

The Southern French Nobility
and the Albigensian Crusade

ELAINE GRAHAM-LEIGH

*The Southern French Nobility
and the
Albigensian Crusade*

The Albigensian Crusade was called by Pope Innocent III in 1208 against the Count of Toulouse in response to the murder of the papal legate Pierre des Castelnau. The Pope's aim was to force the Count and other nobles in Languedoc to take action against the Cathar heretics in their lands, but in the end, the defeat of Catharism in the south of France was achieved through the establishment of the Inquisition and the extension of French royal authority to the area. While some Occitan noble families survived the crusade, others were destroyed and the behaviour of the crusaders towards the local nobility has often been regarded as rather arbitrary, unconnected to how these families related to each other before 1209. This study takes the case of the Trencavel Viscounts of Béziers and Carcassonne, who were the only members of the higher nobility to lose their lands to the crusade, and argues that an understanding of how the Occitan nobility fared in the crusade years must be based in the context of the politics of the noble society of Languedoc, not only in the thirteenth century but also in the twelfth.

ELAINE GRAHAM-LEIGH gained her Ph.D. from the University of London.

*The Southern French Nobility
and the
Albigensian Crusade*

Elaine Graham-Leigh

THE BOYDELL PRESS

© Elaine Graham-Leigh 2005

All Rights Reserved. Except as permitted under current legislation no part of this work may be photocopied, stored in a retrieval system, published, performed in public, adapted, broadcast, transmitted, recorded or reproduced in any form or by any means, without the prior permission of the copyright owner

The right of Elaine Graham-Leigh to be identified as the author of this work has been asserted in accordance with sections 77 and 78 of the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988

First published 2005
The Boydell Press, Woodbridge

ISBN 1 84383 129 5

The Boydell Press is an imprint of Boydell & Brewer Ltd
PO Box 9, Woodbridge, Suffolk IP12 3DF, UK
and of Boydell & Brewer Inc.
668 Mt Hope Avenue, Rochester, NY 14620, USA
website: www.boydellandbrewer.com

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Graham-Leigh, Elaine, 1973-

The southern French nobility and the Albigensian Crusade / Elaine Graham-Leigh.
p. cm.

Summary: "A fresh look at the Albigensian Crusade, highlighting its effects upon the indigenous nobility"—Provided by publisher.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 1-84383-129-5 (hardback : alk. paper)

1. Albigenses—France, Southwest—History. 2. Nobility—France, Southern—History. 3. France, Southwest—History—To 1500—Religious aspects. 4. Heresies, Christian—France—Languedoc—History—Middle Ages, 600-1500. 5. France—Church history—987-1515. I. Title.

DC83.3.G67 2005
944'.023—dc22

2004030370

This publication is printed on acid-free paper

Printed in Great Britain by
St Edmundsbury Press Ltd, Bury St Edmunds, Suffolk

Contents

Acknowledgements	ix
Abbreviations	xi
Editorial conventions	xiii
Maps	xiv
Genealogies	xvii
1 The Albigensian crusade, past and present	1
2 Charters, chronicles and troubadour poems: Sources for the Albigensian crusade	10
3 Victims of the crusade: The 1209 campaign against the Trencavel	42
4 The wrong side in the patronage war: Heretics, Cistercians and abducted bishops	58
5 Ambitious, brave and lacking in political sense: The political background to the crusade	90
6 'A People Grieving for the Death of their Lord'? Responses to the end of Trencavel rule	113
7 'Grave oppression of the citizens': The limits of Trencavel lordship	130
8 Continuities in Languedoc: The Albigensian crusade in context	166
Bibliography	171
Index	181

*For Martyn Rogers
who lent me a book when I was at an impressionable age
and introduced me to Languedoc*

This book is produced with the assistance of a grant
from Isobel Thornley's Bequest to the University of London

Acknowledgements

Thanks are due to many people, in particular to Brenda Bolton, Tom Asbridge, Alexander Murray, Michael Clanchy, Patricia Skinner, John Gillingham, Tom Cain, Damien Smith, Claire Taylor and the members of the Early Medieval Seminar at the Institute of Historical Research. I am also very grateful to Pilar Jiménez-Sánchez and Charles Peytavie of the Centre d'Etudes Cathares for their kindness and patience with my French. I would also like to extend my thanks to the family of the late Richard Benjamin for allowing me access to his papers. Last but certainly not least, thanks to Angela Graham-Leigh for proof-reading, to Anne Alexander for preparing the index and to Dominic Alexander, without whose erudition and insights this book could never have been written.

Abbreviations

Abbreviated titles not listed below are to be found in the Bibliography at the back of the book.

