and erudition.⁷¹⁶ Within the atmosphere of court, supportive of orthodoxy, and writing scholarly works that upheld the king, bishops continued to compare Calvinists to the Albigensians and Waldensians. The comparison stemmed from a polemical trope, but greater interest in medieval sources and a need to counteract Protestant confessional historiography also fuelled these writings. Erica Harth's view that the role of the historian in court was diminishing by the second half of the century, as the genealogist and eulogist could magnify the glory of the king more directly, fails to consider the historical examples in the writings of theologians and polemicists.⁷¹⁷ The writings of bishops were circulated in the French court and further afield in correspondence across Europe, and were often concerned with the continued heterodoxy in France.

⁷¹⁶ Soll, *The Information Master: Jean-Baptiste Colbert*, 5.

⁷¹⁷ E. Harth, *Ideology and culture in seventeenth-century France* (Ithaca, New York: London: Cornell University Press, 1983), 31.

Cardinal Jacques Davy Du Perron (1556-1618)

First, Cardinal Jacques Davy Du Perron (1556-1618) used the accounts of medieval saints to critique his Protestant opponents' confessional history. Du Perron, the bishop of Évreux, was heavily involved in the conversion of Henry IV, his works continued to be published into the latter half of the seventeenth century. Thus, his writings remained important into the reign of Louis XIII and continued to reflect society's wider ideas about heresy. Du Perron had a Protestant upbringing by Calvinist parents who on account of persecution had sought refuge in Switzerland, yet Du Perron converted to the Catholic faith in 1577 or 1578. In fact, it is thought that Du Perron influenced Henry IV in his conversion, securing the absolution from the pope in 1595.⁷¹⁸ Du Perron used medieval saints who described heretics to contradict the Protestant narrative of the origins of their church. For example, in a public disputation with the Calvinist, Philippe Du-Plessis Mornay (1549-1623) at Fontainebleau, Du Perron refers to St Bernard of Clairvaux's (1090-1153) sermons that denounced the Albigensian heresy.⁷¹⁹ This disputation was published in Du Perron's *Actes de la conférence tenue entre le sieur évesque d'Evreux et le sieur du Plessis, en présence du Roy à Fontaine Bleau le 4 de may 1600, publiez... avec la Réfutation du faux discours de la mesme conférence par... Jacques Dauy, évesque d'Eureux...* (1601, reprinted in the *Oeuvres de Du Perron* 1629 and 1633). Du Perron argues that Du-Plessis Mornay has his chronology of events wrong; in fact, Du-Plessis Mornay did conflate the Albigensians and Waldensians and mis-identified Spiritual Franciscans as Waldensians.⁷²⁰ In addition, Du Perron was irritated that Du-Plessis Mornay has invented a narrative of the Albigensians and Waldensians rising up against St Bernard's repression of their beliefs:

Sieur de Plessis disoit peu apres, que contre l'abus que saint Bernard avoit impugné, s'est élevée l'opposition des Vaudois & Albigeois... Sieur de Plessis la rapportoit en ces termes... toutes les invocations & services des Saints sont idolatrie.⁷²¹

⁷¹⁸ N. M. Sutherland, *Henry IV of France and the Politics of Religion: The path to Rome* (Intellect Books, 2002), 472.

⁷¹⁹ J. D. Du Perron, *Actes de la conférence tenue entre le S. Evesq. d'Evreux et le S. du Plessis* (Evreux: Chez Anthoine le Marie, 1601), 86.

⁷²⁰ Barnet, "Where Was Your Church before Luther?", 28.

⁷²¹ Du Perron, *Actes de la conférence tenue*, 86.

As St Bernard of Clairvaux was a contemporary of the Albigensians, Du Perron referred to him as a significant authority on the Albigensian heresy. In particular, St Bernard of Clairvaux's sermons provided valuable evidence about the state of the Church in the area surrounding Toulouse in the twelfth century and were widely cited by Catholic polemicists. His letters and sermons were more easily dated and identified than other medieval sources on the Albigensians and as a result were more readily available. Indeed, St Bernard of Clairvaux was viewed as an authoritative account of the Albigensian heresy. Many editions of St Bernard's works were available in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, such as the Latin edition *Divi Bernardi Clarævallensis abbatis primi...opera omnia...* (Paris, 1586) or Philippe le Bel's 1622 French translation *Les Oeuvres de S. Bernard,... mises la plus grande-partie en français* (1622). Du Perron rebutted Du-Plessis Mornay's earlier argument that adhering to the testimony of saints is idolatry, reasoning instead that those such as St Bernard of Clairvaux (1090-1153) were present at the time of the Albigensians and should be used as a historical source.⁷²² Du Perron's argument is both theological, concerning the authority of the saints, but it is also historical, concerning the legitimacy of saints as eyewitnesses to medieval heresy. This disputation, therefore, demonstrates confessional divisions over the authority of medieval sources on heresy.

The Bishop of Rodez, Louis Abelly (1604-1691)

Louis Abelly (1604-1691), the Vicar-General of Bayonne and subsequently Bishop of Rodez, traced the association between heresy and treason from the Albigensians, to the French Wars of Religion and through to contemporary debates against Jansenists. Abelly's influence was considerable. Appointed to the bishopric of Rodez in 1664, his role included directing a seminary in a region with a high population of Huguenots, and his reputation drew him to the attention of Louis XIV.⁷²³ Abelly's experience of working in an area that was a stronghold of Protestantism is reflected in his writings. Akin to many of his contemporaries, Abelly criticised Calvinists for causing disorder and unrest. The memory of the horrors of the Wars of Religion pervaded seventeenth-century thought. Indeed, Abelly's biography of *La vie du*

⁷²² Ibid.

⁷²³ Bergin, *Crown, Church and Episcopate*, 142.

vénérable serviteur de Dieu, Vincent de Paul (1664), portrayed the Huguenots as in ‘rébellion ouverte contre leur Roi’.⁷²⁴

However, it was the Jansenists that Abelly considered the greatest traitors to the Crown, and thus, the true inheritors of Albigensian unorthodoxy. Jansenism was a theological movement that emphasized predestination and the divine necessity of grace for salvation. Cornelius Jansen’s (1585-1638) initial notion to counter Protestants by re-examining Augustinian thought on salvation, led to theological controversy in the context of tensions between Jesuits and proponents of Gallicanism. Jansen’s ideas were circulated in Paris in the 1620s by his pupil Jean du Vergier de Hauranne (1581-1643), the Abbé of Saint Cyran. Abelly critiqued Jansenists throughout many of his works, particularly writing in opposition to Saint-Cyran.⁷²⁵ Saint-Cyran was spiritual director of the convent at Port-Royal and his ideas were defended by Antoine Arnauld (1612-1694) who translated Jansen’s propositions into French in the *Apologia for Jansenius* (1644). This popularised Jansenist ideas and they soon spread beyond the Port-Royal circle in the 1650s.⁷²⁶ Despite 1645 heralding the height of Arnauld’s published works, polemical opposition continued and kept the debate at the forefront of public interest.⁷²⁷ The term “Jansenist” was adopted as a derogatory slight for anyone who did not fully conform to orthodox thought.

Abelly wrote a treatise in the midst of Louis XIV’s campaign against Jansenism, after the royal council’s order in 1661 that the bishops impose a formulary rejecting Jansen’s propositions on their subordinates. His opposition to Jansenism is evident in *La Justice et la piété du Roy dans le procès... bannir par ce moyen de son royaume les restes de la secte du jansénisme.... Avec quelques remarques historiques sur la conduite tenue par le roy saint Louys pour l’extirpation de l’hérésie des Albigeois* (1662). This work coupled the political turmoil caused by ‘la secte du jansénisme’ and ‘remarques historiques sur... l’hérésie des Albigeois’.⁷²⁸ Abelly’s association of the Jansenists with the Albigensians denied the claim of the Jansenists to Catholic orthodoxy, attributing to them the same disloyalty and heresy as the

⁷²⁴ L. Abelly, *La vie du vénérable serviteur de Dieu, Vincent de Paul, instituteur et premier supérieur general de la Congrégation de la Mission* (Paris: Florentin Lambert, 1664), 2.

⁷²⁵ P. Bayle, “Saint-Cyran” in *The Dictionary Historical and Critical of Mr. Peter Bayle*, V (J.J. and P. Knapton, 1738), 15.

⁷²⁶ W. Doyle, *Jansenism: Catholic resistance to Authority from the Reformation to the French Revolution* (New York: St Martin Press, 2001), 26.

⁷²⁷ *Ibid*, 24.

⁷²⁸ Abelly, *La Justice et la piété du Roy*, title page.

medieval heretics. This was very controversial; Jansenists claimed that they remained part of the Catholic Church. Indeed, in the early 1660s, Jansenists still attempted to accommodate the pope's criticisms of Jansen's propositions, whilst retaining their separate theology. Abelly went on to argue that the Jansenists were worse than the Albigensians as they had 'un nouvel artifice, dont les heretiques, tant anciens que modernes ne s'estoient point encore avisez', namely their hypocritical ability to condemn heresy in some of Jansen's propositions whilst upholding others.⁷²⁹ Abelly was shocked by Jansenist claims that they were supporting orthodox Catholicism, and argued that this was a new level of heretical deception.

Abelly encouraged his readership to oppose the rise of Jansenism before it grew to an insurmountable division, a problem at the forefront of French cultural memory of the Wars of Religion.⁷³⁰ Abelly provided practical advice on how to counter Jansenism, listing the difficulties with the theology of the sect and how to respond to them, further implying the links between the Jansenists and Albigensians:

Je laisse au Lecteur Catholique de se servir de cette comparaison...entre les Sectateurs du Jansenisme [et les Albigeois]...s'ils font des actions contraires aux regles immuables & éternelles de la sincerité Chrestienne.⁷³¹

As part of his comparison between the Albigensian Crusade and Jansenist controversy, he described St Louis's successful approach to controlling the Albigensian heresy, devoting an entire section to the 'moyens employez' by the king.⁷³² These methods included the use of force and the stripping of land and titles from the nobility.⁷³³ He corroborated these techniques, useful for a monarch facing heresy, by quoting an ordinance from the Registers of the Court attributed to St Louis on the subject of heretics.⁷³⁴ The ordinance states that those heretics who do not convert back to Catholicism will be condemned.⁷³⁵ The reason for Abelly's comparison with St Louis is manifest; the Jansenists must be dealt with by royal authority as they have already flouted ecclesiastical authority, just as the Albigensians had before them. Hence, Abelly claimed 'le zele demonstré [par le] Monarque pour la Foi, est une

⁷²⁹ Ibid., 34.

⁷³⁰ Ibid., 78.

⁷³¹ Ibid., 51.

⁷³² Ibid., 78-79.

⁷³³ Ibid.

⁷³⁴ Ibid., 75.

⁷³⁵ Ibid.

vertue qui lui est hereditaire...avec le sang Royal qu'il a tiré du grand St Louis'.⁷³⁶ Abelly argued that St Louis' fervour against heresy has passed down the royal bloodline to Louis XIV, in an attempt to inspire the king, to whom he addressed the preface of the work, to take stronger action against the Jansenists.

Similar comparisons between St Louis and the kings of the seventeenth century were circulated around court. For instance, the *Prophetie de comte Bombast, chevalier de la Rose-Croix* (1701) claimed St Louis would be reborn. This prophecy, which was first published in 1609, declared that the future king was, in fact, the restoration of St Louis (presumably the subject of the prophecy was intended to be Louis XIII, born in 1610). It was re-published in 1701 by Francois Alary, a doctor of medicine, who redirected the 'prophetie du comte Bombast' – it was now about Louis XIV.⁷³⁷ Alary's publication was subtitled 'sur la Naissance miraculeuse de Louis le Grand les circonstances de sa minorité, l'extirpation de l'Hérésie...et la propagation de la Foy Catholique par tout l'Univers'.⁷³⁸ The fact that 'l'extirpation de l'Hérésie' is mentioned alongside the king's other qualities suggests connections between Louis XIV's actions against contemporary heretics through the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and St Louis' campaign against the Albigensians.⁷³⁹ Alary suggested that this anti-heretical stance was inherited 'sur la Naissance miraculeuse', arguing that in royal bloodline there is a disposition against heresy. Alary's ideas of good leadership and the role of a king were interwoven with examples of crusade against medieval heretics. Alary's reissue of Comte Bombast's prophecy and Abelly's critique of Jansenism are evidence that a rhetoric of persecution remained popular as a recommendation against heterodoxy in the seventeenth century. This implied that heretics, both medieval and contemporary, were unable to be reasoned with or incited to return to Catholicism, except by force.

⁷³⁶ Ibid., 67.

⁷³⁷ G. Hanotin, *Ambassadeur de deux couronnes: Amelot et les Bourbons, entre commerce et diplomatie* (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2018), 419.

⁷³⁸ F. Alary, *Prophétie du comte Bombast, chevalier de la Rose-Croix* (Rouen: A. Maury, 1701), title page.

⁷³⁹ Ibid.

The Bishop of Meaux, Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet (1627-1704)

Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet (1627-1704) was the foremost theologian and preacher at Louis XIV's court. In 1642 Bossuet attended the Collège de Navarre in Paris to finish his classical studies and begin theology and philosophy. There his mentor was Nicolas Cornet (1572-1663), whose denunciation of Antoine Arnauld at the Sorbonne in 1649 played a major part in the Jansenist controversy.⁷⁴⁰ Even though Bossuet remained outside of the Jesuit-Jansenist conflict, Cornet's dedication to exposing unorthodox theology would have surely influenced Bossuet's own approach to contemporary heresy. His erudition was widely respected in Court, as shown by his appointment as tutor to the Dauphin in 1676. Bossuet's reputation as a historian was confirmed by his *Discours sur l'histoire universelle* (1681) which was renowned for its breadth and political pragmatism.⁷⁴¹ His role in court was significant - not only did he tutor the future king, in 1681 he was made Bishop of Meaux. As Meaux was closer to Paris than his previous diocese, he continued to play a role in Court life. As such, he was greatly involved in the polemical confessional battle against Huguenot leaders in France and abroad, being entrusted with writing the *Declaration of the Gallican Church* (1682) and official works on behalf of the French church, such as *Exposition de la doctrine de l'église catholique sur les matières de controverse* (1686).⁷⁴²

In particular, Bossuet was at the forefront of addressing Protestant confessional history, assuming the same rhetoric as his opponents to reveal its historical inaccuracy. This was the purpose of his most famous polemical work, *Histoire des Variations des Églises Protestantes* (1688). In the apparatus to this section I include – among first French and modern editions – some early English translations, as a reminder of early diffusion of Bossuet. By writing a history of the variety within the Protestant church Bossuet was hoping to undermine the Protestant narrative of a unified opposition to Rome held by “true believers” throughout history.⁷⁴³ In the first part of book eleven of his *Histoire des Variations* Bossuet focused on the history of the Albigensians and Waldensians. Unlike many of his contemporaries he did not conflate the two sects, furthering his argument of great ‘variations’ of heresy. Bossuet

⁷⁴⁰ P. Riley, “Introduction”, *Politics Drawn from Holy Scripture*, ed. and trans. P. Riley, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), xiii.

⁷⁴¹ B. Bowden, *The Strange Persistence of Universal History in Political Thought* (New York: Springer, 2017), 10.

⁷⁴² Cerny, *Theology, Politics and Letters*, 219.

⁷⁴³ A. Rébelliau, *Bossuet, historien du protestantisme: étude sur l'Histoire des variations et sur la controverse entre les protestants et les catholiques au dix-septième siècle* (Paris: Hachette, 1891), 1.

complained that the ‘Catholiques...non pas assez distingué les Vaudois d’avec les Albigeois’ which has allowed ‘les Protestantes... ont conclu que les Albigeois n’avoient esté traitez des Manicheans, puis que selon les anciens Auteurs des Vaudois sont exempts de cette tache’.⁷⁴⁴ By grouping the Albigensians and Waldensians, Bossuet argued that Protestants had been able to choose whichever aspects of the sect’s theology supported Protestant doctrine, and able to hide the heretical dualism of the Albigensians. Bossuet particularly emphasised the Albigensians and Waldensians as, unlike Wycliffe and Berenger, they aimed to form ‘des Églises séparées de Rome’.⁷⁴⁵ The fact they attempted to create ‘des Églises séparées de Rome’ is evidence of the novelty of the Albigensians, and thus the Calvinists; neither belonged to the central history of the true Church.⁷⁴⁶ Protestant theological heritage stemming from medieval sects was a widespread idea; Bossuet specified that ‘il est considéré par les Protestans... la succession de la doctrine apostolique’.⁷⁴⁷ Apostolic succession is the handing down of spiritual authority from Christ to Peter and Peter to the Church. By suggesting medieval heretics were part of this apostolic succession, Protestants were denying their heresy, and providing them with the legitimacy of authority from Christ. Bossuet argued that Protestants cannot claim to be part of the apostolic succession and to have formed a separate church to Rome, he considers these incompatible. By splitting with the Catholic church Protestants had broken this line of apostolic succession, and thus needed to establish their alternative tradition and history from which to draw authority.⁷⁴⁸ This development of a historiography to provide legitimacy to Protestantism is what Bossuet was fundamentally arguing against - he wanted ‘to reveal the shame...to those, who glory in such Predecessors’.⁷⁴⁹

The fundamental argument that underpins Bossuet’s rejection of the Albigensians is their Manichean theology. A summary of book eleven of his *Histoire* begins ‘les Albigeois sont les parfaits Manichéens’.⁷⁵⁰ The phrase ‘parfaits Manichéens’ also alluded to an interpretation of

⁷⁴⁴ Bossuet, *HDV*, 259.

⁷⁴⁵ Ibid, 157.

⁷⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁴⁷ Ibid., 155.

⁷⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁴⁹ J. B. Bossuet, *The history of the variations of the Protestant churches: By James Benign Bossuet, Bishop of Meaux, one of His most Christian Majesty’s Honourable Privy-Council, heretofore Preceptor to the Dauphin, and Chief Almoner to the Dauphiness. In two parts. Translated from the sixth edition of the French original printed at Paris, 1, (Antwerp, 1742), xxii, ECCO, Gale (2004), accessed October 5, 2016, <http://find.galegroup.com/ecco/infomark.do?&source=gale&prodId=ECCO&userGroupName=uniyork&tabID=T001&docId=CW122560281&type=multipage&contentSet=ECCOArticles&version=1.0&docLevel=FASCIMI LE> .*

⁷⁵⁰ Bossuet, *HDV*, page marked aiii.

St Bernard of Clairvaux description of the Albigensians as *'parfaits'*.⁷⁵¹ Indeed, Bossuet stated that one of his aims was 'to detect the Manicheism of Peter de Bruis and the Albigenses; and shew, in what...spring from them' (which he demonstrated later to be Calvinism).⁷⁵² Ideas about Manichaeism were often considered the link between medieval heresy and contemporary Protestants. Barnet observes that 'Catholic apologists usually designated Luther and Calvin as Manichean heretics'.⁷⁵³ Early modern polemic on the subject of Manicheism was particularly aimed at Lutheran ideas of salvation. Early modern Catholic polemicists copied Augustine's arguments against Mani from 395, that a belief in good, evil, light and dark cannot be a division within God's character as this creates a theology of two gods, or dualism. Bossuet emulated Augustine's opening remarks to the Manicheans 'benevolently exhorting' them to return to Catholicism in his appeal to Protestants in the introduction of *Histoire des Variations*.⁷⁵⁴ The description of theology as Manichean refers to moral dualism. Indeed, the Albigensians were Christian dualists, having a secure distinction between good and evil underlying their main sacrament of consolamentum, the consolation and 'purging of all the imperfections of human nature'.⁷⁵⁵ The comparison of the Albigensians with an even older sect, the third to seventh century dualist religion of the prophet Mani, undermined the attempts of Protestants to create a historical narrative founded in the early church. Instead Bossuet constructed a history of Protestantism that not only had its origins in the Albigensian heresy but extended further back to the greater Gnostic heresy of Manichaeism.

