Imagined Geographies and the Production of Space in Occitània and Northern Catalunya in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries

by

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A.D.H.G. = Archives départementales de la Haute-Garonne

A.D.L.G. = Archives départementales de Lot-et-Garonne

A.D.P.O. = Archives départementales des Pyrénées-Orientales

A.M.M. = Archives municipales de Montpellier

A.M.N. = Archives municipales de Narbonne

A.M.T. = Archives municipales de Toulouse

A.N.P. = Archives nationales, Paris

B.M.T. = Bibliothèque municipale de Toulouse

BnF = Bibliothèque nationale de France

Doat = Collection Doat, Bibliothèque nationale de France

HGL = Claude de Vic and Joseph Vaissette, *Histoire Générale de Languedoc avec des notes et les pièces justificatives*, 5 vols. (Paris: J. Vincent, 1730-1745); 2nd ed., 16 vols., ed. Auguste Molinier (Toulouse: Édouard Privat, 1882-1904).

Layettes = *Layettes du Tresor des chartes*, 5 vols., ed Alexandre Teulet, Joseph de Laborde, Elie Berger, and Henri-François Delaborde (Paris: H. Plon, 1863-1909).

PL = *Patrologiae cursus completus: Series latina*, 221 vols., ed. Jacques-Paul Migne (Paris: Garnier Frères, 1844-1904).

Introduction

The region we now call southern France—roughly the territory from Limoges and Clermont in the north to the Pyrenees and the Mediterranean littoral in the south and from the Atlantic coast of Aquitaine to the alpine border of Provence—was not, for most of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, actually in any way part of the realm of "France." This kingdom in its most limited geographical sense comprised the area around Paris, along the Seine—the *Ile-de-France*. More generously, it might also be said to have encompassed the neighboring counties and duchies over which the king was nominally sovereign: Artois to the north, Normandy and Brittany to the northwest, Touraine and Poitou to the southwest, and Champagne and Burgundy to the southeast. At any given time, of course, these political units could be and were attached to the domains of other sovereigns, or be governed by their own more-or-less independent ruling houses. Since sovereignty was not yet firmly territorialized, fixed, linear boundaries were rare. But one thing is certain: "France" did not extend—politically or culturally—south into the river basin of the Garonne, which flows north from the Pyrenees and empties at Bordeaux into the Atlantic, nor did it ascend the northern slopes of the Massif Central, an elevated region of mountains and plateaus east of the Garonne, covering over 180,000 km^2 and bordered by the alluvial plains of the Loire and the valley of the Rhône. Modern scholars and regional social movements have taken to calling this area Occitània after its mother tongue, *lenga d'oc*, in which *oc* served as the affirmative participle and so distinguished it from the *langue d'oïl* of France. In its modern expression, the language is known as Occitan, although sometimes it is called Provençal, deriving from the habits of medieval popes to

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label the region *Provincia*, following ancient Roman practice.[1] It is not so different from Catalan, which is unsurprising, since the region bordered northern Catalunya—the medieval county of Roussillon, today also part of France—just north of where the Pyrenees descend into the Mediterranean Sea. Between 1200 and 1400 many urban communities and local lords in Occitània recognized not the king of France but the king of Aragon as their sovereign (if, for the most part, he took little direct interest in their affairs). All of this is to say that Occitània and northern Catalunya (fig. 1), which have since become modern southern France—*le Midi de la France*—were in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries anything but. I will sometimes use the expression "southern France" where I find its alternatives unwieldy, but this is always with the recognition that I am engaging in an anachronistic conceit.
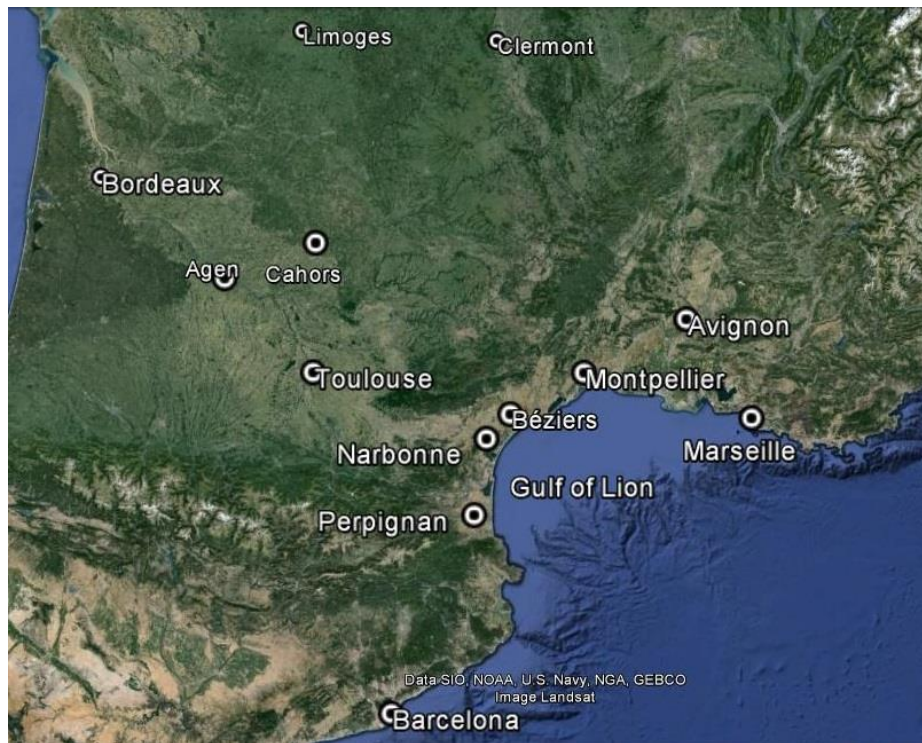
Fig. 1. Map of Occitània and northern Catalunya. Google Earth image.