ADA	Archives départementales de l'Aude
Alberigo	<i>Conciliarum Oecumenicorum Decreta</i> , ed. J. Alberigo, J. A. Dossetti Perikle, P. Joannou, C. Leonardi and P. Prodi, 3rd ed. (Bologna 1973)
Baluze	La Collection Baluze à la Bibliothèque nationale de France
Bouquet 12	M. Bouquet, <i>Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France</i> , vol. 12, ed. M.-J.-J. Brial, 2nd ed. V Palmé (Paris 1878)
Bouquet 19	M. Bouquet, <i>Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France</i> , vol. 19, ed. M.-J.-J. Brial, 2nd ed. L. Delisle (Paris 1880)
<i>Carcassonne et sa région</i>	<i>Carcassonne et sa région: Actes des XLI et XXIV congrès d'études régionales tenus par la Fédération historique du Languedoc méditerranéen et du Roussillon et par la Fédération des Sociétés Académiques et Savantes de Languedoc-Pyrénées-Gascogne</i> (Carcassonne 1970)
CDIACA	<i>Colección de documentos inéditos del Archivo de la Corona de Aragón</i> , ed. D. Prósper de Bofarull y Mascaró, 50 vols. (Barcelona 1847–)
<i>Cisterciens de Languedoc</i>	<i>Les Cisterciens de Languedoc (XIIIe–XIVe siècles)</i> , ed. E. Privat, Cahiers de Fanjeaux 21 (Toulouse 1986)
CT	La Cartulaire dit de Trencavel, La Société Archéologique de Montpellier, MS 10
de Vic and Vaissète	C. de Vic and J. Vaissète, <i>Histoire générale de Languedoc</i> , 15 vols. (Toulouse 1872–92), 2nd ed. (Osnabrück 1973)
Doat	La Collection Doat à la Bibliothèque nationale de France
GC	<i>Gallia Christiana in Provincias Ecclesiasticas Distributa</i> , 16 vols. (Paris 1715–1865)
GCB	<i>Gesta Comitum Barchinonensium</i> , ed. L. Barru Dihigo and J. Masso Torrents (Barcelona 1925)
<i>Hommage à Pierre Bonnassie</i>	<i>Les sociétés méridionales à l'âge féodal (Espagne, Italie et sud de la France Xe–XIIIe siècle): Hommage à Pierre Bonnassie</i> , ed. H. Débax (Toulouse 1999)
<i>Innocent III Urbs et Orbis</i>	<i>Innocent III Urbs et Orbis. Atti del Congresso Internazionale Roma 9–15 settembre 1998</i> , ed. A. Sommerlechner, 2 vols. (Rome 2003)

-
- LFM* *Liber Feudorum Maior: Cartulario Real que se conserva en el Archivo de la Corona de Aragón*, ed. F. M. Rosell, 2 vols. (Barcelona 1945)
- LIM* *Liber Instrumentorum Memorialium: Cartulaire des Guillemes de Montpellier*, ed. La Société Archéologique de Montpellier (Montpellier 1884–6)
- Livre Noir* *Cartulaire de Béziers (Livre Noir)*, ed. J. Rouquette (Paris and Montpellier 1918)
- Mahul A. Mahul, *Cartulaire et archives des communes de l'ancien diocèse et de l'arrondissement administratif de Carcassonne*, 5 vols. (Paris 1857)
- Mansilla *La documentacion pontifica hasta Inocencio III 965–1216*, ed. D. Mansilla (Rome 1955)
- MGH SS Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores
Narbonne: Archéologie et histoire, XLVe congrès organisé par la Fédération historique du Languedoc méditerranéen et du Roussillon, 3 vols., vol. 2: *Narbonne au moyen âge* (Montpellier 1973)
- Paix de Dieu* *Paix de Dieu et guerre sainte en Languedoc au XIIIe siècle*, ed. E. Privat, Cahiers de Fanjeaux 4 (Toulouse 1969)
- PL* *Patrologia Latinae cursus completus, series latina*, ed. J.-P. Migne, 221 vols. (Paris 1844–64)
- Reg. Innocenz III* *Die Register Innocenz III*, ed. O. Hageneder, W. Maleczek and A. A. Strnad, 8 vols. (Graz, Rome and Vienna 1964–2001), edition continues
- Les voies de l'hérésie* *Les voies de l'hérésie: Le groupe aristocratique en Languedoc XIe–XIIIe siècles. Actes du 8e colloque du Centre des Etudes Cathares/Réné Nelli, Carcassonne 28 août–1er septembre 1995*, *Heresis* 8 (1995), 2 vols.
- VII CHCA* *VII Congreso de la Historia de la Corona de Aragón*, 3 vols. (Barcelona 1962)