Bossuet viewed the Albigensians and Waldensians as the predecessors of Protestants, not only in their heretical religious beliefs, but also in their treasonous undermining of civil authority. Similarly to Abelly and Alary, Bossuet invoked the example of St Louis as a parallel to Louis XIII and Louis XIV's struggles with the Protestant minority. The idea of medieval heresy was often applied to demonstrate that the king retained authority to enforce policies against heresy. For instance, Bossuet described how 'war was kindled' by the heretics and how they made their enemies as 'le dérèglement de leur esprit...introduit mille

⁷⁵¹ Ibid.

⁷⁵² Bossuet, *The history of the variations*, 1, xxii.

⁷⁵³ Barnet, "Where Was Your Church before Luther?", 14.

⁷⁵⁴ Augustine of Hippo, "Answer to the Letter of Mani known as The Foundation", in *The Manichean Debate*, ed. B. Ramsey, 19 (New York: New City Press, 2006), 227.

⁷⁵⁵ Bruschi, "Magna diligentia est habenda per inquisitorem", 101.

desordres.’⁷⁵⁶ It is clear that war and disorder were seen as the outcome of heresy, and there is a direct correlation between the ‘déréglement de leur esprit’ and the civil unrest that follows.⁷⁵⁷ As Bossuet argued in the first book of his *Politics Drawn from Holy Scripture*, ‘whoever, then does not love the civil society of which he forms a part...is an enemy to himself and to all mankind’.⁷⁵⁸ As Bossuet’s views of society in his *Politics Drawn from Holy Scripture* are based on an Aristotelian political community for the collective good, to provide peace and security to society, those who oppose it are either evil or insane, ‘an enemy to himself’.⁷⁵⁹ Bossuet had already written these words by the early 1670s, although his *Politics Drawn from Holy Scripture* would not go on to be published until 1709. Therefore, even prior to the Revocation, Bossuet is adamant that citizens should adhere to civil authority. Bossuet’s view that Protestantism was sedition is further shown by his reply to his critics, the *Defense de l’Histoire des Variations contre la réponse de M. Basnage, Ministre de Rotterdam* (1691).⁷⁶⁰ Jacques Basnage (1653-1723), a Huguenot minister exiled in the Dutch Republic, argued that the king had no right over his subjects’ consciences. Bossuet dismissed Basnage’s argument; ‘la soumission déve au prince...une matiere de religion que les Protestans...ont obscurcie; si contre l’autorité des écritures ils ont entrepris la guerre contre leur Prince’.⁷⁶¹ Bossuet invoked the emotive language of ‘guerre’ to claim Protestants were protagonists of violence, but used the personal affiliation ‘leur’ to remind them of their duty.⁷⁶² Such debates reinforced Bossuet’s view that medieval heresy was not only at the root of Huguenot heretical beliefs, but also of civil unrest and contradiction to the king’s authority.

⁷⁵⁶ J. B. Bossuet, *The history of France, from Pharamond to Charles IX. Translated from the French of M. Bossuet* (Edinburgh, 1762), 138. ECCO, Gale. 2003. Accessed October 10, 2016. <http://find.gale.com/ecco/infomark.do?&source=gale&prodId=ECCO&userGroupName=uniyork&tabID=T001&docId=CW100011471&type=multipage&contentSet=ECCOArticles&version=1.0&docLevel=FASCIMILE>; Also in Bossuet, *HDV*, 203.

⁷⁵⁷ Bossuet, *HDV*, 203.

⁷⁵⁸ Bossuet, in *Politics Drawn from Holy Scripture*, ed. and trans. Riley, 34-35.

⁷⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁶⁰ Cerny, *Theology, Politics and Letters*, 208.

⁷⁶¹ J. B. Bossuet, *Defense de l’Histoire des Variations contre la réponse de M. Basnage, Ministre de Rotterdam* (Paris: J. Anisson, 1691), 4.

⁷⁶² *Ibid.*

The Protestant response to *Histoire des Variations des Églises Protestantes* (1688)

Bossuet's attempt to disprove Protestant confessional history was met with equally vehement and erudite opposition. His *Histoire des Variations* was particularly important due to the responses it attracted from as far afield as Germany, Holland and England. Bossuet clearly intended the work to attract an international audience, translating each of his sources into the vernacular to reach a wider readership. Bossuet's *Histoire des Variations*, therefore, not only demonstrates French ideas on medieval heresy in the late seventeenth century but sparked wider European thought on the subject. Gerald Cerny argues that such widespread polemical rebuttal is evidence of 'Protestant recognition that Bossuet's treatise was the... supreme Roman Catholic endeavour to discredit Protestantism'.⁷⁶³ Not only did Bossuet receive treatises attacking his work by prominent Huguenot exiles, and five replies from Lutherans (Von Seckendorf, Pfaff, May/Mayus, Brunsmann, Schulz/Schultetus), even the Anglican church answered with Bishop Gilbert Burnet's 'Censure of Mr de Meaux's History'.⁷⁶⁴ The most popular and learned of these responses were by French Protestants rewriting the historiography of the Church to vindicate their theology, such as Jacques Basnage's *Histoire de la Religion des Églises Réformées* (1690).⁷⁶⁵ Bossuet replied to Basnage twice, and wrote another six times (*Six avertissements aux Protestants sur les lettres du ministre Jurieu, contre l'Histoire des Variations*, 1689-1691) in response to the more radical Calvinist, Pierre Jurieu (1637-1713). Thus, Bossuet recognised the threat of Basnage's detailed history and Jurieu's radical ideas. This shows the extent of the impact of Bossuet's *Histoire des Variations*; it embroiled western Europe in controversy.

Bossuet, was unafraid to debate with Protestant authors, collecting many of their works, and even establishing friendships and correspondence with leading Protestants. For example, his correspondence with Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646-1716) reveals a discussion about the reconciliation and unification of the Lutheran and Catholic churches. This was not a novel discussion - attempts at reuniting Lutherans and Catholics had been commonplace throughout the seventeenth century - however, it stands in stark contrast to the polemic of *Histoire des Variations*. In a letter to Bossuet from Hanover in 1694, Leibniz describes Bossuet's

⁷⁶³ Cerny, *Theology, Politics and Letters*, 205.

⁷⁶⁴ G. Burnet, *A Second Collection of Several Tracts and Discourses* (London, 1689), 19.

⁷⁶⁵ Cerny, *Theology, Politics and Letters*, 205.

‘kindness... in asking about my thoughts has emboldened me to send them to you’.⁷⁶⁶

Ultimately, Leibniz stated that unity must start with an exactness of language in exchanges between the two groups.⁷⁶⁷ Similarly, the Lutheran, Gerhard Wolter Molanus (1633-1722) and Bossuet negotiated together in 1691-1693, and agreed that Lutheran and Catholic differences were more often misunderstandings than matters of doctrinal incompatibility. Indeed in November 1681, Bossuet preached upon the unity of the Church, and the threat of schism.⁷⁶⁸ Cerny claims that this more reconciliatory tone is almost inconceivable when compared with the ‘inflexible intransigence’ of Bossuet’s *Histoire des Variations*.⁷⁶⁹ However, Bossuet’s attempts at reconciliation were targeted at Lutherans across Europe, not Calvinists in France. Bossuet firmly supported the king’s policy of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685). However, *Histoire des Variations* can be viewed as Bossuet attempting to convince Protestant readers of their folly and encouraging them to return to the Catholic Church. There was no self-contradiction in Bossuet’s attitude towards Protestants. Viewing them as mistaken he wrote treatises against them, but at the same time they were in need of God and he was willing to discuss reconciliation.

The exiled French Protestant Pierre Allix (1641-1717) also wrote in opposition to Bossuet’s *Histoire des Variations*. His *Remarks upon the Ecclesiastical History of the Ancient Churches of Piedmont* (1690) focussed upon the apostolic origins of the Waldensians. Two years later, Allix wrote another treatise on *Remarks upon the Ecclesiastical History of the Ancient Churches of the Albigenses* (1692) which centred on the origins of the Albigensians instead. Allix stated his intention to the reader: ‘to shew him the continuation of that Church which gave birth to the Albigenses and furnished the West with witnesses of so great weight against the Corruptions of the Romish party’.⁷⁷⁰ The fact that Protestants used confessional historiography to tell the same story of origins in the Albigensian and Waldensian movements as Catholics is testament to the importance of inherited tradition. This is a mere glimpse of the intellectual endeavour Protestants undertook in trying to answer the notorious

⁷⁶⁶ G. W. Leibniz, “Leibniz Letter to Bossuet, Hanover, 2 July 1694”, in *Leibniz's 'New System' and Associated Contemporary Texts* ed. R.S. Woolhouse and R. Francks, appendix A. Oxford Scholarly Editions, 2013, accessed July 3, 2016, <http://www.oxfordscholarlyeditions.com/view/10.1093/actrade/9780198248460.book.1/actrade-9780198248460-div1-3>.

⁷⁶⁷ G. W. Leibniz, *De la tolérance des religions, lettres de M. de Leibniz, et réponses de M. Pellisson* (Paris, 1692), 4, BNF Gallica, accessed May 16, 2018, <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k1041443q>

⁷⁶⁸ Rébelliau, *Bossuet, historien du protestantisme*, 85.

⁷⁶⁹ Cerny, *Theology, Politics and Letters*, 204.

⁷⁷⁰ P. Allix, *Remarks upon the Ecclesiastical History of the Ancient Churches of the Albigenses* (London: printed for Richard Chiswell, 1692), 2.

question of ‘where was your church before Luther?’.⁷⁷¹ Brian Armstrong, in his study of the Amyraut heresy, asserts that French Calvinism was rooted in ‘its national origin and [was] essentially...a product of Renaissance Humanism.’⁷⁷² Renaissance humanism’s focus upon the origins of texts led to a re-evaluation of historical evidence, and this, subsequently, allowed confessional groups to re-evaluate their own origins through more readily available sources. Armstrong emphasises the influence of humanist education on ideas of the role of God’s purposes within history, particularly how this informed differing views on predestination developed by Calvinists at the Academy of Saumur.⁷⁷³ Armstrong, however, is most concerned with Moses Amyraut’s (1596-1664) theology of conditional universalism, which was not representative of wider Calvinism in seventeenth-century France and this leads Armstrong to overstate the influence of humanism over scholasticism. The importance of the will of God in history was significant to Protestant and Catholic confessional narratives and both confessions were influenced by humanistic approaches to historical sources. Hence, Bossuet chose to write a history of the Reformation grounded in the medieval sources, so Protestants could not deny the validity of his historical argument.

Bossuet’s methodology in *Histoire des Variations des Églises Protestantes* (1688)

To Bossuet, historical evidence was fundamental in the contemporary debate upon theological doctrine. Bossuet viewed History as a source of authority, not only because it was increasingly associated with an empirical, measured assessment of truth, but because it was evidence of the work of God in human life. In his *Discours sur l’histoire universelle* (1681) Bossuet depicts ‘la providence particulière avec laquelle il gouverne les choses humaines.’⁷⁷⁴ If God dictates the tides of history, then historical sources must reveal his will for the Church. This view of history as providential has led some historians to critique Bossuet as nothing

⁷⁷¹ Barnet, “Where Was Your Church before Luther?”, 14.

⁷⁷² Armstrong, *Calvinism and the Amyraut heresy*, 15.

⁷⁷³ Armstrong, *Calvinism and the Amyraut heresy*, 264.

⁷⁷⁴ J. B. Bossuet, *Discours sur l’histoire universelle. A monseigneur le dauphin: pour expliquer la suite de la religion & les changemens des empires premiere partie. Depuis le commencement du monde. jusqu’à l’Empire de charlemagne. Par Messire Jacques Benigne Bossuet, evesque de meaux, conseiller du Roy en ses conseils, cy-devant précepteur de monseigneur le Dauphin, premier aumosneur de madame la Dauphine* (Paris and London: Chez Pierre de Varrennes, 1702), 154. ECCO, Gale (2008), accessed July 5, 2016, <http://find.gale.com/ecco/infomark.do?&source=gale&prodId=ECCO&userGroupName=uniyork&tabID=T001&docId=CB127259959&type=multipage&contentSet=ECCOArticles&version=1.0&docLevel=FASCIMILE> .

more than a theologian wielding History as a blunt instrument.⁷⁷⁵ Indeed, his historiographical approach in his *Discours sur l'histoire universelle* (1681), which argued that all of human history has been dictated by divine providence, has been described as the 'anti-modern side of French thought'.⁷⁷⁶ The extent of Bossuet's historical erudition has been debated. Alfred Rébelliau's assumption that Bossuet is a 'modern...scientific historian' has been dismissed by those such as Jean-Louis Quantin who considers Bossuet first and foremost a theologian, who used history as a tool to establish the authority of doctrine.⁷⁷⁷ Whilst his providential history may not have reflected the scientific "method" of Jean Bodin, it gave Bossuet a respect for history as a source of authority. Indeed, as Bossuet considered the authority of History to be synonymous with the authority of the Catholic church, he is required to use reputable sources, and check his facts even more against Protestant rebuttal. As Edward Kearns argues, 'Bossuet openly declared his bias, it was essential that his statements of fact should not be faulted; thus, we find a care for fact'.⁷⁷⁸

In particular, his *Histoire des Variations des Églises Protestantes* (1688) shows the significance of primary source material as evidence against a narrative of Protestant origins. The margin is filled with references to medieval sources, including the edition, page number and, on occasion, even the translator of the text. This would have had to have been discussed with the printer, as the paragraphs are numbered and subtitled, and no accumulative bibliography is provided elsewhere. Bossuet provided bibliographic details to confirm the legitimacy of his statements, by presenting the origins of the source. For example, the references in the margins could be quite detailed, 'Fragm. Hist. Aquit. edita à Petro Pith. Bar t. XI. an 1017' refers to a fragment by Adémar of Chabannes, edited by Pierre Pithou (1539-1596) and published in his *Annalium et historiae Francorum scriptores coetani XII* (1588).⁷⁷⁹ This reference to Pithou's edition of Adémar of Chabannes is even more interesting as Pithou was a Calvinist, however, he abjured in 1573. There were multiple editions of Pithou's *Annalium et historiae* (1588, 1594) which, although not listed amongst Bossuet's personal library, would have been available to him at the Bibliothèque de Roi. The

⁷⁷⁵ J. R. Armogathe, "Bossuet et l'erudition protestante de son temps", *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français* 153 (April 2007): 264.

⁷⁷⁶ E. Kearns, *Ideas in seventeenth century France: the most important thinkers and the climate of ideas in which they worked* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1979), 126.

⁷⁷⁷ Rébelliau, *Bossuet, historien du protestantisme*, 1; J.-L. Quantin, *Bossuet* (Paris, Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 2008), 30.

⁷⁷⁸ Kearns, *Ideas in seventeenth century France*, 126.

⁷⁷⁹ Bossuet, *HDV*, 172.

majority of Pierre Pithou's valuable library of manuscripts was subsumed into the Bibliothèque de Roi upon his death.⁷⁸⁰ Bossuet certainly used the Bibliothèque de Roi as a resource, he even organised meetings throughout the 1660s in the library. This *petite concile* of scholars, such as Louis de Compiègne de Veil and his brother Charles-Marie, helped Bossuet produce rebuttal to Protestant treatises.⁷⁸¹ There is also evidence Bossuet consulted the Bibliothèque de M. de Seignelay, formerly the Bibliothèque de Colbert, as he included the manuscript *Enquêtes faites juridiquement contre les Vaudois de Pragelas & autres Vallées, en 1495*, which was only available in this library.⁷⁸² Despite his detailed references it is still unclear which edition of *Annalium et historiae* Bossuet consulted. However, Bossuet intended the references as justification for his polemical argument, not as a guide to specific editions. This is clear by the positioning of the references alongside his argument, instead of providing a bibliography.⁷⁸³ Bossuet's referencing was manipulated to provide even greater factual accuracy and weight of evidence to his version of Protestant history.

As well as detailed referencing, Bossuet also translated all his sources from Latin into French, in order to reach a widespread, lay audience. This meant that even those who were not learned scholars could read the evidence of the medieval sources for themselves. For example, Bossuet translated sections of a Latin edition of Ralph Glaber 'Glabri Rodulphi cluniacensis monachi historiarum sui temporis libri quinque' by André Duchesne (1584-1640), historiographer to the king.⁷⁸⁴ Bossuet owned an edition of Duchesne's *Historia Francorum scriptores coetanei* (1636-1649) which he evidently translated from Latin into French.⁷⁸⁵ For example, Bossuet used Glaber to chart the aftermath of 'ce temps & en 1017, sous le Roy Robert on decouvrit a Orleans des heretiques'.⁷⁸⁶ Bossuet could easily have kept a passage from Glaber in Latin, instead of writing the historical narrative in French. Therefore, Bossuet's intention is clear: through his use of the vernacular and detailed

⁷⁸⁰ D. Kelley, *Foundations of Modern Historical Scholarship: Language, Law and History in the French Renaissance* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1970), 261.

⁷⁸¹ N. Dew, "A Gymnosophist at Versailles: A Geography of Knowledge in the Iconography of Louis XIV", in *Exploring Cultural History: Essays in Honour of Peter Burke* ed. J. P. Rubiés, M. Calaresu, F. de Vivo (Ashgate Publishing, 2010), 256.

⁷⁸² Lelong, *Bibliothèque historique de la France*, 374.

⁷⁸³ Bossuet, *HDV*.

⁷⁸⁴ R. Glaber, "Glabri Rodulphi cluniacensis monachi historiarum sui temporis libri quinque", in *Historia Francorum scriptores coetanei*, edited by A. Duchesne (Paris, 1641), 1-58.

⁷⁸⁵ *Catalogue des livres de la bibliothèque de messieurs Bossuet, anciens évêques de Meaux & de Troyes, qui se vendra à l'amiable le lundi 3 décembre 1742 dans une des Salles du Couvent des rr. pp. Augustins* (chez Pierre Gandouin, à la Belle Image, 1742), 31, no.464.

⁷⁸⁶ Bossuet, *HDV*, 170-171.

references in the marginalia, he did not want his meaning to be misinterpreted or obscured by scholarly language. Instead the *Histoire des Variations* is aimed at a general audience as a comprehensive argument against Protestant historiography. By translating twelfth-century sources into French, those who would not normally have access to collections of medieval writings could have an extensive knowledge of the subject from a single chapter of Bossuet's work. Further evidence of the intended audience of Bossuet's *Histoire des Variations des Églises Protestantes* is in the size of the first edition, as a duodecimo at a height of 16 cm, it was easily carried in a satchel, and therefore could be a readily consultable reference book.⁷⁸⁷ The size, consistent French language, and easy referencing system in the marginalia was effective in establishing the popularity of Bossuet's work.⁷⁸⁸ Indeed, a second edition was produced within a year, and *Histoire des Variations* was reprinted in over seven editions by 1750. The transnational popularity of Bossuet's work was reflected in the polemical responses it drew from across Europe.

Bossuet predominantly used modern editions of medieval sources, particularly editions with a good reputation for reliability amongst his contemporaries. As Bossuet was trying to establish a definitive argument against the Protestants, he would not allow for any error in factual accuracy, using only those editions that were considered authoritative. For instance, Bossuet used editions produced by Luc D'Achery (1609-1685), the librarian of the Benedictine Congregation of St Maur, who was renowned as comprehensive bibliographer and collector of medieval texts. The most famous edition of medieval works D'Achery produced must be his *Spicilegium sive collectio veterum...* (Paris, 1655–1677). This collection remained important well into the eighteenth century; Étienne Baluze and Edmond Martène published an extended edition in 1723. Bossuet uses D'Achery's *Spicilegium* to compare with Glaber the events of the heretics in Orléans in 1017, referring to the *Acta conciliar Orléans*.⁷⁸⁹ Therefore, it is clear that by using editions of medieval sources by a renowned medievalist such as D'Achery Bossuet was anxious to provide the reader with factual accuracy and a comprehensive understanding of the evidence. D'Achery also published and edited for the first time the works of Abbot Guibert of Nogent (*Venerabilis Guiberti...*, Paris, 1651) with

⁷⁸⁷ Bossuet, *HDV*.