Editorial Conventions

Names

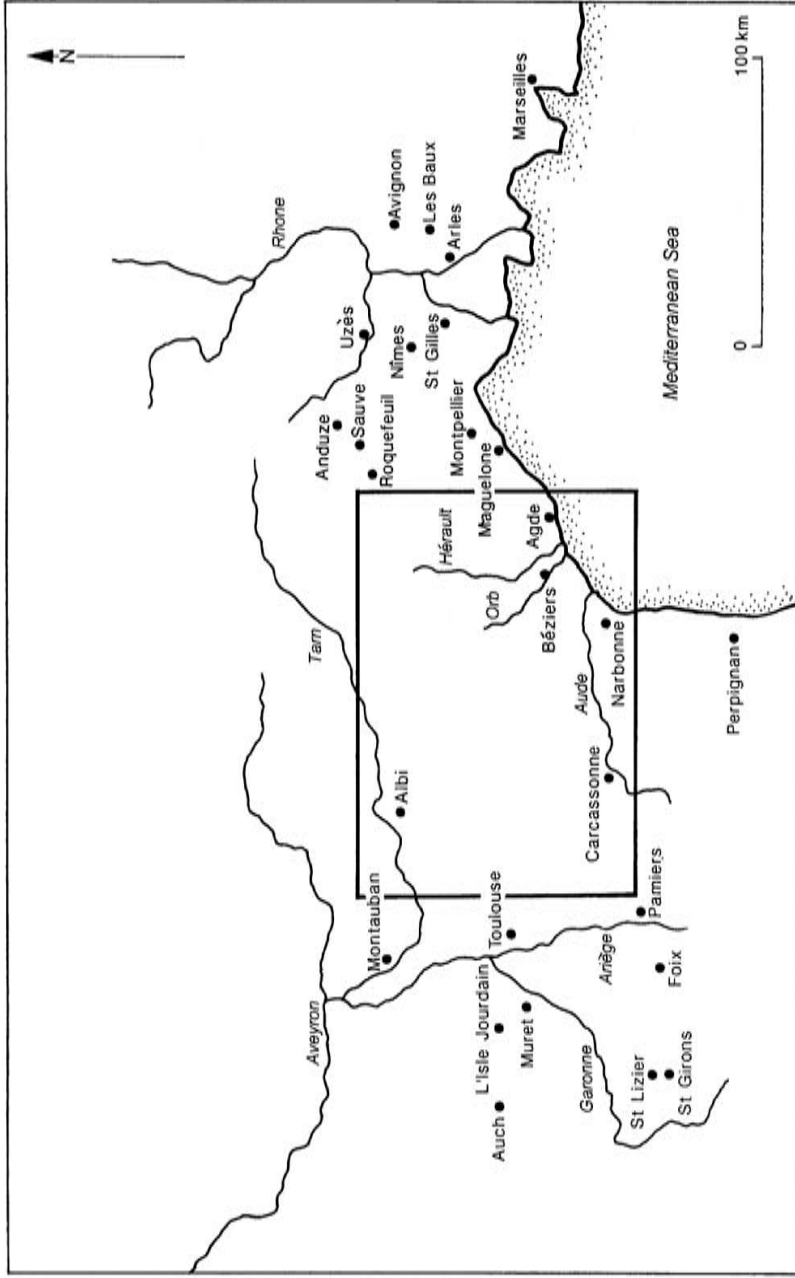
I have not attempted to anglicise proper names except where the English form is so well established as to render any other usage inappropriate. In the same way, except where another form has become customary I have attempted to use the form of the name most suitable for its bearer: for instance, William of Newburgh, Guillem de Montpellier but Guillaume de Puylaurens.

Money

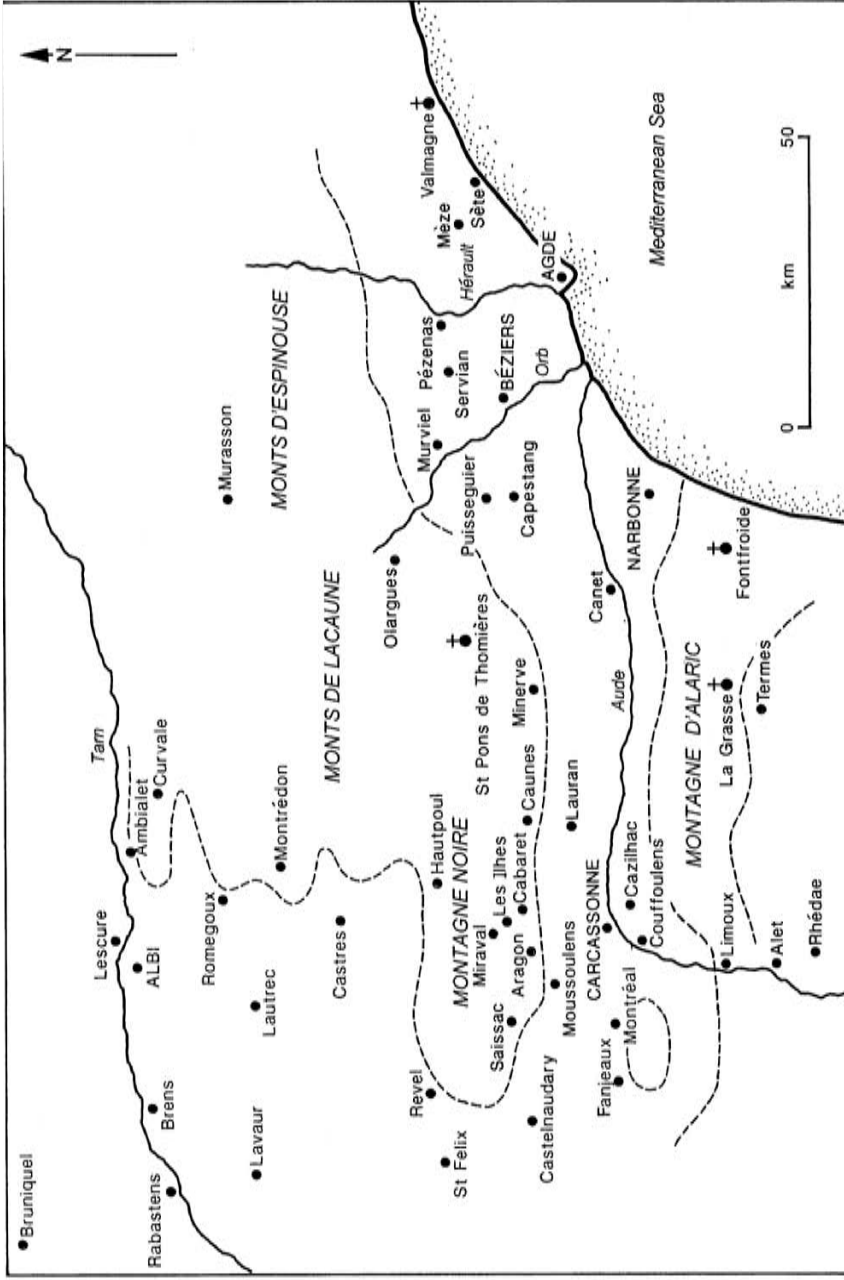
The Trencavel issued their own silver coinage in both Carcassonne and Béziers during the twelfth century.¹ However, the principal currency of both southern France and northern Spain was the silver coinage issued by the bishops of Maguelonne as counts of Melgueil.² The vast majority of Trencavel monetary transactions used Melgorian *sols* rather than their own currency and the Carcassonne coinage seems to have been abandoned by the end of the twelfth century. References to coinage are to the Melgorian unless otherwise stated.

¹ F. Poey d'Avant, *Monnaies féodales de France*, 3 vols. (Graz 1961), vol. 2, pp. 269–85.

² P. Spufford, *Money and its Use in Medieval Europe* (Cambridge 1988), pp. 174, 191–2.



Map 1. Languedoc and Provence c.1200, the boxed area showing the Trenchavel lands.