⁷⁸⁸ I am grateful to Peter Biller for sharing with me data from his 'Note on the sources of Bossuet's account of medieval heresies in *Histoire des Variations*, book 11', forthcoming in P. Biller and L.J. Sackville (eds.) *Inquisition and Knowledge*.

⁷⁸⁹ Bossuet, *HDV*, 170.

an appendix of other eleventh and twelfth-century writings. According to the sale of his personal collection of books in 1742, Bossuet owned a copy of *Venerabilis Guiberti abbatis B. Mariae de Novigento Opera omnia* (1651).⁷⁹⁰ Bossuet recognized the importance of owning modern editions of medieval texts, enabling him to deny Protestant claims upon history. In fact, the sales catalogue lists Bossuet's library as 1,470 books, including a section designated as 'heterodoxi'.⁷⁹¹ Bossuet evidently read the works of Luther and Zwingli, as well as *Bellum Hussiticum* (1621) and Limborch's *Historia Inquisitionis* (1692), in order to refute them.⁷⁹² Bossuet also owned works by regional historians such as *Mémoires de l'Histoire du Languedoc* (1633), by Guillaume Catel (1560-1626).⁷⁹³ The Bishop of Meaux built upon the evidence of well-renowned contemporary historians, who had philological, regional or antiquarian specialisms.

Bossuet's use of modern editions of medieval sources was so extensive that he was mainly reliant upon compilations of medieval texts.⁷⁹⁴ Margarit de la Bigne (1546-1595), a French theologian with an interest in patristics, published a collection of works by more than 200 authors, *Appendix Bibliothecae Sanctorum Patrum* (1579). This collection was intended to provide sources to support the arguments of Catholic theologians in their refutation of reformist ideas. It was reprinted seven times, even after De La Bigne's death, with later editions adding more texts. By the 1670s De la Bigne's collection had extended to include seventeenth-century editions of medieval works, in the *Maxima bibliotheca veterum patrum et antiquorum scriptorum ecclesiasticorum* (1677).⁷⁹⁵ Thus, this was the most modern edition of a large collection of various heretical sources available to Bossuet. Indeed, Bossuet evidently thought it was worth purchasing all twenty-six volumes of the *Maxima*, which he kept in his personal library. In his polemical approach to Protestant history he relied upon the collection greatly.⁷⁹⁶ For example, volume twenty-four of *Maxima bibliotheca* held Jacob Gretser's 1613 edition of the Pseudo-Reinerius, which Bossuet references over twenty-five times in *Histoire des Variations*.⁷⁹⁷ This was considered the authoritative edition of Reinerius

⁷⁹⁰ *Catalogue de la bibliothèque de Bossuet*, 7, no.110.

⁷⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 9-10.

⁷⁹² *Ibid.*

⁷⁹³ *Ibid.*, 33, no. 503.

⁷⁹⁴ P. Biller, 'Note on the sources of Bossuet's account of medieval heresies in *Histoire des Variations*, book 11', forthcoming in P. Biller and L.J. Sackville (eds.), *Inquisition and Knowledge*.

⁷⁹⁵ P. Despont and M. De la Bigne (eds.), *Maxima bibliotheca veterum patrum et antiquorum scriptorum ecclesiasticorum*, (Lyon: Anisson, 1677).

⁷⁹⁶ *Catalogue de la bibliothèque de Bossuet*, 7 no.111.

⁷⁹⁷ Despont and De la Bigne (eds.), *Maxima bibliotheca*, vol. 24.

Sacconi's *Contra Waldenses* at the time; Gretser (1562-1625), a Jesuit scholar and polemicist, published writings against heretics from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries including the works of Ebrard de Bethune, Pellicdorf, Bernard of Fons Calidus, Ermengard and Reinerius Sacconi.⁷⁹⁸ Bossuet did not own a separate edition of Gretser, which confirms that he used the *Maxima bibliotheca veterum* (1677). Furthermore, through Bossuet's detailed referencing it can be established that he used the *Maxima bibliotheca veterum* (1677) as his main source.⁷⁹⁹ For example, when quoting Peter the Venerable (1092-1156) the Abbot of Cluny's writings against Peter of Bruys (1117-c.1131), a heretical preacher in Dauphiné and Provence, Bossuet references it as 'Petr. Ven. cont. Petrob. T. XXII. Bib. Max. p.1034.'⁸⁰⁰ This reference clearly states that Bossuet is using the *Maxima bibliotheca veterum* 'Bib. Max.' and even provides the page number 'p.1034', which is accurate when corroborated with volume twenty-two of the 1677 edition.⁸⁰¹ This level of referencing is not common among early modern authors, and furthers the idea that Bossuet is attempting both clarity and comprehensiveness in order to persuade his readership of the false doctrinal heritage of the Protestant church.

The *Histoire des Variations* reads as a compendium of medieval sources.⁸⁰² Bossuet's erudition was unparalleled, for instance he quotes Nicolas Vignier (1530-1596), a jurist and theologian, whose work *Recueil de l'histoire de l'Eglise* (Leiden, 1601) included a fragmentary excerpt by an anonymous author who gave a detailed account of the Cathars in Lombardy.⁸⁰³ This fragment Vignier dated from 1023, although more accurately it is known to be composed before 1214.⁸⁰⁴ Little is known of the Lombard author except that he knew enough about the Catharist groups that he may himself have been a member of the sect.⁸⁰⁵ The fragment Vignier published was not widely used by historians of the Albigensians until the full manuscript was found and edited by Antoine Dondaine, who named it *De heresi catharorum*, in 1949.⁸⁰⁶ Dondaine divides the fragment into two sections, the first a historical

⁷⁹⁸ J. Gretser (ed.), *Lucae Tudensis episcopi scriptores aliquot succedanei contra sectam Waldensium* (Andreas Angermarius, Ingolstadt, 1613).

⁷⁹⁹ Biller, 'Note on the sources of Bossuet', forthcoming *Inquisition and Knowledge*.

⁸⁰⁰ Bossuet, *HDV*, 206.

⁸⁰¹ Despont and De la Bigne (eds.), *Maxima bibliotheca*, vol. 22, 1034.

⁸⁰² Biller, 'Note on the sources of Bossuet', forthcoming *Inquisition and Knowledge*.

⁸⁰³ Bossuet, *HDV*, 2, 175.

⁸⁰⁴ Dondaine, "La hiérarchie...Le 'De heresi Catharorum in Lombardia'", 282-283.

⁸⁰⁵ W. L. Wakefield and A. P. Evans (eds.), *Heresies of the High Middle Ages*, 2nd edition, (New York, 1991), 160.

⁸⁰⁶ Biller, 'Note on the sources of Bossuet', forthcoming *Inquisition and Knowledge*.

account, the second an exposition of heretical theology in Lombardy.⁸⁰⁷ The first narrative section is that which Vignier published and Bossuet quotes, describing the beginning of schism between Cathars in Lombardy.⁸⁰⁸ Once more, for the benefit of the reader, Bossuet translates the text that Vignier ‘transcrit tout entier en latin, veut dire en Français’.⁸⁰⁹ Bossuet quotes the fragment directly from its opening sentence ‘Que dès que l’hérésie des Bulgares commença à se multiplier dans la Lombardie’, before turning to a comparison with Reinerius Sacconi who ‘s’accorde tres-bien avec l’auteur de Vignier’.⁸¹⁰ This corroboration of multiple sources strengthens Bossuet’s case for the origins of the Albigensian sect in Bulgaria.⁸¹¹ By situating the Albigensian origins outside of France and northern Italy, Bossuet is subverting the cultural identity of the Huguenots in Languedoc and Provence.

Conclusion

Overall, it is clear that although orthodox Catholic bishops perpetuated the idea that the Albigensians were the heretical forefathers of contemporary heresy, their motivation behind this differed. These authors shared the same vehement rhetoric against the Albigensians and Waldensians, and in their role as bishops, defended the authority of the traditional historiography of the Roman Church. Both Abelly (as leader of a seminary) and Bossuet (as tutor to the Dauphin) had positions of power, which led them to appeal to the authority of History. These authors inherited the trope of the Albigensian Crusade from polemical tracts of the French Wars of Religion. Yet, Du Perron, Abelly, and Bossuet employed this trope differently. Indeed, Abelly even addressed it against a new opponent, the Jansenists, rather than the traditional narrative of the Protestant reformers. In contrast, Bossuet used the examples of the Albigensians and Waldensians to address Protestant authors using their own language. Similarly, DuPerron debated with Du-Plessis Mornay, quoting his own rejection of medieval saints as a historical source. Bossuet aimed to undermine the establishment of a narrative of resistance to the Pope created by Protestant historians, which had become part of a cultural identity of Protestant reformers.

⁸⁰⁷ Dondaine, “La hiérarchie...Le ‘De heresi Cathororum in Lombardia’”, 282-283.

⁸⁰⁸ Biller, ‘Note on the sources of Bossuet’, forthcoming *Inquisition and Knowledge*.

⁸⁰⁹ Bossuet, *HDV*, 175.

⁸¹⁰ *Ibid.*

⁸¹¹ *Ibid.*

The methodology used by Abelly and Bossuet differed greatly. Abelly's attack on the Jansenists focussed on the story of St Louis resplendent in leading battles against the heretics. He does this to reiterate the political implications of heresy; that a Jansenist faction at court had betrayed the king. In contrast to Bossuet's questioning and corroboration of an extensive number of medieval sources, Abelly is concerned with a few (such as the aforementioned ordinance) that glorify St Louis, and merely copies them into his work. Comparisons between the Jansenists and Albigensians were not common, with much more emphasis on the parallels between Jansenists and Protestant reform. Therefore, Abelly used the Albigensian heresy more as a literary trope than a detailed historical case study, because he did not need to erode a pre-existing argument with greater historical evidence.

On the other hand, Bossuet's level of erudition and learning demonstrated in the *Histoire des Variations* is remarkable. The bibliographical breadth of the work, and the analysis and corroboration of medieval sources which he translated into easily readable French, is unprecedented.⁸¹² This shows the extent to which the Catholic Church considered Protestant versions of history a threat. It also demonstrates the importance of the authority of History to the Church. Bossuet believed that by showing Protestants the origins of their faith, the problems with Albigensian and Waldensian theology, and the great variations within the Protestant movement itself, they would be convinced of their error and return to Catholicism.⁸¹³ Indeed, it would be wrong to discount Bossuet's work as vehement polemical attack. Rather he used sheer erudition to prove to Protestants that their conviction in their theology, based upon the authority of historical tradition, was flawed.

Fundamentally, these works show the effort by orthodox bishops to counteract heresy through historical example, contributing to the increasingly distinct lines between polemic and confessional history. There is also a change in tone throughout the seventeenth century. Du Perron's public disputation with Du-Plessis Mornay was less concerned with the actual beliefs or practices of medieval heretics. Instead they debated the theological issues of the authority of the accounts of medieval saints, and whether the medieval Catholic Church could be trusted as a source of accurate information on medieval heresy. Abelly, writing in the early 1660s, was more worried by the rise of Jansenist theology. After the Revocation of the Edict

⁸¹² Biller, 'Note on the sources of Bossuet', forthcoming *Inquisition and Knowledge*.

⁸¹³ Cerny, *Theology, Politics and Letters*, 205.

of Nantes, however, there arose a need to justify violence against Calvinists by constructing a narrative that denied its legitimacy through tradition. Bossuet, in particular, aimed to thwart the growing historiography of Protestantism by addressing it on its own terms, using the medieval examples his opponents had appropriated to form a cultural identity of Protestantism in the south of France. The Bishop of Meaux undermined this Protestant narrative, through his use of detailed source material, analysed and referenced so it could not be challenged, yet translated into French for all to read. It is clear, therefore, that as much as Protestants were perceived as a threat to France, they were considered an even greater threat to the history of the true church.

Chapter 5

Huguenot ministers and exiles

“God hath never left himself without witnesses, but from time to time he raises up instruments to publish his grace... to the end they may discern the Church which began in Abel from that which began in Caine”

Jean Paul Perrin, *Luther's Forerunners: or, A cloud of Witnesses, deposing for the Protestant Faith, gathered together in the Historie of the Waldenses* (1624)

Ideas of medieval heresy in seventeenth-century France were indelibly intertwined with ideas of Huguenot identity, thus, it is unsurprising that French Huguenot exiles were greatly concerned with shaping this historical narrative and circulated it to a wider European audience. French Protestants began to write upon the comparison between themselves and the Albigensians and Waldensians in martyrologies and treatises during the French Wars of Religion.⁸¹⁴ However, the exile of French Protestants rendered the Albigensian and Waldensian heresies even more significant. Through the Huguenot diaspora, after the Edict of Nantes in 1685, more nuanced ideas about persecution and toleration came to the fore.⁸¹⁵

Protestant refugees were important figures in the exploration of ideas about medieval heresy. Their identification with the Albigensians and Waldensians was thoroughly linked to the sects' geographical origin in the south of France⁸¹⁶. The Waldensians became memorialised alongside the French Wars of Religion in a historical narrative of inherited persecution.⁸¹⁷ Yet, by spreading across Europe and North America, Huguenots' concepts of medieval heretics became intermingled with other transnational narratives of exile.⁸¹⁸ Through expulsion, and the process of founding the Calvinist Church in new countries, Huguenot authors developed controversial ideas about the nature of toleration and the extent that it should be upheld by the state. Alongside arguments for individual religious conscience, Huguenot writers created a corporate identity rooted in the succession of the true Church

⁸¹⁴ Racaut, *Hatred in Print*, 122-125.

⁸¹⁵ Adams, *The Huguenots and French Opinion, 1685-1787*.

⁸¹⁶ Racaut, *Hatred in Print*, 116.

⁸¹⁷ Van der Linden, “Histories of Martyrdom and Suffering”, 352-353.

⁸¹⁸ For the comparison with the Jewish Diaspora by Jacques Basnage see - Cerny, *Theology, Politics and Letters*, 198-199.

based on their readings of medieval sources. This was particularly true of ministers of the Walloon Church in Rotterdam, in the writings of Pierre Jurieu (1637-1713), Jacques Basnage (1653-1723), and in the works of Pierre Allix (1641-1717) in London.

This chapter adds to a field that has traditionally been dominated by two strands of intellectual history, namely historians' focus on sixteenth-century Renaissance intellectual culture and the polemic of the French Wars of Religion.⁸¹⁹ The Huguenot account of the Albigensians was deeply integrated with the political situation in the context of the Counter-Reformation and aftermath of the French Wars of Religion, and spread across Europe in the wake of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685). By emphasising Calvinist thought on medieval heresy it reveals the continued significance of historical writing on the Albigensians and Waldensians in the seventeenth century. This is the first study of Calvinist views of these sects that expands beyond the sixteenth-century interest in martyrologies and post-Revocation pastoral letters.

Sixteenth-Century French Protestants & Medieval Heresy

The initial phases of development of an early modern Calvinist interpretation of the Albigensians and Waldensians were driven by the interwoven nature of Renaissance humanism, antiquarianism and reformers' attitudes towards Church history. Sue Barnet and Yvres Krumenacker have examined the Protestant appeal to history for legitimacy, particularly in relation to Renaissance humanism.⁸²⁰ The authoritative nature of history in Renaissance culture and the significance of tradition in the theological doctrine of the Church became central to the debates between reformers and the Roman Church.

During the sixteenth century, Renaissance humanism cast the authority of antiquity as the cornerstone of intellectual endeavour; novelty was considered erroneous, a corruption of the perfection of antiquity. Humanists returned to the original texts and examined works in other languages besides Latin, leading to a re-evaluation of Scripture and a focus on the authoritative nature of aetiological narratives; the original or earliest example had greater purity and was thought to help the understanding of the present. The importance of history

⁸¹⁹ Racaut, "The Polemical use of the Albigensian Crusade"; Barnet, "Where was your church before Luther?".

⁸²⁰ Barnet, "Where was your church before Luther?", 14-41; Krumenacker, "The use of history by French Protestants", 189-204.

and origins as a source of authority in the culture of the Renaissance demanded the development of a Calvinist confessional narrative of the history of the Church.⁸²¹ Theological concepts of the apostolic succession and Christocentric historicity of Scripture made the need to be linked to the true, early Church. In tension with the authority of the continual Church throughout history, calls for reform of the Church voiced by Protestants required a historical explanation. Protestants constructed an account of the corruption of the true church by the Roman Church in the medieval period, specifically by the papacy. This narrative was repeated consistently throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and sharpened ideas about the Pope as Antichrist and the medieval as superstitious. Medieval heresy was characterised by Protestants, therefore, as either the rightful opposition to papal authority faced with persecution, or as the superstitious beliefs of those overlooked and untaught by the failing Roman Church.

Comparisons between Protestants and Waldensians were common in the sixteenth century, as the sect remained active upon the eve of the Reformation.⁸²² The Waldensians were assumed by Calvinists to have originated in the 1170s from a merchant named Valdo, who sparked a lay-preaching movement in Lyon in the twelfth century. From the fourteenth century onwards they were known to have had a presence in the south western Alps between the Dauphiné and Piedmont, and Waldensian communities existed in Provence, Calabria and Apulia in south Italy.⁸²³ By the early sixteenth century, the Waldensians were being compared to the reformers, and their worldview was embraced by reformers as a more compatible antecedent to Protestant theology than Albigensian dualism. In 1530 two Waldensians, Georges Morel of Freissinières and Pierre Masson, were welcomed by the reformers Guillaume Farel and Berthold Haller of Berne, Oecolampadius of Basel and Martin Bucer in Strasbourg to see if an understanding between the two groups could be reached.⁸²⁴

Jean Crespin (1520-72), a Protestant lawyer forced into exile for his beliefs to Strasbourg and later Geneva, compiled a martyrology in the 1560s with examples of opposition to the Catholic Church.⁸²⁵ Crespin's *Actes des Martyrs* became an authoritative martyrology,

⁸²¹ Barnett, 'Where was your church before Luther?', 14.

⁸²² J. Feuchter 'Albigenser und Hugenotten', in *Reformer als Ketzer*, eds. G. Frank and F. Niewöhner (Stuttgart: Melanchthon-Schriften Der Stadt Bretten, 2004), 321-353.

⁸²³ Cameron, *The Reformation of the Heretics*, 7.

⁸²⁴ E. Cameron, *Waldenses: Rejections of Holy Church in Medieval Europe* (Hoboken: Wiley, 2001), 216.

⁸²⁵ J. Crespin, *Actes des martyrs deduits en sept livres, depuis le temps de Wiclef et de Hus, jusques à present. Contenant un recueil de vraye histoire ecclesiastique, de ceux qui ont constamment enduré la mort ès derniers*

extending to 1,800 pages, and was reprinted well into the seventeenth century.⁸²⁶ Crespin referred to the Waldensian emissaries Morel and Masson in the 1564 edition of *Actes des Martyrs* as meeting ‘pour conférer de la doctrine de l’Evangile’ after which they admitted that ‘leurs anciens Ministres ne les avoient enseignex en telle pureté’.⁸²⁷ Through this section Crespin recognised that the Waldensians had much in common with Protestants, but presented them as mistaken, and needing the guidance of the Lutherans.⁸²⁸ Crespin also celebrated the conciliatory attitudes of Waldensians and Lutherans; in the margin is printed a note on their acceptance by the Reformed Church who with ‘solicitude qu’avoit ce peuple d’être fidèlement instruit en la vérité’.⁸²⁹ By the mid 1550s a structured Vaudois Protestant church had sprung up, with missionary pastors from Geneva moving to the valleys of Piedmont, and reorganizing worship in accordance with Genevan and French Calvinism.⁸³⁰ Yet, any integration was fraught with difficulty and considered dangerous by many reformers due to Waldensian associations with witchcraft and anti-Trinitarian beliefs.⁸³¹ Despite their reconciliation to Calvinism remaining a controversial issue amongst reformers, the Waldensians served as an emotive example of cruel and unfair persecution of other Christians at the hands of the Roman Church. Indeed the massacre of Mérindol in 1545 was repeatedly referred to by Protestants as evidence of Catholic cruelty in contrast to Waldensian piety, for example Jean Crespin’s *Histoire memorable de la persecution et saccagement du peuple de Mérindol et Cabrieres* (1555) details the actions taken ‘contre ces Lutheriens de Mérindol’.⁸³² By describing the Waldensians as ‘Lutheriens’ Crespin directly supported the view that the Waldensians were Protestant, even if they were not Calvinist.⁸³³ Crespin, therefore, reflected the sixteenth-century reformers’ preoccupation with making the Waldensians prophets of the Reformation, particularly their role in pointing out the corruption of Rome in the face of oppression.