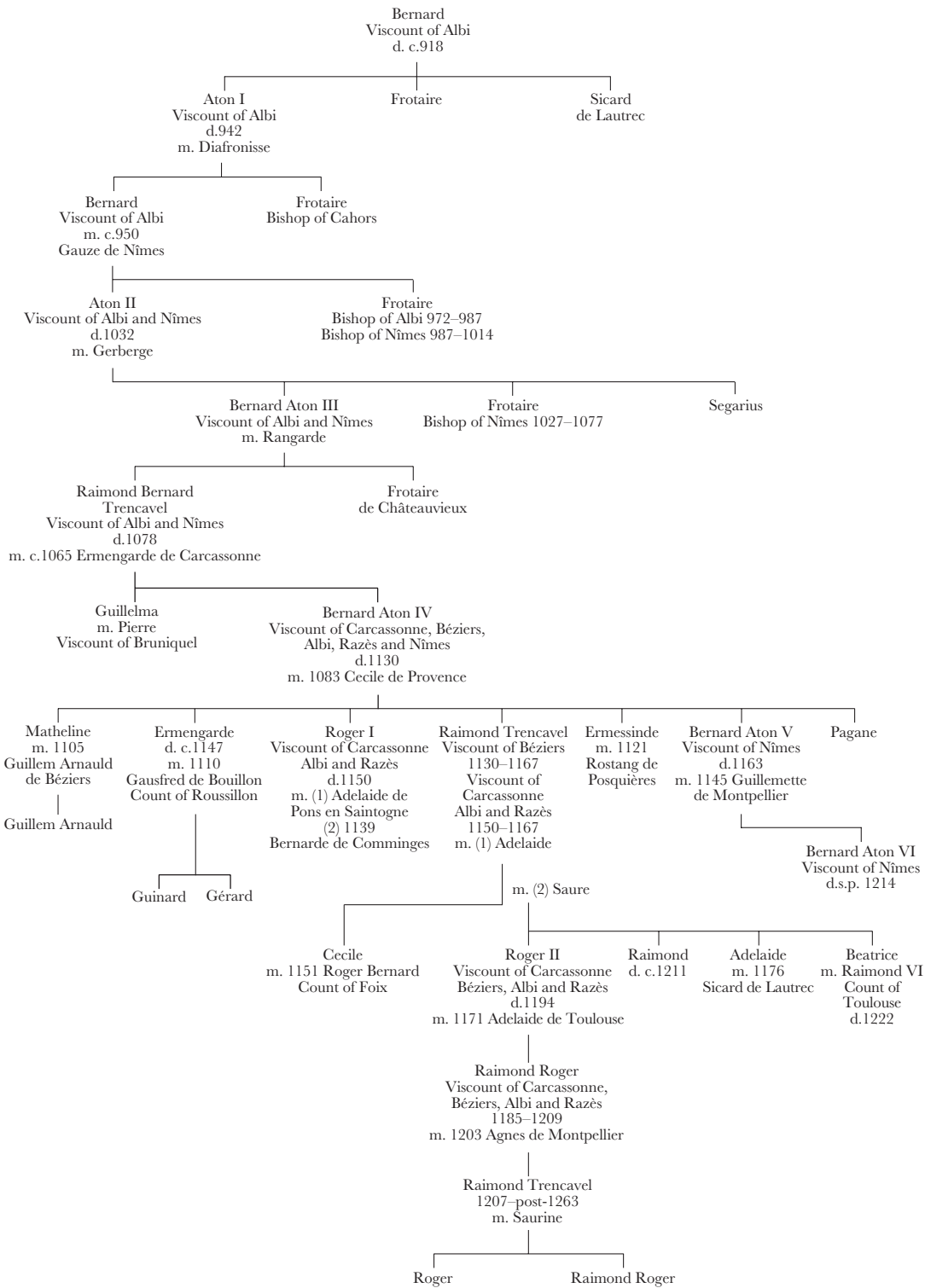


Map 2. The Trencavel lands.

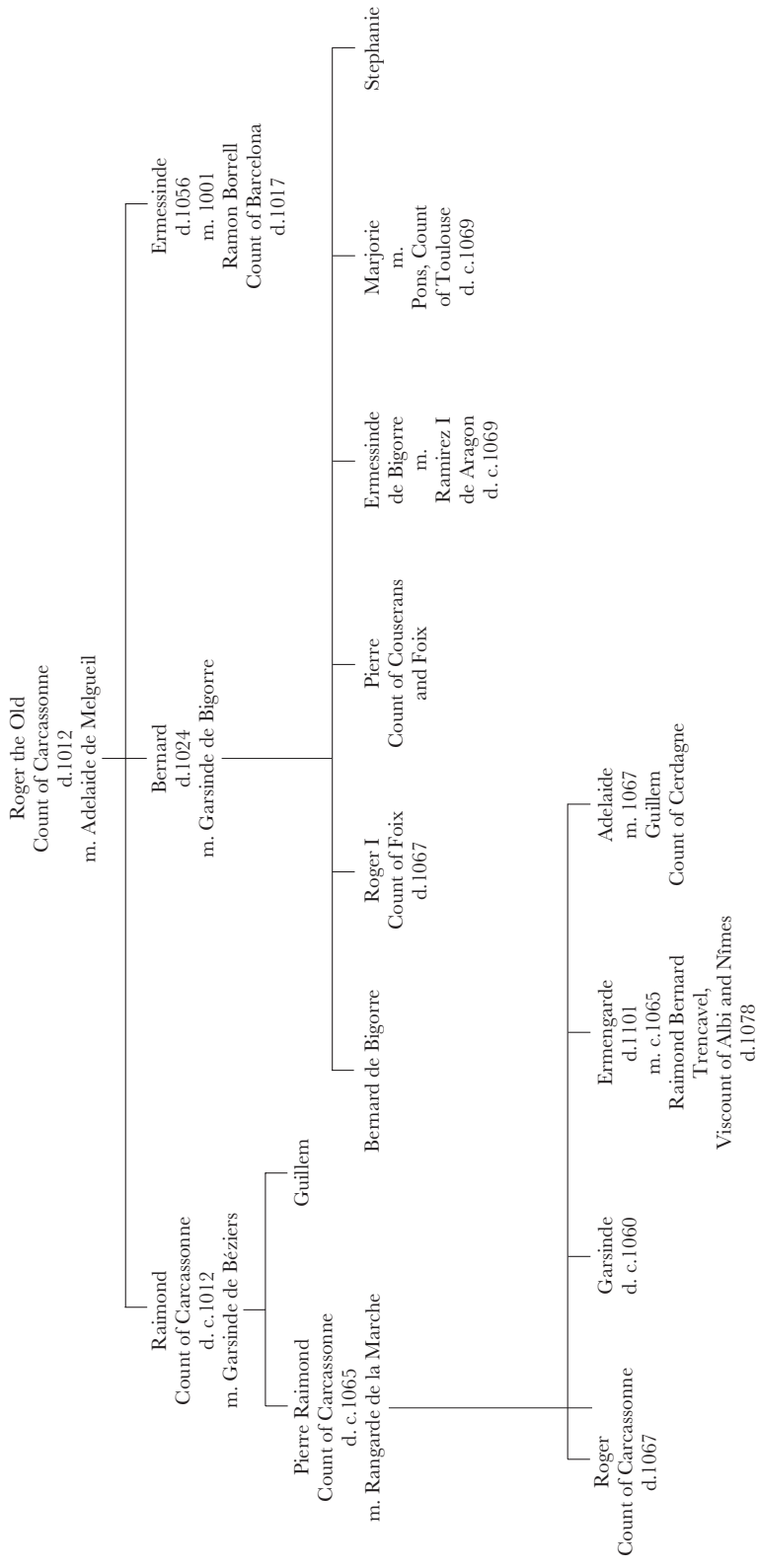
Genealogies of the Nobility of Languedoc

1. The Trencavel	xviii
2. The counts of Carcassonne	xix
3. The counts of Foix and the counts of Comminges	xx
4. The counts-kings of Barcelona and Aragon	xxi
5. The counts of Toulouse	xxii
6. The viscounts of Narbonne	xxiii
7. The Guillems de Montpellier	xxiv
8. The Roquefeuil	xxv
9. The succession to the county of Provence c.1050–1200	xxvi
10. The counts of Foix and Comminges and the viscounts of Narbonne after the Albigensian crusade	xxvii

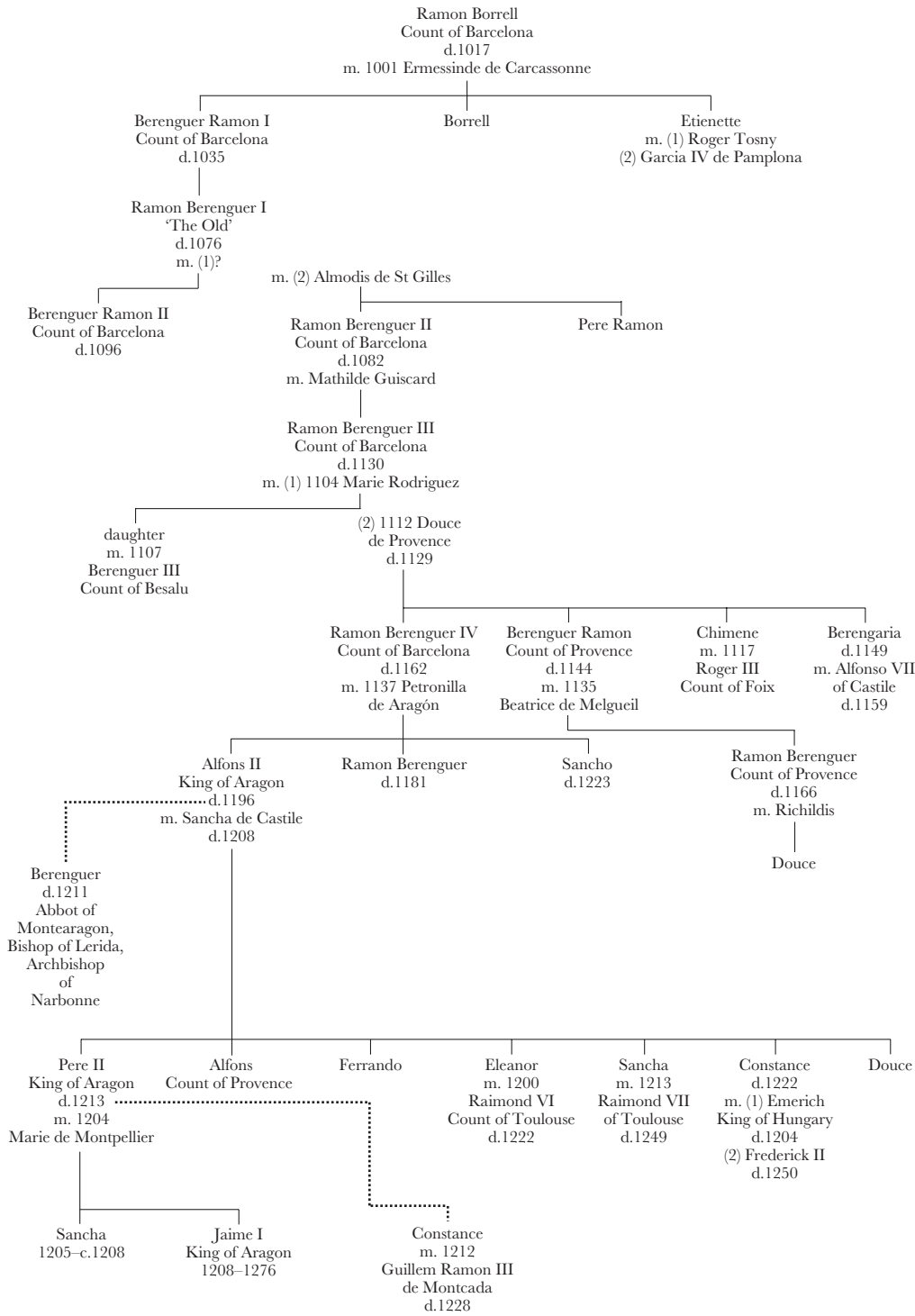
1. The Trencavel