The Albigensians became a subject of Catholic debate in the latter half of the sixteenth century. The failed coup of the Amboise conspiracy in 1560, triggered Catholic polemicists

temps, pour la vérité du Fils de Dieu, de ceux qui ont constamment enduré la mort ès derniers temps, pour la vérité du Fils de Dieu (Geneva, 1564).

⁸²⁶ J. Crespin and ed. S. Goulart, *Histoire des martyrs, persecutez et mis a mort Nouvelle & derniere Edition*, (Geneva: P. Aubert, 1619). Van der Linden, “Histories of Martyrdom and Suffering”, 352.

⁸²⁷ Crespin, *Actes des martyrs* (1564), 189.

⁸²⁸ Ibid.

⁸²⁹ Ibid.

⁸³⁰ Cameron, *The Reformation of the Heretics*, 171.

⁸³¹ Ibid. 188.

⁸³² Crespin, *Histoire memorable de la persecution*, 4.

⁸³³ Ibid.

such as Arnaud Sorbin, Jean du Tillet and Jean Gay to draw comparisons between the political situation and the Albigensian Crusade.⁸³⁴ Catholic polemicists used the Albigensian Crusade as evidence of the need to annihilate heresy, to eradicate it completely through crusade, and urged the king to undertake a similar response to Protestantism. In response, Protestant authors adopted a rhetoric of victimhood, facing unfair persecution akin to that faced by medieval heretics.⁸³⁵ In 1565 Crespin re-published the *Actes des Martyrs*, ten years after the first edition, with additional martyrs from the medieval period, such as Wycliffe and Hus; ‘pour monstrier quelle instruction et consolation nous revient d'eux et de leurs faicts héroïques’.⁸³⁶ The third edition, printed posthumously in 1582, drew parallels even further back to the persecutions of the early church, including a short reference to the Albigensians and a passage on the significance of the Vaudois.⁸³⁷ Crespin’s overall description of the Waldensians and Albigensians as forerunners of Protestants was, therefore, mostly concerned with their depiction as martyrs, suffering for the cause of the true church. David van der Linden argued that the popularity of Crespin’s work set the tone for a ‘vocabulary of victimhood’ that would characterise Huguenot writings throughout the seventeenth century.⁸³⁸

Crespin’s influential martyrology was not the only sixteenth century work to begin to recognise the inheritance from medieval heretical groups. Jean Chassanion (1531-1598), who was a pastor at Montauban and Montpellier, wrote a *Histoire des Albigeois, touchant leur doctrine et religion* (1595), one of the first Protestant histories that characterised the Albigensians as the forerunners of the reformers.⁸³⁹ Michel Jas and Anne Brenon’s recent modern edition of Chassanion’s work emphasizes this narrative of continuation between the Albigensians and Reformed Church.⁸⁴⁰ Chassanion defended ‘les pources Albigeois come petis troupeaux furieusement assaillis et devores par une milliasse de loups enragés, pour ne vouloir consentir aux cérémonies et superstitions de l'Église Romaine’.⁸⁴¹ Chassanion took

⁸³⁴ Racaut, *Hatred in print*, 102-107.

⁸³⁵ Van der Linden, “Histories of Martyrdom and Suffering”, 352.

⁸³⁶ Crespin, *Actes des martyrs*, preface, v.

⁸³⁷ Tucker, *Construction of Reformed Identity in Crespin*, 32.

⁸³⁸ Van der Linden, “Histories of Martyrdom and Suffering”, 352.

⁸³⁹ J. Chassanion, *Histoire des Albigeois: touchant leur doctrine et religion, contre les faux bruits qui ont esté semés d'eux, et les écrits dont on les a à tort diffamés : et de la cruelle et longue guerre qui leur a esté faite, pour ravir les terres et seigneuries d'autrui, sous couleur de voir extirper l'hérésie. Le tout recueilli fidelement de deux vieux exemplaires écrits à la main, l'un au langage du Languedoc, l'autre en vieil Français* (Geneva: Pierre de Saint-André, 1595).

⁸⁴⁰ Chassanion, *Histoire des Albigeois* ed. Brenon, Jas, Poupin (2019).

⁸⁴¹ Chassanion, *Histoire des Albigeois* (1595 edition), 7.

Crespin's brief mention of Albigensians amongst the martyrs further, into an extensive history of the 'furieusement assaillis' perpetrated against them by Rome.⁸⁴² Indeed, Chassanion advised Catherine de Bourbon in the dedicatory epistle 'être tant plus confirmés en la cognoissance que Dieu... a l'imitation des Martyrs et Albigeois, qui ont mieux aimé mourir et endurer le feu, que de fléchir et ployer le genouil avant Baal'.⁸⁴³ By encouraging 'l'imitation des Martyrs et Albigeois' Chassanion equated the medieval sect to early church martyrs, building a greater heritage to reform that stretched even further back but included Albigensians in the lineage of true believers.⁸⁴⁴ He also compared the Albigensians with the 7,000 Israelites who refused to bow before the idol Baal (1 Kings 19:18), who in Romans 11:4-5 are described as the remnant of Israel, remaining faithful to the true God.⁸⁴⁵ This reference to Romans 11 where the disciples of Christ are compared to a historical example of faithful believers, the 7,000 Israelites, provided Chassanion with biblical precedence for appealing to history for examples of true worship. Chassanion was encouraging the Protestant church in the face of persecution; the *Histoire des Albigeois* was published in the midst of the final war (1585-1598) of the French Wars of Religion.⁸⁴⁶

Based in Montpellier, Chassanion had access to manuscript sources on medieval heresy in the Occitan language.⁸⁴⁷ The title page of *Histoire des Albigeois* alludes to two documents transcribed in the appendix, one in old French and one in 'langue Occitanie'.⁸⁴⁸ Luc Racaut suggests the Occitan manuscript was obtained by the ministers of Montauban after the synod of Nîmes in 1572; it was presumably a copy of the *Chanson de la croisade albigeoise* by Guillaume de Tudèle (1213).⁸⁴⁹ Chassanion critiqued Arnaud Sorbin (1532-1606), the bishop of Nevers, for his translation of this source, arguing that Sorbin's French edition contained an entire chapter not mentioned in the Occitan original. This is evidence of a Calvinist writer adapting the same historical sources as a Catholic bishop to support their opposing

⁸⁴² Ibid.

⁸⁴³ Ibid., 9.

⁸⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁴⁵ 1 Kings 19:18 'Yet I reserve seven thousand in Israel—all whose knees have not bowed down to Baal and whose mouths have not kissed him', Romans 11:4-5 'And what was God's answer to him? "I have reserved for myself seven thousand who have not bowed the knee to Baal." So too, at the present time there is a remnant chosen by grace.'

⁸⁴⁶ Toti, 'Sulle prime *Historiae* di Catari e Valdesi', 42-3.

⁸⁴⁷ Krumenacker and Wang, "Cathares, vaudois, hussites, ancêtres de la Réforme?", 35.

⁸⁴⁸ Chassanion, *Histoire des Albigeois* (1595 edition), title page.

⁸⁴⁹ Racaut, "The Polemical use of the Albigensian Crusade", 273. For the suggestion that it was the *Chanson* see Krumenacker and Wang, "Cathares, vaudois, hussites, ancêtres de la Réforme?", 35 and Toti, 'Sulle prime *Historiae* di Catari e Valdesi', 43.

confessional arguments. The main manuscript that Chassanion refers to throughout, however, is by Jacques Ribera, who wrote against the Vaudois in Toulouse in his *Collecteana Tolosae*.⁸⁵⁰ Ribera's work is rarely mentioned in other early modern works, however it does feature in Nicolas Vignier's extensive *Théâtre de l'Antéchrist* (1613) where he attributed Jacques Ribera's commentary to 1206.⁸⁵¹ As Krumenacker indicates, Chassanion's *Histoire des Albigeois* was a turning point in Calvinist writing on the Albigensians and Waldensians in the acceptance of the association with these groups, but the denial of their heresy.⁸⁵² Chassanion's work is evidence that by the end of the sixteenth century Protestant authors had used the comparison with the Albigensians that originated in Catholic polemic and twisted it to their advantage, claiming a systematic history of oppression from Rome and proof of the Pope as Antichrist.

The claim of a heritage in the Albigensians and Waldensians was used as polemical rebuttal; the appeal of the medieval sects to Huguenot authors is clear. The martyrological tradition established in the sixteenth century 'straddled the boundary between a body of interpretation and a compilation of original documents' that perpetuated the concept of a heritable true Church that suffered at the hands of the Pope.⁸⁵³ Calvinists viewed the Albigensians as attempting to create a pure church without the necessity of: hierarchy; transubstantiation; the invocation of the saints; purgatory; prayers for the dead. To Huguenots, the Waldensians reflected Protestant values upon Scripture, as they produced vernacular translations of the Bible, encouraged lay preaching, and denied the hierarchy of the priesthood. Significantly, both groups were home-grown - French in their nature, leadership and subsequent persecution, much like the Calvinists of the sixteenth century.⁸⁵⁴ As a result, the trope of the Albigensians and Waldensians as precursors to the Reformation became a standardised argument, with both Catholic and Protestant sides emphasising this theological heritage, albeit for different purposes.

⁸⁵⁰ Krumenacker and Wang, "Cathares, vaudois, hussites, ancêtres de la Réforme?", 35.

⁸⁵¹ N. Vignier, *Théâtre de l'Antéchrist: auquel est respondu au Cardinal Bellarmín, au Sieur de Remond, à Pererius, Ribera, Viegas, Sanderus & autres qui par leurs escrits condamnent la doctrine des églises réformés sur se sujet* (Geneva, 1613), 359.

⁸⁵² Krumenacker and Wang, "Cathares, vaudois, hussites, ancêtres de la Réforme?", 35.

⁸⁵³ Walsham, "The Social History of the Archive", 42.

⁸⁵⁴ Élisabeth Labrousse explores Huguenot claims to French citizenship before the Revocation through the heritage of French medieval heretics. She suggests that support for the French king was incongruous with the Huguenot rejection of the Virgin Mary (and, thus, the miracles of the king of France) which is why Huguenots sought French ancestors in E. Labrousse, "La doctrine politique des huguenots, 1630-1685", in *Conscience et conviction. Études sur le XVIIe siècle* (Paris-Oxford, Universitas-Voltaire Foundation, 1996), 81-88.

Jean Paul Perrin (c.1576-c.1626)

By the early seventeenth century French authors had become less restrained in their support of the Waldensians, albeit often conflating them with the Albigensians, as shown by Jean Paul Perrin's influential work *Histoire des Vaudois* (1618), where the second part is named 'L'histoire des Vaudois appelés Albigeois'.⁸⁵⁵ By describing the Albigensians as Waldensians, Perrin was not only falling into a common mistake, but made Cathars more palatable to his readership, emphasising their theological commonalities and the continual history of the true Church. Jean Paul Perrin, a Protestant minister at Gap, Saint-Bonnet, Nyons and Serres, wrote several books vindicating the Albigensians and Waldensians as being in line with Protestant thought. Perrin was renowned amongst his contemporaries for defending the historical tradition of the Waldensians, and framed this in inflammatory language, condemning the papacy as the whore of Babylon described in Revelation, and fervently denying the Manichaeism of the Albigensians and Waldensians.⁸⁵⁶

Perrin was commissioned by the synod of La Rochelle in 1607 to produce a history of the Albigensians that not only examined their persecution, but their doctrines and practices as well.⁸⁵⁷ The resulting work, built on the collections of documents by pastors of the Dauphiné, *Histoire des chrestiens albigeois : contenant les longues guerres, persécutions qu'ils ont souffert à cause de la doctrine de l'Evangile*, was published in Geneva in 1618, and formed the second and third parts of his broader *Histoire des Vaudois* (1618). Perrin's work was popular, it was reprinted six times and translated into multiple languages by 1711.⁸⁵⁸ It also featured in the works of later commentators of the Albigensian heresy, particularly those of Pierre Allix and Samuel Morland.⁸⁵⁹ The synod evidently considered the commission important, as they granted financial remuneration of three hundred pounds to Perrin, and

⁸⁵⁵ J. Perrin, *Histoire des Vaudois* (Geneva: Matthieu Berjon, 1618), title page.

⁸⁵⁶ Ibid., 253-256; Toti, 'Sulle prime *Historiae* di Catari e Valdesi', 45-6.

⁸⁵⁷ J. Aymon *Tous les Synodes Nationaux des Églises reformées de France, auxquels on a joint des mandemens roiaux, et plusieurs lettres politiques, sur ces matieres synodales, intitulées doctrine, culte, morale, discipline, cas de conscience*, I, (*The Hague: Charles Delo, 1710*), 404, accessed Feb 3, 2017, <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k116893s361>.

⁸⁵⁸ Toti, 'Sulle prime *Historiae* di Catari e Valdesi', 46.

⁸⁵⁹ Benedetti, *Il santo bottino*, 91.

appointed several people to check the sources used.⁸⁶⁰ The fact that a Protestant synod willingly spent such a large sum on a commission implies that this historical work was a significant part of the formation of a Protestant historiographical narrative, to counteract Catholic polemic against them. Moreover, as the work was fact-checked it suggests that the synod wanted an intellectually sound history, that could be defended for its accuracy and basis upon Albigensian sources.

Perrin was a significant figure and his works widely published throughout Europe; his *Histoire des Vaudois* (Geneva, 1618 and 1619) was reprinted in German (1623), Dutch (1624), and English (1624 and 1711). This is the first example of the Protestant narrative of Albigensian and Waldensian origins being translated and printed several times in multiple countries as well as circulated clandestinely in France from the printing city of Geneva. Perrin's book shows that the Albigensian-Waldensian narrative was not merely an argument in French polemic but of wider concern in European thought. By including the Albigensians in a Waldensian history, and by claiming the Waldensians as the forerunners of the Reformation, Perrin made the Albigensians no longer a French sect as a point of origin for French Protestants, but a fundamental seed in the germination of the Reformation. To make this even clearer, the English translation was entitled *Luthers fore-runners: or, A cloud of witnesses deposing for the Protestant faith. Gathered together in the historie of the Waldenses. Whereunto is prefixed, a treatise of the perpetuall visibilitie, and succession of the true Church in all ages.* (1624), referring not only to the Waldensians as the movement that led to the Lutheran Reformation, but as an example of the progression of 'the true church unto which Christ Jesus have delivered the keys', which joined the early church and the reformers in a unifying narrative.⁸⁶¹ This is why Perrin conflated the two sects of the Albigensians and the Waldensians, indeed the second part of the *Histoire des Vaudois* is, in fact, a history of the Albigensians.⁸⁶² By terming the Albigensians as earlier "Vaudois" Perrin can trace a consistent, unified opposition to Rome throughout history, a supposed consistency of tradition that aimed to give Protestants greater legitimacy.⁸⁶³ The title also refers to the great 'cloud of witnesses' in Hebrews 12:1, a biblical passage that emboldens the reader to

⁸⁶⁰ Aymon, *Tous les Synodes Nationaux des Églises réformées*, 404.

⁸⁶¹ J. P. Perrin, *Luther's Forerunners or, A cloud of witnesses deposing for the Protestant faith...* trans. Samson Lennard (London: Printed for Nathanael Newbery, 1624), 38.

⁸⁶² *Ibid.*, title page: "The second contains the historie of the Waldenses called Albingenses."

⁸⁶³ *Ibid.*, preface, page marked A2.

persist in their faith, due to the examples of faithfulness throughout history.⁸⁶⁴ This was clearly chosen to encourage Protestant readers that they might also persevere in spite of charges of heresy, akin to the Waldensians:

It will adde much to the glory of God, to follow this blood by the trace, gathering together the certaine proofes of the faith and constancie of millions of witnesses, who have sealed the truth with the losse of their owne times. They whose hearts God shall move to enlarge this historie, by the true narration of what hath passed touching this subject, in those places where it hath pleased the Lord to make them grow and increase.⁸⁶⁵

Perrin here draws upon the tradition of Protestant martyrological writing in the sixteenth century to show the consistent persecution of the Waldensians, ‘who have sealed the truth with the losse of their owne times’.⁸⁶⁶

Perrin’s historical analysis of the Waldensians was compiled again in a further two English books in 1624 and 1655, with further arguments added alongside the historical account. These works both emphasised the Waldensian’s oppression and particularly blamed this upon the cruelty of the papacy. *The bloody rage of that great antechrist of Rome...Declared at large in the historie of the Waldenses and Albigenses, apparently manifesting unto the world the visibilitie of our Church of England* (1624) highlighted the argument of the Pope as Antichrist. Once more, in 1655 the translation was adapted for an English audience and was re-named *Matchlesse crueltie, declared at large in the ensuing history of the Waldenses* (1655). This further emphasised the reports of persecution, adding ‘an exact narrative of the late bloody and barbarous massacres, murders, and other unheard of cruelties committed on many thousands of the Protestants, dwelling in the Valleys of Piedmont’.⁸⁶⁷ Therefore, Perrin’s work was clearly edited to address particular needs of the Protestant church and altered to align with current political events. Perrin’s *Histoire des Vaudois* reflected the

⁸⁶⁴ Hebrews 12:1 ‘Therefore, since we are surrounded by such a great cloud of witnesses, let us throw off everything that hinders and the sin that so easily entangles. And let us run with perseverance the race marked out for us.’

⁸⁶⁵ Perrin, *Luther’s Forerunners*, preface, page marked A3.

⁸⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁶⁷ J. P. Perrin, *Matchlesse crueltie, declared at large in the ensuing history of the Waldenses ...and other unheard of cruelties committed on many thousands of the Protestants, dwelling in the Valleys of Piedmont, &c. by the Duke of Savoy’s forces, joynd with the French army, and several bloody Irish regiments* (London, Printed for Edward Brewster, 1655), title page.

techniques of sixteenth century martyrologies by emphasising the cruelty of the Roman Church, however, it presented a more detailed use of medieval sources and overtly expressed the medieval sects to be precursors to the Reformation. Perrin did not use the contemporary Latin term *medium aevum* to describe the period of the middle ages, instead he terms it the ‘temps du persecution’. This ‘time of persecution’ is repeated in Perrin’s book six times, the repetition reiterating the intertwined nature, in Perrin’s view, of this period of the Church’s history with persecution and repression.⁸⁶⁸ Perrin’s works are therefore important to the Anglo-French conceptualisation of the continuity of the middle ages and the characterisation of this period as a time of persecution.

Perrin’s historical works were commissioned by patrons deeply invested in protecting Protestant interests in the face of political turmoil. Perrin’s *Histoire des Vaudois* was repeatedly printed in the 1620s, shortly after the first Huguenot rebellion 1620-22, when tensions led to direct action after royal intervention against Huguenot freedom of worship in the cities of Pau and Béarn.⁸⁶⁹ It is not remarkable that Perrin’s works on the ill-treatment of a religious sect from the south of France at the hands of the Antichrist Pope gained popularity and sympathy abroad during the political context of the 1620s.