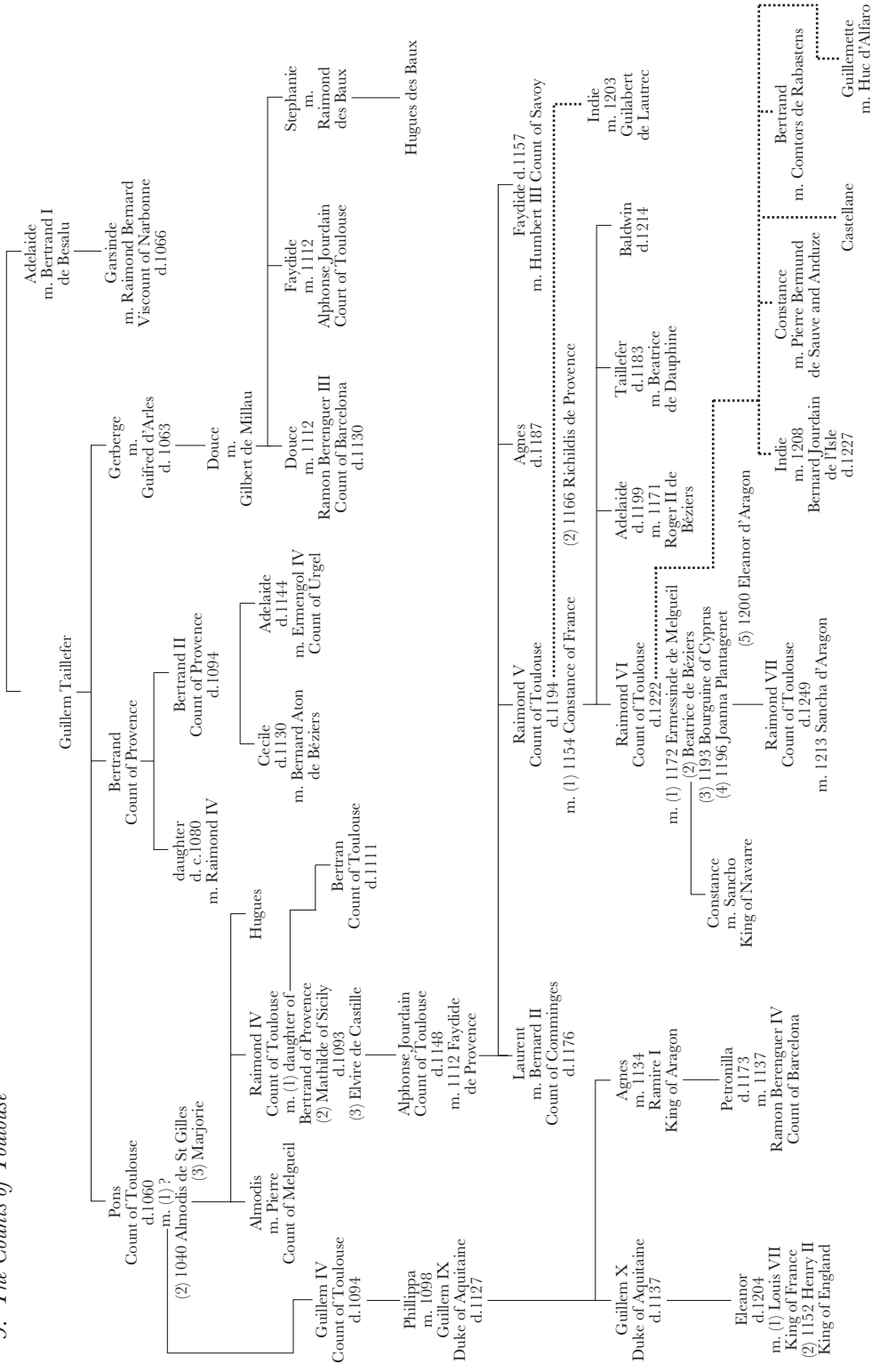
2. *The Counts of Carcassonne*



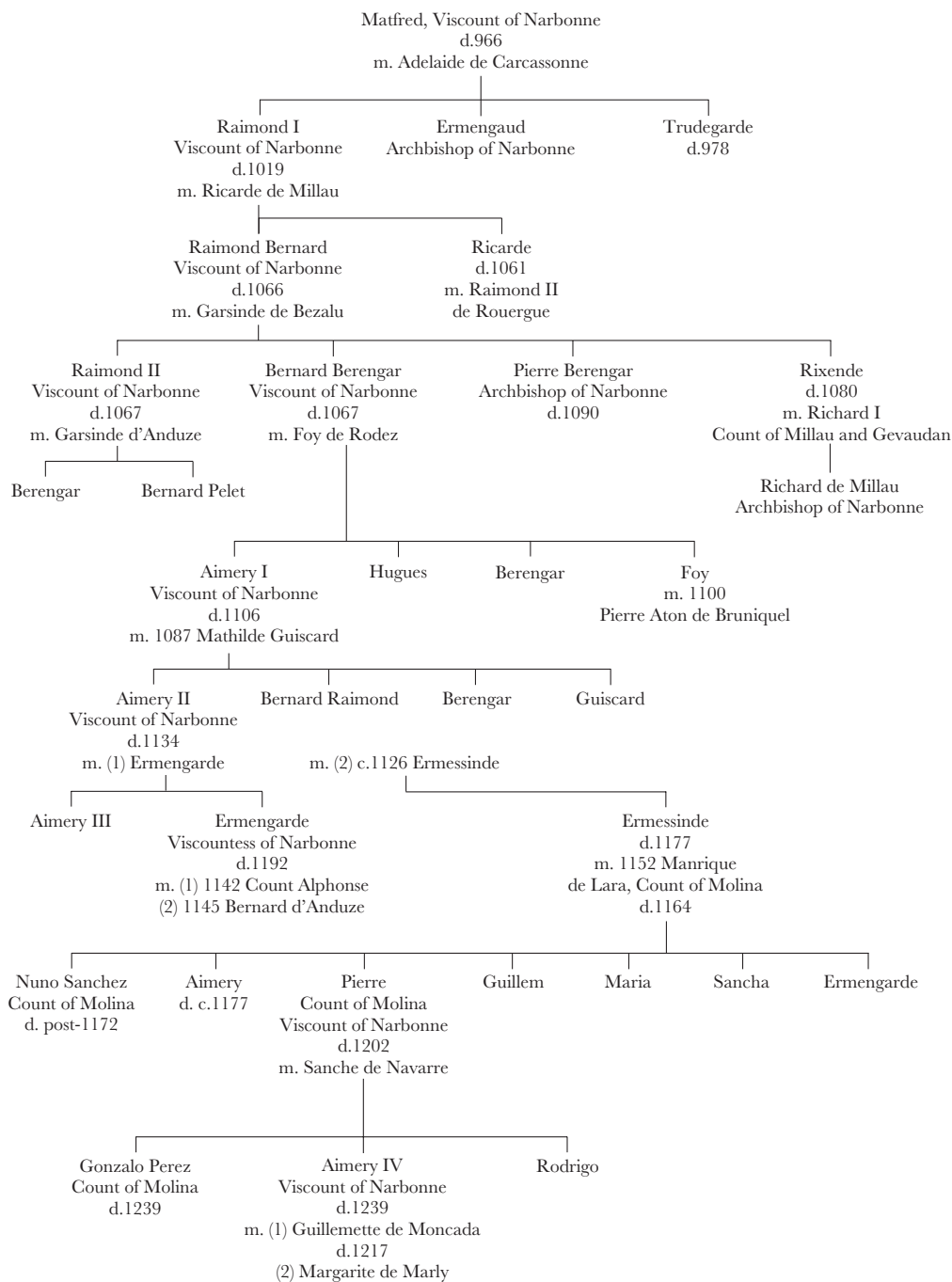
4. The Court-kings of Barcelona and Aragon



5. The Counts of Toulouse



6. *The Viscounts of Narbonne*



- [download online The George Barr McCutcheon Megapack: 25 Classic Novels and Stories here](#)
- [read online Assassination of Jesse James by the Coward Robert Ford: A Novel](#)
- [Leg Over Leg, Volume 1 pdf, azw \(kindle\), epub](#)
- [The 100-Gun Ship Victory \(Anatomy of the Ship\) pdf, azw \(kindle\), epub](#)
- [read online Yiddish Folktales \(Library of Yiddish Classics\) pdf](#)

- <http://twilightblogs.com/library/The-George-Barr-McCutcheon-Megapack--25-Classic-Novels-and-Stories.pdf>
- <http://www.shreesaiexport.com/library/Medieval-Britain--A-Very-Short-Introduction--Very-Short-Introductions-.pdf>
- <http://www.mmastyles.com/books/Leg-Over-Leg--Volume-1.pdf>
- <http://unpluggedtv.com/lib/The-100-Gun-Ship-Victory--Anatomy-of-the-Ship-.pdf>
- <http://tuscalaural.com/library/The-Cambridge-Companion-to-Mozart.pdf>