Charles Drelincourt (1595-1669)

Charles Drelincourt, the minister of the Reformed Church at Charenton (1620-1669), was a prolific polemicist and eminent theologian. His most popular work *Les consolations de l'ame fidèle, contre les frayeurs de la Mort. Avec les dispositions & les preparations necessaires pour bien mourir* (1650, first printed in France in 1651) advocated bravery in the face of persecution by emulating the example of Christ.⁸⁷⁰ This guide to Protestants, to remain faithful to the end, was reprinted over twenty times before 1700 in multiple languages, and continued to be printed into the late eighteenth century.⁸⁷¹

⁸⁶⁸ Ibid., 30, 126.

⁸⁶⁹ See the USTC entry for Jean Paul Perrin’s publications in the 1620s, accessed August 7, 2019, <https://www.ustc.ac.uk/explore?keywords=Jean%20Paul%20Perrin&author=Jean%20Paul%20Perrin%20Jean%20Paul%20Perrin>.

⁸⁷⁰ C. Drelincourt, *Les consolations de l'ame fidèle, contre les frayeurs de la Mort. Avec les dispositions & les preparations necessaires pour bien mourir* (Paris, 1651), 5.

⁸⁷¹ See the USTC entry for Drelincourt, accessed August 7, 2019, <https://www.ustc.ac.uk/explore?keywords=drelincourt>.

Drelincourt's influence can be seen from the patronage he received from William VI Landgrave of Hesse-Kassel (1629-1663), who during the Thirty Years War had been involved in bitter intra-confessional conflict between Calvinists and Lutherans. William IV established his authority in Hesse through patronage of learning and universities and attempts to reconcile the Lutheran and Reformed subjects. Drelincourt's works aimed to unite Lutheran and Reformed readers in their opposition to the Jesuits and to Catholic missions, demonstrating their unified heritage as defenders of the true church suffering at the hands of Rome, which included the Albigensians and Waldensians. Indeed, the political contexts of Perrin and Drelincourt's books reveal the need to return to these medieval heretics as examples of true Christianity facing oppression. However, there was clearly a development in the argument from 1618 to the 1660s. The simple narrative of the persecuted church became more nuanced: by the mid-seventeenth century the argument was adapted to align with contemporary debates which united rival denominations, such as focussing on the shared Jesuit threat.

Drelincourt joined in this polemical battle against Jesuit missionaries, writing a critical treatise *Dialogues familiers sur les principales objections des missionnaires de ce temps* (1648) which is structured as a conversation between a Jesuit missionary and a reformed Christian.⁸⁷² In this treatise Drelincourt's characters debate the importance of Church history, which Drelincourt ultimately mocks as the Jesuit obsession with historical saints. In Drelincourt's dialogical style we can see the response of a Huguenot writer to the Catholic association between Huguenots and medieval heretics. Indeed, it provides a humorous reason for the Protestant adoption of Catholic rhetoric on this supposed heretical heritage. In the *Dialogues* Drelincourt argues against the Jesuit's criticism that the Protestants are seeking false legitimacy in the historical precedent of the Albigensians. Drelincourt joked that Catholic authors, such as Jean Du Tillet, had already proven the similarities between the Albigensians and the reformers; 'il n'est pas de besoin que j'insiste davantage à prouver que la doctrine Évangélique...est semblable à celle des anciens Albigeois: veut que vous trouverez cela formellement dans le livre intitulé Sommaire de l'histoire'.⁸⁷³ If Du Tillet had already proven that the doctrines of Albigensians and Protestants were similar, such as the fact both

⁸⁷² C. Drelincourt, *Dialogues familiers sur les principales objections des missionnaires de ce temps* (Geneva: Pierre Chouaët, 1648).

⁸⁷³ *Ibid.*, 94.

rejected clerical celibacy, purgatory and indulgences, then the Jesuit's critique that Protestant historians were merely agreeing with Catholic authors, and ignoring Albigensians' heresy, was moot.⁸⁷⁴

Not all Drelincourt's answers upon the Albigensians were based upon twisting Catholic arguments; he also offered an apocalyptic view of the persecutions by the Roman Church. In the *Dialogues*, when questioned, the reformer states he is not discouraged by the successful suppression of the Albigensians, as it is 'l'accomplissement de ce qui avoit esté prédit au 13 chap. de l'Apocalypse, La Bête fera la guerre contre les Saints et les vaincra.'⁸⁷⁵ This cast the papacy in the role of the beast in Revelation 13:7, able to rule over and dominate all people leading them astray from God.⁸⁷⁶ To Drelincourt (or at least to his character as the reformed Christian in his *Dialogues*) historical examples, such as the Albigensian Crusade, reveal that the notion of the Pope as Antichrist is not mere allegory, and an apocalyptic worldview based in Scripture is supported by an understanding of the history of opposition to Rome. Indeed, the reformed Christian summarised this necessity to understand the history of heresy in support of true Christianity, arguing that:

vous glorifier de votre Antiquité, et de nous reprocher notre Nouveauté, vous étiez fort mal informés des choses passées lors que vous souteniez que nous étions les premiers qui avons secoué le joug de Rome et de sa tyrannie.⁸⁷⁷

This dialectical style reinforced dichotomies of good and evil, Protestant and Catholic, Reformer and Jesuit in Drelincourt's narrative of history. Drelincourt identified the difference in approaches to antiquity and novelty between Catholic and Protestant polemicists and undermined arguments against the newness of Protestant doctrine by reminding the reader of the long history of opposition to the tyranny of Rome.

An anonymous author evidently considered Drelincourt's *Dialogues* a threat and wrote the letter *Les Albigeois nouvellement resuscitez par Charles Drelincourt* (1648) which was published later in the same year. This text is significant because it shows how engrained in

⁸⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁷⁵ Ibid., 95.

⁸⁷⁶ Revelation 13:7 'Then the beast was permitted to wage war against the saints and conquer them, and it was given authority over every tribe and people and tongue and nation.'

⁸⁷⁷ Drelincourt, *Dialogues familiers*, 99.

polemical culture the idea of the Albigensians ‘resuscitez’ by Protestants had become by the 1640s. Out of all the arguments Drelincourt discussed in his *Dialogues* the author of this response chose to focus on the (relatively short) section on the association with medieval heresy. *Les Albigeois nouvellement resuscitez* is a work not authored by Drelincourt, but used to slander him, as he complains: ‘l'on ma apporte un petit Ecrit de leur fasson qui a pour titre, *Les Albigeois nouvellement resuscitez par Charles Drelincourt*’.⁸⁷⁸ Drelincourt attempted to defend and distance himself from *Les Albigeois nouvellement resuscitez*, writing a response seven years later in his *Avertissement sur les disputes et le procédé des missionnaires* (1655).⁸⁷⁹ In this pamphlet Drelincourt wrote how he was unjustly termed the resuscitator of the Albigensians and argued against the methodology of his anonymous opponent. In particular, Drelincourt dismissed the sources used by his attacker ‘ils allèguent des fables tirées de la Légende d'un homme qui les a persécutés à feu et à sang. C'est celuy que l'on appelle S Dominique’.⁸⁸⁰ St Dominic was often used as a source for understanding the Albigensians by Catholic writers as he was considered a potential eyewitness and, by virtue of his sainthood, an arbiter of truth. Drelincourt asserted that using sources by those that openly opposed the Albigensians was foolish as these writings would surely be biased against them, demonstrating the widely held belief that St Dominic was an inquisitor who burnt many heretics, although the inquisition started after St Dominic died in 1212, and his role in the Albigensian Crusade was often overstated.⁸⁸¹

Drelincourt also derides the anonymous treatise writer’s use of *Dialogue on Miracles* by Caesarius of Heisterbach (c.1180-c.1240) on account of its moral barbarity.⁸⁸² Caesarius of Heisterbach was a Cistercian prior of Heisterbach Abbey in Germany, he compiled a hagiographical collection of over 700 stories of miracles. Heisterbach commented upon mendicant orders’ actions in the Albigensian Crusade, however, Heisterbach’s *Dialogue on Miracles* was not a commonly used source in early modern descriptions of medieval heresy. Drelincourt designated Heisterbach’s writings as unfair depictions of medieval heresy due to their morally questionable subjects. Drelincourt recounts the tale of Beatrix as evidence of Caesarius having more alarming ideas than the Albigensians, as Beatrix, a prostitute, has her

⁸⁷⁸ C. Drelincourt, *Avertissement sur les disputes et le procédé des missionnaires* (Paris: Louis Vendorsme, 1654), 44,

⁸⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸⁸² Ibid., 45.

work at the convent undertaken by the Virgin Mary; ‘Et vous Missionnaires, ayez honte, d’alléguer le témoignage d’un tel homme pour noircir la mémoire de ces pauvres Albigeois!’.⁸⁸³ Drelincourt considers Heisterbach’s story of Mary acting as prostitute to be evidence against his character as a commentator on the Albigensians. Drelincourt questioned the reliability of using sources evidently written by the Albigensians’ enemies.⁸⁸⁴ He compared the use of such medieval sources as akin to using Celsus to understand the doctrine of early Christians, or the Council of Constance to understand Wycliffe.⁸⁸⁵ This concern for the reliability of medieval authors, particularly St Dominic and St Bernard (who were often invoked by Catholic polemicists, due to their saintly-authority, as above reproach), was an influential aspect of the confessional debate over the Albigensians and Waldensians by the 1650s.

Drelincourt also turned to the Albigensians in a public reply to a letter written by the apostate Ernest of Hesse-Rheinfels (1623-1693).⁸⁸⁶ Ernest was involved in the Hessian civil wars of the 1640s but converted to Catholicism in 1652. He addressed a letter to five ministers working in Charenton, but particularly mentioned Drelincourt because of his close connections to Ernest’s half-nephew, Landgrave Wilhem VI. Drelincourt’s response, printed in 1663, aims to persuade Hesse-Rheinfels of the truth of reformed religion. One section explored the Catholic charge of Manichaeism against the Vaudois, and Drelincourt sought to prove ‘la vraie origine de cette injure infernale dont on a voulu noircir les serviteurs du Dieu vivant’ was because the Albigensians and Waldensians ‘n’ont pas voulu reconnaître cette unique puissance Souveraine’ of the Pope.⁸⁸⁷ By seeking ‘la vraie origine’ of the polemical charge of Manichaeism Drelincourt subscribed to the wider cultural assumption that the authoritative answer lay in historical precedent.⁸⁸⁸ Drelincourt then drew from the medieval concept of dual powers of emperor and pope, and claims that if one can believe in equal dual powers temporal and papal, then it is not hard to believe in two powers of good and evil.⁸⁸⁹ The connotations of this passage imply that the pope is equated with the evil power, and assumes that papal supremacy over princes is non-existent. Drelincourt concluded this

⁸⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁸⁶C. Drelincourt, *Réponse de Charles Drelincourt à la Lettre écrite par Monseigneur le prince Ernest landgrave de Hesse, aus cinq ministres de Paris qui ont leur exercice à Charenton* (Geneva: J.A. et S. de Tournes, 1663).

⁸⁸⁷ Ibid., 454.

⁸⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁸⁹ Ibid.

passage about the beliefs of the Vaudois and Albigeois by contending that the argument itself is void, either ‘les Vaudois et les Albigeois ont eu une même créance que nous; et en ce cas - la ils ont esté très-orthodoxes, et ceux qui ont souffert la mort pour leur Religion sont de vrais Martyrs de Jésus’, or Hesse should be celebrating that doctrine has become more pure since the Albigensians due to the Reformation.⁸⁹⁰ It is clear from his earlier tenacity in denying their Manicheism that Drelincourt thought the former was the case, and the phrases ‘très-orthodoxes’ instead of merely “orthodox” and ‘vrais Martyrs de Jésus’ rather than simply “martyrs” emphasised this.⁸⁹¹ Despite Drelincourt’s multiple books examining these arguments over the Albigensians and Waldensians, all his works ultimately concluded that the historical examples are inconsequential in comparison to Christocentric and Scriptural debates, and to his contemporary experience of persecution as a seventeenth-century Huguenot.

Predominantly, Perrin and Drelincourt engaged with Catholic polemic and responded to acts of religious violence that threatened Calvinist freedom of worship. This was somewhat repeated in the latter part of the seventeenth century where responses to Bossuet’s *Histoire des Variations des Églises Protestants* (1688) reinvigorated Protestant interest in the Albigensians, as the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685) galvanized Protestant support for a unified narrative of the Reformed Church in the face of persecution. The reawakening of the debate about Protestant origins was given greater credence in the response to the Revocation and the clarifying of the king’s position upon the legal rights of Protestants in France. However, there was a shift in Protestant thought on medieval sects, no longer was the concern so fiercely about the Pope as Antichrist, as Huguenot exiles shifted their ire to the King of France. Instead, displaced French Protestant authors were more anxious to provide a narrative of the survival of the Church when persecuted, and the identity of the true church founded in its origins. It is not surprising that refugee authors took a different perspective on issues of the origins, identity and culture of the Church - these were struggles they faced during their integration into a new country. The narrative of the Church in the wilderness became more central to Protestant historical perceptions of the Albigensians, and this played a major part in the formation of Huguenot identity.

⁸⁹⁰ Ibid., 455.

⁸⁹¹ Ibid.

The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes and Huguenot identity

The year of 1685 marked a significant shift in Protestant thought about medieval heresy, with the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes bringing an end to a relatively peaceful period of Protestant-Catholic co-existence. Whilst, arguably, it was not the Revocation itself that brought about change in French ideas about medieval heresy, but the publication of Bossuet's *Histoires des Variations des Églises Protestantes* (1688) three years later, 1685 certainly instigated a change in attitudes towards French Protestants that led to their identification with medieval heretics once again. Moreover, their views were also transformed by being forced into exile. Robin Gwynn conservatively estimates that during the reign of Louis XIV more than 180,000 French Protestants left France, though the number was probably much higher.⁸⁹² The migration of vast numbers of influential and educated Huguenots from France also led to a migration of Calvinist ideas about medieval heresy across Europe.⁸⁹³

Studies on Huguenot identity in exile abound, however, historians have predominantly been concerned with the level of integration of the exile community in their new culture. Historians such as David van der Linden, Robin Gwynn, and Randolphe Vigne have examined the culture of Huguenot refugees in the Netherlands, England, and America respectively.⁸⁹⁴ Van der Linden, in particular, has focussed on memory and historical formations of Huguenot identity; his research investigates the impact of the memory of the Wars of Religion upon Protestant ideas of toleration and identity. Earlier medieval examples are mentioned by Van der Linden within the context of martyrologies written in support of confessional divisions of the Wars of Religion.⁸⁹⁵ The role of medieval heresy in the formation of Protestant identity and culture, in the seventeenth century has been less-thoroughly explored. This thesis addresses the lack of research on Calvinist concepts of medieval heresy in the latter half of the early modern period. By the late seventeenth century, the self-perception and identity of the Huguenots was, as a result of exile, torn between

⁸⁹² R. Gwynn, *Huguenot Heritage: The History and Contribution of the Huguenots in Britain* (Eastbourne: Sussex Academic Press, 2001), 30.

⁸⁹³ Goldgar, *Impolite Learning*, 198.

⁸⁹⁴ Gwynn, *Huguenot Heritage*; R. Vigne and C. Littleton (eds.), *From strangers to citizens: the integration of immigrant communities in Britain, Ireland, and colonial America, 1550-1750* (London: Huguenot Society of Great Britain and Ireland, 2001); D. Van der Linden, *Experiencing Exile: Huguenot Refugees in the Dutch Republic, 1680-1700* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016).

⁸⁹⁵ Van der Linden, *Experiencing Exile: Huguenot Refugees*, 174.

competing narratives of citizenship. Huguenot writers after 1685 were particularly concerned with levels of integration whilst maintaining networks in France.⁸⁹⁶ Didactic works supported ideas of the extent to which integration was necessary, balancing the role of the individual religious conscience, with liberal arguments for toleration and instructions on how the Huguenot church should function in a new land. Fundamentally, the concerns of the Huguenots continued to revolve around issues of power and legitimacy, upon which they continued to use the authoritative nature of history to support their position as a religious, and now refugee, minority group.

Exile and persecution, the migration of ideas

In order to understand the idea of medieval heresy within France after 1685 the scope of this thesis must be widened to consider French authors writing beyond its borders. As such, this chapter also examines the influence of Calvinist refugees, whose writings were concerned with the Albigensians and Waldensians. Many of these authors wrote in French, but some also addressed the issue of medieval heresy in English or Latin. These texts were often addressed in response to works written by French Catholics and, therefore, doubly deserve our attention as they shed light on both sides of the confessional debate. Undoubtedly, the formation of Huguenot identity was catalysed by exile. The authors predominantly interested in establishing an Albigensian and Waldensian heritage were refugees that left France between 1680 and 1700. The most prolific and vocal Huguenot pastors upon the issue of the Albigensian and Waldensian heresies were Pierre Jurieu (1637-1713), Jacques Basnage (1653-1723) and Pierre Allix (1641-1717).

These writers were responding to Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet's *Histoire des Variations des Églises Protestantes* (1688).⁸⁹⁷ Bossuet forced them to develop new and more subtle arguments. Because of the evidence he presented Waldensians and Albigensians could no longer be conflated, and the provenance and validity of the sources became central to debate.⁸⁹⁸ Huguenot writers had to produce responses that were equally comprehensive, using

⁸⁹⁶ Van Ruymbeke, "Minority Survival", 6-9.

⁸⁹⁷ Cerny, *Theology, Politics and Letters*, 204-205.

⁸⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 208.

a wider range of inquisitorial sources than hitherto.⁸⁹⁹ In addition, many of the responses written to Bossuet were in defence of their new homelands or commissioned by non-French patrons. Responses to Bossuet were wide ranging, from English clergy such as William Wake (1657-1737) and Gilbert Burnet (1643-1715) defending the history of the Anglican Church, to the five Lutheran authors who published their arguments until the mid-eighteenth century.⁹⁰⁰ Huguenots in England and the Dutch Republic joined the fray, leading to the questioning of the history of the French church in particular. As a result, the historiography of French medieval heretics became much more widely known and contested.

These authors were deeply concerned with the wellbeing of the Protestant church in France. Jurieu and Basnage drew comparisons with the Albigensians and Waldensians' suffering at the hands of the Church, and the persecution of the Huguenots in the late seventeenth century.⁹⁰¹ Narratives of persecution and suffering had become a significant part of Huguenot consciousness. David van der Linden has demonstrated how a rhetoric of victimhood gained popularity in early modern Calvinist thought from the lasting influence of Jean Crespin's martyrologies. This narrative of persecution meant that Jurieu and Basnage placed the blame of the French Wars of Religion squarely on the shoulders of Catholics and wrote letters that incorporated accounts of religious violence against Huguenots.⁹⁰² These examples of persecution, compared with medieval heretics' punishments, are recorded in a number of pastoral letters written to the Calvinist congregations that remained. Pierre Jurieu, Jacques Basnage and Jean Claude (1619-1687) each wrote pastoral letters frequently, to encourage and sustain their fellow Huguenots across France. Pierre Jurieu wrote letters from September 1686 every fortnight until July 1689, which were aimed at supporting the Huguenot remnant in France and collected testimony of Huguenots facing persecution.⁹⁰³ Huguenot works faced censorship and had to be clandestinely circulated from Geneva or the Dutch Republic; Jurieu's letters to Huguenots in France were smuggled in barrels of dried herrings.⁹⁰⁴ These letters were greatly opposed by the Catholic authorities. Bossuet counteracted Calvinist propaganda from abroad and wrote his own pastoral letter to the recent Catholic converts in

⁸⁹⁹ Ibid., 214.

⁹⁰⁰ Ibid., 222.

⁹⁰¹ Ibid., 224.

⁹⁰² P. Benedict, "La Conviction plus forte que la critique: La Réforme et les guerres de religions vues par les historiens protestants à l'époque de la Révocation", in *L'identité Huguenote: Faire Mémoire et écrire l'Histoire XVIe-XXI siècle*, ed. P. Benedict, H. Dassy and P.-O. Léchot (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 2014), 233.

⁹⁰³ Van der Linden, "Histories of Martyrdom and Suffering", 355.

⁹⁰⁴ Van der Linden, "Histories of Martyrdom and Suffering", 356.

his diocese.⁹⁰⁵ Pierre Jurieu criticised Bossuet's letter as an attempt 'to seduce you and withdraw from your eyes the Deformity and Ugliness of false religion' reminding his readers that they only returned to Catholicism out of fear.⁹⁰⁶ Similarly, Basnage faced opposition for his encouraging letters to the Huguenot community back in France. Several informants wrote to the king with accusation that Protestant communities were flourishing under Basnage's instruction. Evidently this warning was heeded, as the ambassador for France liaised with Basnage's brother, Henri de Basnage de Beauval (1657-1710), and Basnage promised to reduce the frequency of his letters. Indeed, by 1690 Basnage had ceased printing his pastoral letters and distributing them in France. Both Basnage and Jurieu faced opposition from monarchical and the highest ecclesiastical powers in France for their attempts to encourage and sustain the French Calvinist church.

The most vocal opposition to Catholic polemic against the Albigensians and Waldensians was expressed by members of the Walloon Church in Rotterdam. The context of the Dutch Republic was significant not only for its reputation as a relatively tolerant country where multiple religious groups practiced in the same cities, but also for its freedoms of expression in print.⁹⁰⁷ After the Revocation of Edict of Nantes a French-speaking literary culture was established in Rotterdam. The majority of French Huguenot works were published by Henri Desbordes (1649-1722), a Huguenot printer exiled from France, and Reinier Leers (1654-1714), a Dutch publisher who specialised in French books, based in Amsterdam and Rotterdam respectively.⁹⁰⁸ The fact that these Huguenot texts were published outside of France, in cities renowned for greater toleration of a range of denominations of Protestantism, may lead one to assume that such works had less impact upon French ideas of medieval heresy. However, the fact renowned theologians like Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet bothered to read and answer works by Jurieu and Basnage implies that books published by Desbordes and Leers were significant. These were important and scholarly works that reached a wide audience in France through clandestine means.

⁹⁰⁵ J. B. Bossuet, *Lettre pastorale de Mgr l'évesque de Meaux (J.-B. Bossuet) aux nouveaux catholiques de son diocèse pour les exhorter à faire leurs pasques et leur donner les avertissemens nécessaires contre les fausses lettres pastorales des ministres*. (Paris: chez S. Mabre-Cramoisy, 1686).

⁹⁰⁶ P. Jurieu, *The Pastoral Letters of the Incomparable Jurieu, Directed to Protestants in France groaning under the Babylonish Tyranny* (London: T. Fabian, 1689), 3.

⁹⁰⁷ Van der Linden, "Histories of Martyrdom and Suffering", 351.

⁹⁰⁸ Van der Linden, *Experiencing Exile: Huguenot Refugees*, 54-55.

It would be wrong to claim that French Huguenot authors were united in their efforts.⁹⁰⁹ The experiences of Calvinist scholars were vastly different, not only between those who remained in France and those in exile abroad, but also between the different countries to which they fled, and thus attempts were made to maintain confessional unity and keep communities together.⁹¹⁰ The Walloon Church in Rotterdam was characterised by the differing views of its members, who expressed their opinions on how this French church should be run in a novel situation and foreign country. Tension was prevalent in the Walloon Church, particularly over the leadership of the direction of the church.⁹¹¹ Pierre Bayle (1647-1706), the French philosopher and Calvinist, who fled to the Dutch Republic in 1681 after the closure of the Protestant Academy of Sedan, was adopted as the leader of the Walloon Church, despite the protestations of Pierre Jurieu, who had fallen out with his former pupil. Bayle did not publish on the Albigensian and Waldensian controversies, but evidently read widely on the subject, as he recounts particular works in his letters. For example, he wrote to François Gaultier de Saint-Blancard (1639-1703) from Rotterdam in 1687, that he has failed to acquire from Paris yet a copy of *Parallèle de l'hérésie des Albigeois et de celle du calvinisme* (1686) by Michel Achard Rousseau De La Valette (c.1600-c.1699).⁹¹² When he had read the work, Bayle was dismissive of De La Valette's evidence as spurious, for example his superstitious comparison between Saint Louis and Louis XIV, who were the eighth kings to be crowned after the birth of the Albigensian heresy and Protestant reform respectively.⁹¹³ Bayle complained in another letter 'that never before were the Waldenses discussed as much as today', in reference to De La Valette's history.⁹¹⁴ Bayle's observation on the scale of debate reveals that in the 1680s the similarities between the Albigensians, Waldensians and Protestants was an issue circulated widely amongst the intellectual milieu of Huguenot ministers. Bayle's disparagement of the vast quantity of unscholarly works on the topic also implied that these ideas were common and considered pertinent to contemporary concerns by many writers.

⁹⁰⁹ Ibid., 32

⁹¹⁰ Van Ruymbeke, "Refuge or Diaspora?", 155-159.

⁹¹¹ Van der Linden, *Experiencing Exile: Huguenot Refugees*, 32.

⁹¹² P. Bayle, "Lettre 687: Pierre Bayle à François Gaultier de Saint-Blancard", published online on Bayle correspondence online, University St Étienne, accessed January 5, 2017 <http://bayle-correspondance.univ-st-Étienne.fr/?Lettre-687-Pierre-Bayle-a-Francois&lang=fr> .

⁹¹³ Ibid.; M. De La Valette, *Parallèle de l'hérésie des Albigeois et de celle du calvinisme* (Paris: L. Roulland, 1686), 27.

⁹¹⁴ Walther, "Were the Albigensians and Waldensians Forerunners", 192.

Even with Bayle as leader, the Walloon Church remained divided over the issue of religious toleration. Bayle supported religious toleration from the philosophical viewpoint that exceptions should be made for an erring conscience. He was vehemently opposed in print by Pierre Jurieu, who pressed for further religious renewal and considered toleration to be a blessing offered to counteract the oppressive, papal Antichrist; an argument that stemmed from his millenarianism.⁹¹⁵ In contrast, Basnage's view on toleration was pragmatic, he argued that permitting subjects the right to their own religious conscience would give a prince a loyal and faithful following.⁹¹⁶ Basnage's apologetic, pragmatic attitude towards the individual religious conscience as a citizen of the state was more conservative than Jurieu's extreme rhetoric of popular sovereignty. His advocacy of adherence to temporal authority is indicative of Huguenot attempts to maintain respectability and uphold tradition. He used the example of medieval persecution of heretics to show how a lack of freedom of religious conscience led to violence and disarray. Thus, it is clear how important the discussion of medieval heresy was to the debates over religious toleration in the Walloon Church in the Dutch Republic, and the extent to which this divided opinion. The comparison between the suppression of the Albigensians through the crusade, the massacre of the Waldensians at Cabrières and Mérindol, and the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes became a central theme in the debate on religious freedom.

Pierre Jurieu (1637-1713)

Pierre Jurieu (1637-1713), was the professor of theology and Hebrew at the Academy of Sedan, but upon its closure in 1681 he left France in exile to become a pastor of the Flemish Walloon Church and chair of theology at the newly founded *École Illustre* in Rotterdam. Jurieu gained a reputation as a political thinker who pushed Huguenot thought on questions of toleration and the role of the state in regulating individual consciences; he was often criticised by his fellow Calvinists for holding radical views in both his theology and resistance to tyranny.⁹¹⁷ Jurieu was concerned with European-wide politics, his works were

⁹¹⁵ H. M. Bracken, "Pierre Jurieu: The Politics of Prophecy", in *Millenarianism and Messianism in Early Modern European Culture IV* (Springer Science & Business Media: 2001), 85-94.

⁹¹⁶ Cerny, *Theology, Politics and Letters*, 132.

⁹¹⁷ R. J., Howells, *Pierre Jurieu: Antinomian Radical* (Durham University, 1983), 5.

translated into English, German, Dutch, Hungarian and Italian.⁹¹⁸ In 1689 Jurieu organised an espionage network alongside the Huguenot merchant Étienne Caillard, to encourage insurgency in France. From 1692 he acted as a spy for the English forces of William of Orange.⁹¹⁹ Jurieu also supported William of Orange by producing propaganda for the Glorious Revolution. However, he was often in disagreement with the synods of the Walloon Church, as they did not agree with his political ideals on popular sovereignty and religious renewal, attacking Jurieu as a republican.⁹²⁰ Jurieu produced a new edition of his pastoral letters which were clandestinely circulated to Huguenots who had remained in France, in response to Bossuet's *Histoire des Variations* (1688).⁹²¹ Bossuet matched Jurieu's letters with six replies published between 1689 and 1691. Jurieu's letters to Calvinists in France protested against the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes through comparisons with medieval persecution. But Jurieu extended this argument to propose a theory of contractual political power.⁹²² It was these ideas that made Jurieu such a divisive figure in the Walloon Church.

Jurieu predominantly employed the example of the Albigensian Crusade as evidence of papal cruelty. The role of the papacy in the history of the Albigensian Crusade was used by Jurieu to address the subjects of popular sovereignty and tolerance. These topics were often framed in language of tyranny and liberty. Even prior to the Revocation, Jurieu had published a history of the papacy in 1683 that emphasised papal tyranny against the Albigensians. In his *Histoire du calvinisme et celle du papisme mises en parallèle* (1683) Jurieu claimed 'le Papisme est la plus cruelle de toutes les sects qui ait jamais esté au monde'.⁹²³ Jurieu equated the papacy to a heretical sect. Pierre Jurieu emphasised papal cruelty as he argued that Pope Innocent III instituted 'une Croisade pour exterminer tant de gens' including 'la vérité des Albigeois, mais il y avoit aussi grand nombre de gens qui vivaient encore dans la communion de Rome' who suffered during the crusade.⁹²⁴ Jurieu continues this argument in his *Reflections on the cruel persecution of protestants* (1685).⁹²⁵ As apparent from such a title, Jurieu's polemic was highly emotive, and therefore used the supposed inheritance of

⁹¹⁸ G. H. Dodge, *The political theory of the Huguenots of the dispersion: with special reference to the thought and influence of Pierre Jurieu* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1947), 3.

⁹¹⁹ Jurieu, *Jurieu's letters as secret agent*; Goldgar, *Impolite Learning*, 199.

⁹²⁰ Adams, *The Huguenots and French Opinion, 1685-1787*, 10.

⁹²¹ *Ibid.*, 24.

⁹²² *Ibid.*, 10.

⁹²³ Jurieu, *Histoire du calvinisme et papisme*, 3-4.

⁹²⁴ *Ibid.*, 7-8.

⁹²⁵ P. Jurieu, *Reflections on the cruel persecution of protestants* (London: 1685), 9.

Protestantism from the Albigensians, as an inheritance of persecution instead of the legacy of a specific theology.

Jacques Basnage (1653-1723)

Jacques Basnage, a Huguenot minister also exiled in the Dutch Republic, wrote multiple historical works that aimed to provide a comprehensive overview of the history of the Church, and thereby justified the recasting of the Albigensians as the forebears of the Reformers.⁹²⁶ Basnage had been sent to the Protestant academy of Saumur as a boy, and then became a theological student at the Academy of Sedan. From 1676 to 1685 Basnage led the Protestant church in Rouen, but upon the Revocation he left France and settled in Rotterdam.⁹²⁷ In 1691 he became the pastor of the Walloon Church, leading the moderate opposition to Jurieu's radicalism.⁹²⁸ Basnage's historical works were not solely concerned with the Albigensians and Waldensians; he also wrote works that explained the historical significance of Judaism to Christianity and was appointed the official historiographer to the States-General.⁹²⁹ Thus, Basnage's historical writings allowed him to integrate with Dutch scholarship and partake in the intellectual milieu of the Dutch Republic.

Basnage's contribution to the polemical debate over the history of the true Church was his *Histoire de la Religion des Églises Réformées* (1690) which was published 2 years after Bossuet's *Histoire des Variations des Églises Protestantes*.⁹³⁰ This work charted the history of the Protestant church and rooted it in the early church, but also examined medieval heretics and the doctrines which they had in common with Protestants. Basnage's defence of the Albigensians was based upon their horrific persecution, which he claimed was not founded on theological differences but on sheer maltreatment of any who opposed the Roman Church.⁹³¹ The Albigensians were defenceless against the corruption and power of the Papacy.⁹³²

⁹²⁶ Cerny, *Theology, Politics and Letters*, 224.

⁹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 10-11.

⁹²⁸ Goldgar, *Impolite Learning*, 199.

⁹²⁹ *Ibid.*, 201.

⁹³⁰ J. Basnage, *Histoire de la Religion des Églises Réformées* (Rotterdam: Abraham Acher, 1690).

⁹³¹ *Ibid.*, 263.

⁹³² *Ibid.*

Basnage then took nine years to thoroughly research a history of not only the Reformed church but the church universal, named *Histoire de l'Église Depuis Jesus-Christ* (1699). The fourth book of Basnage's *Histoire de l'Église Depuis Jesus-Christ* covers the period from 'L'Histoire des Albigeois, et de la Succession de l'Église jusqu'à present', drawing a clear linear 'Succession' from the Albigeois to the present.⁹³³ Indeed, Basnage makes this succession even more evident through the title of Book XXIV 'des Albigeois, des Vaudois, et des Église de Boheme... jusqu'au tems de la Reformation en 1517'.⁹³⁴ Therefore, Basnage subscribes to the progression from the Albigeois to the Vaudois to the Bohemian Church onwards to the Reformation.⁹³⁵ In *Histoire de l'Église*, Basnage recognises Bossuet's erudition; 'ces Albigeois contre lesquels Mr. de Meux a déployé une grande littérature, & tout l'artifice dont un habile homme peut être capable'.⁹³⁶ However, Basnage argued that Bossuet did this as prideful self-promotion, to dazzle the reader with his learning, instead 'pour nous qui n'avons pas en vue d'éblouir les Lecteurs, mais de découvrir la vérité' Basnage offers a history of the persecutions of the church and an argument against associations with Manichaeism. The *Histoire de L'Église* also demonstrated the influence of a new environment upon a refugee writer; Basnage's patrons were the nobles of Holland and Westfrieze, whom Basnage commended as they 'possèdent tranquillement la vérité'.⁹³⁷ Not only were refugee authors reliant on patrons in their new countries, they were also thankful for the peaceful coexistence and protection offered to them. The theme of exile and the persecuted Church in the wilderness is present throughout Basnage's work, it starts in the dedicatory epistle where he praised the nobility in the Netherlands as 'L'Église persécutée a trouvé chez Vous un azyle [asile], et entre tous vos sujets, les exilés comme nous, ont une obligation particulière à faire éclater leur reconnaissance'.⁹³⁸ Basnage, therefore, framed his historical works as celebrations of religious toleration and the survival of the true Church.

Basnage was also concerned with historical accuracy. When asked to write a history of the Dutch Republic he expressed intense dismay at the way Abraham Wicquefort (1606-1682), a Dutch diplomat, had written with such political partiality. Jacques Basnage recognised subjective interpretations of history and evaluated his sources accordingly. However, he was

⁹³³ J. Basnage, *Histoire de L'Église Depuis Jesus-Christ*, title page.

⁹³⁴ Ibid., 1386.

⁹³⁵ Ibid., title page.

⁹³⁶ Ibid., 1387.

⁹³⁷ Ibid., †2.

⁹³⁸ Ibid.

also willing to cross political and confessional divides in order to have better access to medieval sources. In 1709, Basnage had decided to take upon the project to publish a new edition of the *Spicilegium*, Luc D'Achery's 1655-1677 compilation of a number of sources relating to canon law, chronicles, hagiographies, and councils. In order to complete the work, Basnage was reliant upon the help of French Catholics, not only by research undertaken by monks living in France, but also taking advice on how to avoid censorship.⁹³⁹ His brother, Henri Basnage de Beauval (1657-1710) wrote a bibliographical review *Histoire des ouvrages des sçavans* (1684) that outlined the intended volume '*prospectus nova Editionis accuratissime Monumentorum Ecclesiasticorum*' which would include an updated copy of *Spicilegium* and an edited collection of manuscripts from the works of Jean Mabillon and Étienne Baluze all edited with notes by Jacques Basnage.⁹⁴⁰ Such close analysis of medieval sources involved in the production of this edition reveals Basnage's concern that confessional history be built upon the strong foundations of erudite scholarship.

Pierre Allix (1641-1717)

Pierre Allix, a Huguenot writer exiled in London, wrote specifically upon the origins of the Waldensians and Albigensians. Allix was the son of a pastor of the Reformed church at Alençon.⁹⁴¹ He studied Hebrew and Syriac, becoming a renowned scholar in both languages at the universities of Saumur and Sedan. His passport, dated 1685, reveals his travel to England via Calais with his wife Marguerite and their three children, aged between 11 months and 6 years old, and is a bureaucratic example of the French crown's encouragement of the emigration of Huguenots.⁹⁴² Similarly, his certificate of denization from 1688 reveals his intentions of integrating fully into English culture.⁹⁴³ His erudition provided him with greater opportunities upon his migration to England. By 1690 he was accepted as a Doctor of Divinity at Emmanuel College, Cambridge and was soon after given the position of canon in Salisbury Cathedral.⁹⁴⁴ These two positions exemplify how Allix integrated into the intellectual and church culture of England. Despite setting up a French-speaking church in

⁹³⁹ Goldgar, *Impolite Learning*, 188.

⁹⁴⁰ H. Basnage de Beauval, *Histoire des Ouvrages des sçavans*, Rotterdam: Reinier Leers (1698), 214.

⁹⁴¹ V. Larminie, "Allix, Peter (1641-1717)" *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), accessed June 4, 2016, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/407>.

⁹⁴² "Pierre Allix passport with seal" (1685) HUGUENOT LIBRARY/F/ALL/1, 1:44.

⁹⁴³ "Pierre Allix certificate of denization" (1688) HUGUENOT LIBRARY/F/ALL/1, 1:47.

⁹⁴⁴ Benedetti, *Il santo bottino*, 94.

Jewin Street, Aldergate, Allix was renowned for his integration with the Anglican church through his many letters to Anglican bishops. For example, in 1700 his request for greater financial help was supported and signed off by the Archbishops of Canterbury, York and the Bishop of London, who was a personal friend.⁹⁴⁵

Allix's *Remarks upon the Ecclesiastical History of the Ancient Churches of Piedmont*, published in 1690, focussed upon the apostolic origins of the Waldensians. Allix argued that 'the ancient Churches of the Valleys of Piedmont has served for a Model to our Reformers, and has justified their Undertaking'.⁹⁴⁶ The constant referral by Allix to the Waldensians as 'ancient Churches' invoked the authority of the wisdom of antiquity and the traditional and spiritual authority of the Church.⁹⁴⁷ It is these qualities that Allix claimed 'justified' the Reformation.⁹⁴⁸ This reliance upon proving the Waldensians to be 'ancient' is evident in Allix's dating of the Waldensian church in its apostolic nature to St Paul and St Barnabas.⁹⁴⁹ Allix argued that 'the Reformation, rightly considered, consists only in the rejecting of what for many Ages has been superadded to the Christian Religion'.⁹⁵⁰ By emphasising that this is how the Reformation is 'rightly considered' Allix reiterated that those who perceive the Reformation as new phenomenon misunderstand, and thus, the Reformation has an ancient history. In fact, Allix implied that those who abhor the novelty of the Reformation have been supporting a Church that added new doctrines and practices to Christianity. Allix, like many of his contemporary Protestants was appealing to the primitive church as a purer, perfect ideal, before Christianity could be corrupted by papal influence. However, the primitive church to which Allix referred was not the early Christians of Acts in the New Testament, but the purity and piety of the ancient Waldensians, who remained true to the fundamental tenets of Christianity, even in the face of Roman opposition.

Benedetti argues that Pierre Allix reiterated arguments that the Albigensians and Waldensians were part of continual history of predecessors of the Calvinists and rejected Bossuet's attempts through textual analysis to separate the two sects of the Albigensians and

⁹⁴⁵ "Original attestation...stating that Dr Allix needs and deserves greater help" HUGUENOT LIBRARY/F/ALL/1, 1:49.

⁹⁴⁶ P. Allix, *Some Remarks upon the Ecclesiastical History of the Ancient Churches of Piedmont* (London: Printed for Richard Chiswell, 1690), epistle dedicatory.

⁹⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁴⁹ Ibid., 3-4

⁹⁵⁰ Ibid., epistle dedicatory.

Waldensians as distinct entities in history.⁹⁵¹ Allix, however, does demonstrate his erudition in his transcription and translation of medieval manuscripts from the University of Cambridge library.⁹⁵² Benedetti suggests that this is the first time two inquisitorial processes can be read fully transcribed and printed - these two processes are “Processus...contra Barbam Matrinum” (1492) and “Processus...contra Peyronettam”(1494).⁹⁵³

The reasoning for Allix’s transcription of these sources was threefold. First, they were accessible to him as part of his research in October 1689 into the manuscript collections on medieval heresy at the Cambridge University library. Second, they were highly relevant as they were examples of Waldensians undergoing trial, which fitted with his thematic narrative of the true church under persecution. Third, Allix was building upon the foundations laid by other Protestant writers on the Waldensians. The documents were mentioned in the works of popular confessional history writer Jean Paul Perrin, famous Waldensian pastor Jean Leger, and the influential English diplomat Samuel Morland (1625-1695).⁹⁵⁴ Samuel Morland (1625-1695), who wrote *History of the Evangelical Churches of the Valleys of Piedmont* in 1658, donated twenty-one volumes of manuscripts to the library in the same year. According to Morland, he collected or transcribed these Waldensian manuscripts during a diplomatic visit to the court of Turin to defend the Waldensians of Piedmont against the persecutory actions of the Duke of Savoy in 1655. These Waldensians manuscripts included the poem the Noble Lesson, a catechism, a treatise on facing tribulation, a confession of faith, sermons and some inquisitorial trial records.⁹⁵⁵ These inquisitorial records were bound and entitled by a seventeenth-century hand *Origo Valdensium et processus contra eos facti*.⁹⁵⁶

Allix signed a note at the library stating that he borrowed manuscripts A-H (with the exception of C), which included the inquisitorial processes he describes as written ‘in the hand of Mr Morland, and are not in the publick Library of the University of Cambridge, from whence I thought fit to make an Extract..to justifie what was asserted by Perrin’.⁹⁵⁷ Allix considers *Origo Valdensium* to be transcribed by Morland and copied in his handwriting. By

⁹⁵¹ Benedetti, *Il santo bottino* 95.

⁹⁵² Allix, *The Ancient Churches of Piedmont*, 267.

⁹⁵³ Benedetti, *Il santo bottino*, 95; “Processus...contra Barbam Matrinum” in Allix, 307-17; “Processus...contra Peyronettam” in Allix, 318-31.

⁹⁵⁴ Benedetti, *Il santo bottino*, 95.

⁹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 92.

⁹⁵⁶ *Ibid.* 95.

⁹⁵⁷ Allix, *The Ancient Churches of Piedmont*, 267.

stating that this is not in the public library Allix demonstrated that these inquisitorial manuscripts were conserved and protected from general consultation highlighting their importance and emphasising his own skill at research. Allix's description of the source also demonstrates how Allix built upon ideas from earlier Huguenot writers, suggesting that his work will prove Perrin's assertions about a continual line of witnesses, including medieval heretics, for the true Church. However, Allix's work provides greater source material to support this claim; he valued French inquisitorial sources as evidence of Waldensian links to his contemporary Midi. A major part of Allix's examination of Morland's collection of inquisitorial documents is his translation of a copy of the deposition of the widow Peironeta of Beauregard, 'Peironetta...[who] made her appearance before Anthony Fabri...Inquisitor General after Heresie throughout all Dauphiné'.⁹⁵⁸ This is significant as Peironeta's deposition was less commonly used as a source, and is a rare example of the transcription of a deposition by a female Waldensian in early modern historical writing. Allix even translates extracts of it in English, before transcribing it entirely in Latin.⁹⁵⁹ Allix justified only translating into English the latter two-thirds of Peironeta's deposition by arguing that very little of her voice appears in the first section 'the Inquisitor's Faithfulness is justly to be suspected, since we see that there is very little...from the mouth of the *Barba*'.⁹⁶⁰ This analysis of the deposition as including little that could be considered heresy in the words of Peironeta, and mainly acting as the widow's rejection of the authority of the inquisitor, served Allix's wider purpose of redeeming the Waldensians from the taint of heresy and producing a history demonstrating their virtuous, ancient history as forerunners to the Reformed Church.

Two years later, Allix wrote another treatise, *Remarks upon the Ecclesiastical History of the Ancient Churches of the Albigenses* (1692), which centred on the origins of the Albigensians instead. Allix stated this intention to the reader 'to shew him the continuation of that Church which gave birth to the Albigenses and furnished the West with witnesses of so great weight against the Corruptions of the Romish party'.⁹⁶¹ Allix's comparison between Protestants and Albigensians was grounded in their mutual antagonism towards the Catholic Church. Allix argued from the outset of *Remarks Upon...the Ancient Churches of the Albigenses* that 'their

⁹⁵⁸ Ibid., 276.

⁹⁵⁹ Ibid., in English: 276-280 in Latin: 327-331.

⁹⁶⁰ Ibid., 280.

⁹⁶¹ Allix, *the Ancient Churches of the Albigenses*, 2.

Faith was in most things the same with that which our Reformers taught in opposition to the Church of Rome'.⁹⁶² It is clear that Allix drew a direct comparison between the Albigensians and the Reformation, claiming that they are 'in most things the same', yet by focussing on what the Reformers 'taught in opposition' Allix prioritised certain aspects of doctrine and practice over others, namely defiance of the papacy and Rome.⁹⁶³ This reinforced another historical narrative of the Reformation espoused by Protestants, that the Church and papacy had become corrupted in the medieval period and, therefore, was in need of opposition and reform.

As a fervent advocate of the antiquity of the Waldensians, (and by association their forerunners the Albigensians), Allix's argument relied upon analysis of medieval sources that revised the origins of the sects set out by Catholic polemicists. Allix's evaluation of the sources included condemnation of those he considered false such as 'the Forgeries of the Jesuit Mariana who to make the Albigenses pass for Atheists and Epicureans has changed the Title of Lucas Tudensis... by adding to it, (b) *against the Errors of the Albigenses*'.⁹⁶⁴ Allix is referring to the Jesuit John Mariana's edition of *Lucae Tudensis Episcopi, De Altera Vita, Fideique Controversiis Adversus Albigensium errores Libri III* (1612). This shows that Allix was willing to use the evidence of opposing, Catholic sources, despite questioning their validity, arguing that 'Lucas Tudensis, who endeavours to ridicule this Constancy of their Martyrs, is at the same time a Witness for it'.⁹⁶⁵ Allix equates Catholic critiques of heretics as further evidence of medieval heretics' faithfulness, as he argues that Catholics are stubbornly misguided in their understanding of their beliefs and practices.

Moreover, Allix translated many of his sources into the vernacular English, making them available to a wider audience and furthering his integration into the local culture, instead of publishing in his mother tongue of French. He also included occasional references in the margins, although the majority of his sources are integrated into the text with detailed descriptions of their provenance. Allix describes, for example, a passage from Roger Howden's chronicle (1148-1170) as 'Roger Hoveden sets down a Letter of Peter Cardinal Legate at Tholouse, wherein he makes mention of the Albigensian Pastors'.⁹⁶⁶ Howden was a

⁹⁶² Ibid., iv.

⁹⁶³ Ibid.

⁹⁶⁴ Ibid., 189-190.

⁹⁶⁵ Ibid., 189.

⁹⁶⁶ Ibid., 185.

twelfth-century English chronicler, who recounted in his chronicle letters from opponents to the Albigensians, such as another letter from the Abbot of Clairvaux which Allix quotes: ‘they had not only made to themselves Priests and Bishops...having depraved and cancell’d the Truth of the Gospel’.⁹⁶⁷ Yet, Allix uses these anti-Albigensian sources in Howden’s account as evidence of the Albigensian movement as structured and hierarchical, claiming that there was even evidence of a heretical bishop. By suggesting that the Albigensians were an organised separate church, Allix furthers his agenda of proposing the Albigensians not as a deviation from the church but as a true expression of it. This is why Allix emphasises ‘the Regularity of their Discipline, by representing the Nature of their Church Government’, corroborating the papal legate’s report with other contemporary sources to argue for an organised structure to an Albigensian church. In his chapter on the ecclesiastical government of the Albigensians, Allix further compared evidence from Howden with the distinctions between teachers or pastors and general believers in the chronicles of Pierre de Vaux de Cernay and Guillaume de Puylaurens.⁹⁶⁸ Allix adopts a similar methodology to other Protestant polemicists, arguing that Catholic sources cannot be trusted for their inherent prejudice against the Albigensians, from their position of institutional inquisitor and persecutor. However, his approach is more scholarly than previous attempts to dismiss medieval Catholic commentators for their lack of credibility, seeking evidence through the analytical comparison of the texts. Allix interpreted the scale and organisation of the Albigensian heresy through contrasting multiple sources. Thus, Pierre Allix’s treatment of the sources involved an evaluation of their reliability and a concerted effort to examine modern editions for their accuracy and detailed referencing and seeking evidence within Catholic sources - all in order to support his argument against polemical rebuttal.

In addition, Allix was keenly aware of historical writings from the sixteenth and earlier seventeenth century on the subject of the Albigensians and Waldensians. Allix referred to Jean Chassanion, and Jean Paul Perrin throughout his works, but he did not only borrow from their arguments, he critiqued their methodology. Even if he ultimately agreed with their overarching view of the role of medieval heretics in confessional historiography, Allix had a more nuanced understanding of the differences between the Albigensians and Waldensians.⁹⁶⁹ For instance, Allix complains that:

⁹⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁶⁸ Ibid., 186.

⁹⁶⁹ Ibid., 116

Perrin takes it for granted in the beginning of his History... easily persuaded to believe, since he had observed that the Albigenses have maintained the same Faith with the Waldenses. But it is not true that the Waldenses ever carried their Faith into these Countries.⁹⁷⁰

Allix maintains throughout his work that the Albigensians had an ancient history. This means he disagreed with Perrin's notion that the Albigensians were an offshoot of the Waldensian movement. Allix does not see these two distinct sects as incompatible with a cohesive understanding of the story of the true Church throughout history, and it is the amalgamation of these ideas which demonstrate the complexity of confessional historical ideas of medieval heresy by the late seventeenth century.

Despite qualms over their methodology, Allix analysed the reliability of medieval sources by cross-examining them with the later commentaries of Perrin and Chassanion. Allix compared Matthew Paris's thirteenth-century chronicle's account of Robert the Inquisitor burning fifty Albigensians in two months, with 'Perrin and Chassagnon [who] give us great Numbers of parallel Example, as well as the Acts of the Inquisition of Tholouse'.⁹⁷¹ This dismissal of Catholic sources was partially adopted in opposition to Bossuet. Allix recognised the threat of Bossuet's detailed treatment of medieval sources in his *Histoire des Variations des Églises Protestantes* (1688) and responded accordingly. Allix openly wrote in the preface of his *Remarks* that he aims 'to justify the Albigenses from the Accusations brought against them by the Bishop of Meaux'.⁹⁷² Allix acknowledged Bossuet's erudition in his delineation between Waldensians and Albigensians and appreciated Bossuet's integrity in accusing the Waldensians of 'Schism only', unlike other catholic authors who also condemned them of heresy.⁹⁷³ However, he later described the Bossuet of 'raving' in his claim that the Albigensian view of the pope as Antichrist was also part of the character of Manichaeism.⁹⁷⁴ Allix attacked Bossuet's lack of erudition in this area, questioning why he had not consulted those who had opposed earlier examples of Manichaeism such as Archelaus Bishop of Mesopotamia or St Cyril of Jerusalem, or St Epiphanius on the character of the heretical

⁹⁷⁰ Ibid., 116.

⁹⁷¹ Ibid., 189.

⁹⁷² Ibid., ix.

⁹⁷³ Ibid., viii.

⁹⁷⁴ Ibid., 173.

doctrine.⁹⁷⁵ Indeed, Allix teased his opponent that he ‘hath made a Discovery which none of the Ancients, no nor Modern Writers neither, whether Papists or Protestants, have been able to make, must have had it from the Revelation of some Angel’.⁹⁷⁶ Allix jokes the discovery of the Albigensians’ Manichaeism must have come from divine revelation as he could not find it in the sources. Not only was Allix’s structure and choice of sources purposefully chosen to contradict Bossuet’s own, he also addressed him directly, and denied his overarching argument that the Albigensians were Manichean; arguing that ‘neither are there any more solid proofs to convict the Albigenses of those errors [Manichaeism], than the Waldenses’.⁹⁷⁷

A large proportion of Allix’s *Remarks upon the Ecclesiastical History of the Ancient Churches of the Albigenses* (1692) is concerned with the charge of Manichaeism, with chapters entitled ‘it doth not appear from the Conference of Alby, that the Albigenses were Manichees’ or ‘Whether the Albigenses were Manichees, because they accused the Pope of being the Antichrist’.⁹⁷⁸ As part of his critique of the Manichean argument Allix quotes from Gervase of Canterbury’s late-twelfth century *Chronica*. This is very significant as Gervase of Canterbury provides some of the best evidence of the dualism of the Albigensians. Allix recognised the significance of the source and referenced the source in detail, in anticipation of criticism for his interpretation of the source - ‘Chron. Gervas. inter 10 script, Angl. pag. 1441’.⁹⁷⁹ Allix purposefully ignores the main significance of the text, the first real description of the two powers that the Albigensians worshipped. Although Allix describes this source as mentioning Manicheanism, he in fact ignores the offending passage replacing it with a dash. The original reads ‘duo etiam principia introducuntur’, but Allix denies this part of the text instead omitting this detail.⁹⁸⁰ Allix, therefore, complains that medieval authors were making up the Manicheanism of the Albigensians, but he also does not provide the evidence necessary for Catholic authors to rebutt him. Revising the traditional historiography of the source as a basis for the Albigensian Manicheanism, Allix interprets a letter in Gervase of Canterbury’s *Chronica* as a deceptive form of Catholic propaganda.⁹⁸¹ Allix transcribed the

⁹⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁷⁶ Ibid., 174.

⁹⁷⁷ P. Allix, *Remarks upon the Ecclesiastical History of the Ancient Churches of the Albigenses* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1821), x.

⁹⁷⁸ Allix, *The Ancient churches of the Albigenses* (1692), xvii.

⁹⁷⁹ Ibid., 184.

⁹⁸⁰ Ibid.; G. of Canterbury, *The Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury*, ed. W. Stubbs, I (London, 1879-80), 270-271.

⁹⁸¹ Allix, *The Ancient churches of the Albigenses* (1692), 184.

letter from the Count of Toulouse, Raymond V, written in 1177, which pleads for help from the Abbot of Cisteaux on how to deal with the heretics.⁹⁸² Allix summarises the Count of Toulouse's predicament:

letter...which declares that the Clergy sided with the Party which he accuseth of *Manicheism*; and that the Popish Churches were reduced to extreme Desolation, he himself being in no Condition to remedy it, or to oppose himself against the Torrent, most of the great Lords having declared themselves for them.⁹⁸³

Allix claims that the Count of Toulouse was the one who 'accuseth [the Albigensians] of Manicheism'.⁹⁸⁴ Yet, all the other circumstances of the Albigensians which Allix described in his synopsis demonstrate a group that is experiencing growth, the support of the clergy and divine providence: 'the Clergy sided with the [Albigensians]...most of the great Lords having declared for them'. In contrast, Allix chose the term 'extreme Desolation' to describe the situation of the medieval Roman Church.⁹⁸⁵ This conveys more of Allix's opposition to the Roman Church from his standpoint as an exiled Calvinist than the thirteenth-century state of the Church.

Allix associated the migration of Huguenots to England in the face of French persecution with a narrative of the Albigensians fleeing the crusade to England, thereby bringing true Christianity with them. Integration was a major concern for Huguenot writers, to what extent should they subsume the identity of the culture that surrounded them. Allix was evidently concerned about integration into the Church of England. His *An Examination of the Scruples of Those who Refuse to Take the Oath of Allegiance* (1689) is subtitled 'by a Divine of the Church of England', signifying Allix's participation in the Anglican Church.⁹⁸⁶ In the dedicatory epistle to his *Remarks Upon the Ecclesiastical History of the Ancient churches of the Albigenses* (1692) Allix claimed that his defence of the Albigensians was strengthened by Queen Mary II's welcome of Huguenot refugees. Allix asserted that religious refugees for generations have 'laid down at your Majesty's Feet for Your Protection...as their Successors

⁹⁸² Ibid.

⁹⁸³ Ibid.

⁹⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁸⁶ P. Allix, *An Examination of the Scruples of Those who Refuse to Take the Oath of Allegiance* (London: Printed for Richard Chiswell, 1689).

do now fly into your Dominions for Relief'.⁹⁸⁷ This associated the Huguenots forced to flee to England with the Albigensians hiding from the crusade, as persecution 'drove them out of their Country, and forced many to fly into this Kingdom for shelter, who brought with them the first Seeds of those Truths which have since yielded so plentiful an Encrease'.⁹⁸⁸ Allix drew a direct comparison between the excommunicated Albigensians and the Huguenot refugees in seventeenth-century England. Chapter twenty-two of his *Remarks upon...Albigenses* was entitled 'That the Doctrine of the *Albigenses* spread itself in *England*, and continued there till the time of the Reformation'.⁹⁸⁹ This makes plain the continuation between the Albigensians and later sects - 'not...wholly extinguish'd; for we find the same appearing again in the Persons of the Lollards and Wicklefites'.⁹⁹⁰ Allix makes clear that the continual story of the Albigensians and successive heretics in English history was one of martyrdom and persecution at the hands of 'the Romish Clergy [who] have never, till the very Reformation, omitted their Endeavours towards the Extirpation, by Fire and Fagot, of all those that they rebuked'.⁹⁹¹ He also implied a teleological progression of true religion from the Albigensians to Wycliffe to the Henrician Reformation. Huguenots posed the question, if they were living in a Protestant country in exile should they be less concerned with their French origins? Despite, Allix's appeals to the Queen of England, and the inclusion of Wycliffe as an inheritor of the Albigensian legacy, he is determined to chart a history of Protestantism that is characterised by its French origins. His *Remarks upon...Albigenses* begins with the establishment of the churches of Gallia, Narbonne and Aquitaine.⁹⁹² Allix was aware that Huguenot refugees would identify with a group with French origins, akin to themselves, that faced religious persecution and supposedly adapted to survive in the form of the Lollards in England. Therefore, Allix's polemical works have a juxtaposition between encouragement to Protestants to adhere to the authority in whichever culture they lived in, and this cultural identity of exile from France, which provided them with the geographical and historical links with the true Church.

⁹⁸⁷ Allix, *The Ancient Churches of the Albigenses* (1692), iii.

⁹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, v.

⁹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 201.

⁹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

⁹⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 221.

⁹⁹² *Ibid.*, 1.

Conclusion

Overall, it is evident that the narrative of the Albigensians and Waldensians as the precursors of the Reformation was a powerful tool of Protestant polemic throughout the seventeenth century, however the nature of this narrative changed after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Whilst earlier writers in the seventeenth century, for example Jean Perrin, had been commissioned to write confessional narratives of the Albigensians and Waldensians, they were essentially continuing the sixteenth century martyrological argument. The sixteenth century view of the Albigensians and Waldensians entailed a polemic that revealed the character of Pope as persecutor and Antichrist. However, after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes the status of Huguenots changed, as did their perception of their relationship with both the Roman and the Gallican Church, which led to a revision of the history of the Albigensians. The fundamental arguments remained the same, but they were now framed in a language of exile and tyranny. Refugee authors were writing against secular royal policy and wished to be recognised as rightful subjects of France - they attacked the king's earthly judgement and pointed out that resistance to tyranny had a long history in France. Catholic supporters of the Revocation had made the issue of historical loyalty predominant in the debate. Bossuet's *Histoire des Variations* (1688) highlighted the impermanence and variation between Protestant denominations. Such a comprehensive and authoritative polemical work required a nuanced response from Huguenot scholars, who used the notion of historical tradition to demonstrate the validity of popular resistance to tyranny, portraying themselves as patriotic Frenchmen and part of an unbroken tradition.

Fundamentally, the widespread migration of Huguenot scholars to countries more welcoming to reformed beliefs, such as England, Holland and America, altered the way Huguenot writers used examples of medieval heretics. Ideas from French history concerning heretics migrated into the wider European confessional history of Protestantism. No longer were the Albigensians and Waldensians merely the concern of regional historians with antiquarian interest in local collections. Not only did this migration allow for the spread of specifically French ideas on medieval heresy, it also created changes in the ways these ideas were expressed and formulated within the context of exile. Refugees were more likely to compare their own plight with the suffering faced by the Albigensians and Waldensians at the hands of their inquisitors. The arguments of French Huguenots on medieval heresy reveal the significance of historical narrative in the formation of identity, particularly in the case of

refugees who relied on the historical past to give meaning to a present that was, by contrast, in flux. History was viewed as an authoritative source of identity that offered Huguenots not only a source of comfort during persecution and exile but gave them a powerful tool with which to resist traditional authority. The contribution of French Protestant understandings of medieval heresy to the eighteenth-century debates about authority and liberty is worthy of further research.

Conclusion

This thesis has re-examined ideas of medieval heresy in early modern France and how they were driven by the political context and confessional tensions of the Counter-Reformation.⁹⁹³ This investigation has shown that early modern scholars adapted their interpretations of thirteenth-century heresies to construct new historiographical narratives, which supported an aetiological understanding of confessional, regional and French identity. Of particular relevance here is the comparison between Albigensians, Waldensians and Huguenots, a pervasive idea which originated in the French Wars of Religion.⁹⁹⁴ Previously, the historiography has emphasised the polemic of the French Wars of Religion.⁹⁹⁵ However, the evidence presented in this thesis proves that the Albigensian and Waldensian heresies were increasingly researched, cross-examined with primary evidence and written about throughout the seventeenth century.⁹⁹⁶ As I have consistently argued, we should broaden our understanding of early modern thought on medieval heresy, beyond literary topoi or vitriolic polemical tropes of the French Wars of Religion, as it formed an integral part of French intellectual thought on what constituted heresy, persecution, truth and identity, particularly in the build-up, and response to, the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes.

By the early eighteenth century, the methodology of historians of medieval heresy in France had changed significantly. As history became increasingly professionalized, early modern scholars undertook a more scientific approach to thirteenth-century sources.⁹⁹⁷ They began to no longer conflate Albigensians and Waldensians and emphasised new aspects of their beliefs and practices.⁹⁹⁸ Throughout the seventeenth century, medieval sources were widely published, often translated into French, and therefore, were more accessible to historians of medieval heresy than ever before.⁹⁹⁹ The change in early modern approaches to medieval heresy by the eighteenth-century is most obvious in the *Histoire générale de Languedoc* (1730-1746) by Dom Joseph Vaissète (1685-1756) and Claude Devic (1670-1734). Vaissète

⁹⁹³ On the importance of political context see Racaut, *Hatred in Print*, 99.

⁹⁹⁴ Barnet, "Where Was Your Church before Luther?", 17-18; Feuchter, "Albigenser und Hugenotten", 321-5.

⁹⁹⁵ Racaut, "The Polemical use of the Albigensian Crusade", 261-279.

⁹⁹⁶ Wang, *Les Albigeois comme ancêtres des protestants?* For bibliographical evidence of the increased number of works published in the seventeenth century see "Histoire des Albigeois" and "Histoire des Vaudois" in Lelong, *Bibliothèque historique de la France*, 373-378.

⁹⁹⁷ On scientific method in history: Grafton, *The Footnote: A curious history*, 75; Kelley, *Versions of History*, 9.

⁹⁹⁸ For some examples of attempts to disprove the conflation of Albigensians and Waldensians see Galland, *Traité des Albigeois*, 3-7; Bossuet, *HDV*, 259.

⁹⁹⁹ Lelong, *Bibliothèque historique de la France*, 373-378.

and Devic co-authored this history of Languedoc which was widely considered as the authoritative text on medieval heresy in the region, due to its breadth and relative objectivity in its account of the Albigensian and Waldensian heresies.¹⁰⁰⁰ In Vaissète and Devic's work, the seventeenth century legacy of the ideas of medieval heresy espoused by the different intellectual networks explored in this thesis is undeniable. Vaissète and Devic were commissioned to start the project in 1715. The book extended to five volumes; the third volume focussing on the period of the Albigensian Crusade to the fifteenth century. A thirty-year undertaking, Devic died in 1734, but Dom Vaissète completed the work which was finally fully published in 1745.

The reputation of the work endures. Today it remains a standard reference work for the history of Languedoc.¹⁰⁰¹ However, the same critical questions posed of other works addressing medieval heresy need to be asked of Vaissète and Devic's work. In particular, why has so much been written since Devic and Vaissète which examines medieval heresy in Languedoc and yet does not critically examine their early modern sources? How did the context of these scholars, quoted within *Histoire générale de Languedoc*, in the late-sixteenth and seventeenth century inform the historiographical debate? This is an issue that this thesis has sought to redress by focussing on the period between the French Wars of Religion and the publication of Vaissète and Devic's book. The *Histoire générale de Languedoc* demonstrates the ways in which Enlightenment scholars benefitted from the close interrogation of the medieval sources in the seventeenth century.¹⁰⁰²

Vaissète and Devic embodied the five intellectual networks previously explored throughout this thesis, and their *Histoire générale de Languedoc* is an informed compendium which includes the writings of these different groups. The third encyclopaedic volume was the culmination of the past two centuries of ideas of medieval heresy. Vaissète and Devic's debt to the historiography of regional historical writing is clear; as Vaissète was the son of the *procureur général* of Albi and Devic came from the Huguenot centre of Sorèze, they were both aware of the complex identity-driven politics of Languedoc.¹⁰⁰³ Moreover, Vaissète and Devic, as Benedictines, inherited the intellectual tradition of the Maurists, who had

¹⁰⁰⁰ P. Wolff, "Y eut-il une optique propre des histoires régionales (XVIe - XVIIIe siècle)", *Cahiers de Fanjeaux* 14 (1979): 71-84.

¹⁰⁰¹ G. Passerat, "Dom Joseph Vaissète (1685-1756), historien du Languedoc et patriote Occitan avant l'heure", *Cahiers de Fanjeaux*, 49 (2014): 119; Monpays, "L'image du Languedoc".

¹⁰⁰² Passerat, "Dom Joseph Vaissète (1685-1756)", 132-135.

¹⁰⁰³ Vaissète and Devic, *Histoire générale du Languedoc*, vol. 5, 681.

encouraged the re-evaluation of medieval sources through philology and antiquarian methods.¹⁰⁰⁴ In Vaissète and Devic's *Histoire générale de Languedoc*, there is also the first published reference to the Doat Collection.¹⁰⁰⁵ Vaissète and Devic's work served the interests of orthodox bishops acting against heresy; initially commissioned in 1708 by the Archbishop of Narbonne, Charles Le Goux de La Berchère (1647-1719), president of the Estates of Languedoc.¹⁰⁰⁶ As far as their engagement with the Calvinist narrative, it has been remarked how Vaissète and Devic, in comparison to their seventeenth-century counterparts, are far more dispassionate about the link between the Albigensians, Waldensians and Huguenots, prefiguring the Catholic Enlightenment.¹⁰⁰⁷

The question raised by Vaissète and Devic's history of Languedoc is akin to that which first initiated this research into the context of Doat's collection of inquisitorial manuscripts: to what extent did changes in methodology and approach to medieval sources impact ideas upon medieval heresy in early modern France?

My research has provided insights into the inter-relationship between intellectual changes in historical writing, the "information state" and the concept of religious orthodoxy. To address this research question, this thesis has focussed on ideas about the Albigensians and Waldensians. There are some limitations to this approach and further research upon ideas of other medieval heretical groups could broaden our understanding of early modern approaches to unorthodoxy. However, the thesis has revealed the complexity and disparity of views within the intellectual milieu of France in this period.

At first glance, the shift in the methodology of early modern historians did not stop the continued derogatory rhetoric about medieval heretics, characterised in metaphors of darkness, disease and barbarity.¹⁰⁰⁸ Indeed, even the very words scholars used to describe

¹⁰⁰⁴ Devic and Vaissète both entered the Benedictine order at the Monastery of La Durade in Toulouse and their scholarly pursuits took them to Paris, to the Abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés - Passerat, "Dom Joseph Vaissète (1685-1756)", 120. Devic also published a Latin translation of the biography of Jean Mabillon: T. Ruinart, *Vita Joannis Mabillonii, Presbyteri [et] Monachi Ordinis S. Benedicti, Congregationis Sancti Mauri*, translated by C. Devic (Paris: Ex Typographia Seminarium, 1714).

¹⁰⁰⁵ Vaissète and Devic, *Histoire générale du Languedoc*, vol. 1, xv.

¹⁰⁰⁶ A. du Mège, in J. de Vaissète and C. Devic, *Histoire générale du Languedoc... commentée et continuée jusqu'en 1830*, par A. du Mège, 10 (Toulouse: J. B. Paya, 1830), 473.

¹⁰⁰⁷ Haag and Haag, *La France protestante*, 224.

¹⁰⁰⁸ Normand, "Venomous words and political poisons", 119-120; for an example see the frontispiece of Du Roydault, *L'hérésie expirante*.

them ‘Albigeois’ and ‘Vaudois’ arose as pejorative insults.¹⁰⁰⁹ This poses an underlying problem to the hypothesis proposed by this thesis that, ultimately, advances in historical writing and erudite reconsideration of medieval sources changed ideas about the Albigensians and Waldensians. The overarching narrative of medieval heretics as forerunners of the Reformation was a consistent ideological battleground, and vehement rhetoric was a major part of historical writing on medieval heresy. However, confessional polemic became increasingly based upon evidential proofs and concerned with ideas of ‘truth’ and the ‘true Church’. These concerns are reflected throughout the body of literature on medieval heresy, in the obsession with accuracy in the transcription and study of manuscripts and the development of aetiological narratives of the Reformed Church.

Traditionally, ideas of medieval heresy in early modern France have been viewed as literary topos. This thesis challenges the preconceived notion that the Albigensians and Waldensians served as a mere literary or polemical device of the late sixteenth century, arguing that they became the subject of scholarly research and were used in the construction of competing narratives of truth.¹⁰¹⁰ This outdated view was challenged by Racaut’s study of Catholic polemic in the French Wars of Religion, but he relied upon the assumption that the political situation of the sixteenth century was the main motivation behind ideas of origin.¹⁰¹¹ In the seventeenth century, in the context of increasingly divisive confessional stances, with both sides adopting the same narrative account for different purposes, the search for truth and origins became a shared intellectual pursuit. Confessional views of medieval heresy were consolidated throughout the period on either side. The myth of the Albigensians and Waldensians as ancestors of Protestantism was thoroughly researched and became considered as historical truth.¹⁰¹² In the process of the search for the truth, ideas of medieval heresy became more complex and nuanced, going beyond cautionary tales or formulaic insults, and were based inquisitorial documents and thirteenth-century chronicles. In general, Catholic and Huguenot writers had the same purpose: they thoroughly researched medieval heresy as a precursor to the Reformation, in order to produce a strong argument against confessional integration.

¹⁰⁰⁹ D. Shulevitch, “Historiography of heresy: The debate over “Catharism” in medieval Languedoc”, *History Compass*, 17 issue 1 (2018), 7.

Accessed February 3, 2019. <https://doi.org/10.1111/hic3.12513>.

¹⁰¹⁰ Edelman, *Attitudes Toward the Middle Ages*.

¹⁰¹¹ Racaut, *Hatred in Print*, 99.

¹⁰¹² Barnet, “Where Was Your Church before Luther?”, 18; Krumenacker, “The use of history by French Protestants”, 201-5.

There are multiple examples of misapplied evidence and writers interpreting medieval sources to their advantage, including potential forgeries and selective choices in the collection of documents.¹⁰¹³ Even if this historical account of the Albigensians and Waldensians as theological pre-cursors to the Reformation was “fake news”, it was extremely effective. Renaissance scholars educated in the importance of genealogy and the theological concept of apostolic succession extrapolated upon the geographical correlation between heretical sects and Huguenot strongholds four hundred years later. This narrative of the Protestants as inheritors of the Albigensians and Waldensians was perpetuated throughout France. The myth remains powerful today.¹⁰¹⁴ Its enduring power demonstrates how evidential-based proofs of a historical narrative are central to the construction of religious and political identities.

In particular, the inheritance from medieval sects was crucial to the construction of Reformed identity. Its place in fortifying the faithful in the context of religious violence and the expulsion of the Huguenots in 1685 is clear, but the role of memorialising and archiving the past by the Calvinist minority in seventeenth-century France has often been overlooked. The recent trend for memory studies, however, has brought this to the fore with works by Tucker and Van der Linden emphasising the “narrative of victimhood” in the martyrological tradition.¹⁰¹⁵ As seen in my chapter on Huguenot exiles, however, historians have not explored Calvinist views outside of narratives of suffering in martyrological texts. This year, the production of a modern edition of Jean Chassanion’s *Histoire des Albigeois* (1595) has begun a process of reconsidering the overlap between modern medievalists’ concerns over the provenance of Cathar sources and the sixteenth-century Huguenot preoccupation with the Albigensians.¹⁰¹⁶ Notwithstanding this recent edition, this thesis is the most extensive scholarship on Calvinist thought on medieval heretical sects in the seventeenth century. My research makes a significant contribution towards a holistic understanding of Calvinist construction of a Reformed identity, by examining Huguenot claims to a historical precedent

¹⁰¹³ The controversy surrounding the Charter of Niquinta in Besse, *Histoire des ducs, marquis*, 324-325; criticisms of Pierre Louvet’s historical writing in Graverol, *Notice ou Abrégé Historique*, 7; Pierre Allix’s omission of the description of dualism from the chronicle of Gervase of Canterbury in Allix., *The Ancient churches of the Albigenes* (1692), 184.

¹⁰¹⁴ Jas, *Incertitudes les cathares*, 38.

¹⁰¹⁵ Tucker, *The Construction of Reformed Identity*, 18; Van der Linden, “Histories of Martyrdom and Suffering”, 352.

¹⁰¹⁶ Chassanion, *Histoire des Albigeois* (2019).

in the Albigensians and Waldensians. The importance of this area of study should not be understated; it provides insight into the authoritative nature of history in the construction of identity of a religious minority. Calvinist views of the Albigensians and Waldensians were a foundation for eighteenth-century Huguenot attitudes on toleration and liberty, which came to pre-eminence in the Enlightenment.¹⁰¹⁷

The findings of this thesis, therefore, are particularly relevant to historians of confessional identity. The development of confessional historiography in the seventeenth century was concurrent with more texts written on ideas of medieval heresy, and complex notions of heresy being produced across the period. By analysing underexamined historical works, this thesis makes an original contribution to scholarship on confessional history.¹⁰¹⁸ I have chosen texts which were representative of contemporary beliefs, albeit exceptional in their erudition and popularity.¹⁰¹⁹ I have endeavoured to show the complexity of early modern confessional views on medieval heresy which, despite the overarching narrative of the Albigensians and Waldensians as precursors to the Reformation, highlight division within Huguenot and Catholic communities. This thesis also speaks to the recent trend of memory studies in the historiography of the Huguenot experience of exile after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes.¹⁰²⁰ But this research extends this beyond the memorialisation of religious violence of the sixteenth century, to the Calvinist establishment of a heritage of persecution that can be traced to the thirteenth-century. Further study of this phenomenon on a pan-European level, and into the eighteenth-century repercussions of the Huguenot diaspora, could help us understand the Frenchness of this concept of hereditary beliefs and the migration of ideas of heresy.

The implications of this study require a broadening of our understanding of medieval heresy and polemical dispute to include scholarly advances in historical writing. The reassessment of the intellectual value of early modern ideas of medieval heresy is part of a wider re-

¹⁰¹⁷ Adams, *The Huguenots and French Opinion, 1685-1787*, 10.

¹⁰¹⁸ In particular, there has been limited scholarship on the works of Charles Drelincourt (1595-1669), Jean-Paul Perrin (c.1576-c.1626), Auguste Galland (1570-1645) and Louis Abelly (1604-1691). Even well-known historians such as Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet - his *Histoire Des Variations* (1688) has not received much attention for his views on medieval heresy until recently, see P. Biller 'Note on the sources of Bossuet's account of medieval heresies in *Histoire des Variations*, book 11', forthcoming in P. Biller and L.J. Sackville (eds.) *Inquisition and Knowledge*.

¹⁰¹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰²⁰ Benedict, "Shaping the Memory of the French Wars of Religion", 111-125.

evaluation of epistemological change in France 1550-1700.¹⁰²¹ There is a great deal more that can be done to incorporate views of medieval heresy into this agenda. This thesis has concentrated on sources written and circulated in French. It would be enhanced by a study of erudite Latin writings, such as the linguistic and philological work of the Benedictine Maurists.¹⁰²²

Future research would also benefit from a collaborative approach, combining medievalists' knowledge of thirteenth-century manuscripts with the early modernist's understanding of the nuanced political and confessional context. Through examining the circulation of texts, and the references and marginalia of early modern manuscripts, we can trace copies of rare medieval manuscripts and their dissemination by scholarly networks in the seventeenth century.¹⁰²³ This thesis has initiated a dialogical approach on the early modern conception of medieval heresy between modern historians of different periods, using the Doat Commission as its point of departure.¹⁰²⁴

This research has demonstrated the popularity of certain sources over others in France in this period, and it should be considered the extent to which historians today continue to be influenced by early modern scholars. My thesis has shown the need for dialogue between historians of distinct periods, to revise our historiographical narrative of the history of the Albigensians and Waldensians. This exploration of ideas of medieval heresy in early modern France adds to our understanding of seventeenth-century concepts of persecution, toleration and truth, but also allows modern historians to view medieval sources in a new light. The continuum of heresy portrayed by early modern writers is reflected in the wider continuum of changes in historiographical approaches to the medieval. The response should be a critical assessment and re-evaluation of the choices in our methodology as we observe and participate in this continuum of historical writing.

¹⁰²¹ Soll, *Information Master*; Walsham, "The Social History of the Archive", 15.

¹⁰²² Ultee, *The Abbey of Saint Germain des Prés*.

¹⁰²³ Galland, *Traité des Albigeois*, 10v; Graverol, *Historique des Vingt-Deux Villes*, 18; Biller, "Note on the sources of Bossuet's account", forthcoming in P. Biller and L.J. Sackville (eds.) *Inquisition and Knowledge*.

¹⁰²⁴ The Doat Project at the University of York (2014-2019), is an example of this dialogue between historians of the medieval and the early modern, I am very grateful to Pete Biller, Lucy Sackville and Shelagh Sneddon for sharing their knowledge of medieval inquisitorial documents with me: <https://www.york.ac.uk/res/doat/project/>.

Abbreviations

BNF	Bibliothèque nationale de France
Doat 22, 23, 24	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Collection Doat, MSS 22-24; accessed in the University of York Doat Project.
Doat 25, 26	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Collection Doat, MSS 25-26; see <i>Inquisitors and Heretics in Thirteenth-Century Languedoc: Edition and Translation of Toulouse Inquisition Depositions, 1273-1282</i> , ed. and trans. P. Biller, C. Bruschi and S. Sneddon. Leiden, 2011.
<i>HDV</i>	J. B. Bossuet, <i>Histoire des Variations des Églises Protestantes</i> , Paris: S. Mabre-Cramoisy, vol. 2, 1688.
<i>ECCO</i>	Eighteenth-Century Collections Online
<i>USTC</i>	Universal Short Title Catalogue

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