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[1] This can lead to some linguistic confusion, for technically Provençal (as it was spoken in Provence) is but a dialect of Occitan, alongside Auvergnat, Gascon, Languedocien, Limousin, and, along the Italian border, Vivaro-Alpine. On Roman *Provincia*, see the regional overview later in this introduction.

Opening my dissertation with the paragraph above does more than merely provide

background, for it illustrates the ways we, as historians and as human beings, like to think spatially,

in terms of geographically or topographically bounded units. We say "southern France" or the *Midi*

and would like to think that such expressions describe, rather unproblematically, a particular,

circumscribed territory with a distinctive geography and cultural identity. The relationship between

such designations and their referents is taken as self-evident and, in the worst cases, essential. But

there is always a politics, of course, to naming and to spatial orderings. The "production" of the *Midi*

from the sixteenth century on, for example, involved such state-sponsored policies as the eradication

of any *patois* (non-standard local language or dialect) spoken within national boundaries. This policy,

which found material expression in slogans painted on schools walls declaring "Parlez Français,

Soyez Propres" ("Speak French, Be Clean"), has been termed *la vergonha* ("the shame") by modern

Occitans, a linguisticide forming part of an attempt to stamp out regional identities and uphold the

French language as a pillar of the modern nation state.[2] To begin to conceive of Occitània as

"southern France" was thus to create a new spatial order—a new cognitive or imagined

geography—in the service of modern formulations of national sovereignty and statehood in France.

There was no such linguistic policy in Occitània and northern Catalunya in the period with

which this dissertation is concerned. But the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries were marked by

other kinds of social, political, and religious change. The growth of trade and artisanal production

had encouraged urban growth (in an already urbanized region), leading to the appearance of new

bourgeois elites and their assertions of urban autonomy. The demands of these elites were more-or-

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[2] The Ordinance of Villers-Cotterêts of Francis I in 1539 made French the official language of all legal, notarial, and royal acts. Originally conceived as a way to replace Latin as the linguistic standard of documentation, the ordinance also marginalized local vernaculars. On *la vergonha*, the French language, and the modern nation state, see Anne Judge, "France: 'One state, one nation, one language'?" in *Language and Nationalism in Europe*, ed. Stephen Barbour and Cathie Carmichael (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 44-82, as well as James E. Jacob, "Language Policy and Political Development in France," in *Language Policy and Political Development*, ed. Brian Weinstein (Norwood, NJ: Ablex Publishing Corporation, 1990), 43-66.

less consistently disputed by the expanding monarchical states in France, Aragon, England, and Italy (the kingdom of Sicily), all of which had political interests in the region. The competing claims of these monarchies led to some of the most best-known medieval conflicts—the Hundred Years' War between France and England—as well as some lesser known ones—the longer struggle for Mediterranean dominance, beginning in the middle of the thirteenth century, between the kings of Aragon and the Angevin monarchs of Naples, what one historian has called "a Two Hundred Years' War."[3] Meanwhile, responding to the new spiritual needs of a transformed social order, the mendicants, inspired by the examples of Francis of Assisi and Dominic de Guzmán, enthusiastically engaged lay society and fostered new forms of spirituality in their revitalization of the Church's pastoral mission.

In this dissertation, I attempt to discern the ways these developments impacted the production, experience, and functions of medieval spaces. I will examine, in other words, how individuals and communities produced new (urban, seigneurial, and sacred) spaces in the context of urban expansion, state consolidation, and spiritual reform—how urban inhabitants, expanding monarchical states, and new mendicant orders articulated and contested identities and the imagined geographies that sustained them. I will also consider specific material spaces produced in the period, and argue that these spaces themselves structured experience in ways that contributed to articulations of identity, influenced religious practices, and expressed or mediated authority. To write a history of medieval space in Occitània and northern Catalunya, to shift the focus from human actors to their interdependence with the material landscapes—both real and imagined—that they produced, not only examines the history of the region from a new perspective that highlights previously overlooked topics and issues, but also, I hope, goes some way toward reframing the way

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[3] David Abulafia, *The Western Mediterranean Kingdoms, 1200-1500: The Struggle for Dominion* (London: Longman, 1997), xvi.

we as historians think about human society and the materialities that intersect, permeate, and in some ways generate it.

I. Modern Theorists and Medieval Spaces

As the foregoing discussion has perhaps made clear, I am adopting and engaging the vocabularies and theoretical frameworks of a number of cultural geographers, philosophers, and social theorists. Among these, two scholars in particular have conceptualized space in ways that I have found especially helpful. Henri Lefebvre, in *La production de l'espace*, first formulated a comprehensive theory of space as something other than an abstract, empty area or container.[4] For him, the space of any given society (that is to say, social space) was a social product—influenced by the society's dominant mode of production, it was generated in a three-part dialectic embracing spatial practice (alternatively called *le perçu*), representations of space (*le conçu*), and representational spaces (*le vécu*). Spatial practice included the production and reproduction of each social formation. Essentially what this meant, as his examples made clear, was the network of roads and ways that facilitated travel and transport, that linked places of work with places of habitation and leisure. Spatial practice was the daily, routine movement of individuals along these paths. Representations of space, meanwhile, were spaces as they were conceptualized or conceived by experts—diagrammed, mapped, and surveyed. This is the element of Lefebvre's conceptual triad that is most tied up with hegemonic forces; representations of space are imposed from above, from a position of some kind of authority. They make up, according to him, the dominant space in any given society. Representational spaces, on the other hand, were the dominated, passively experienced spaces of "inhabitants" and "users" that embodied complex symbolisms: "space as directly *lived* through its

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[4] Originally published in French; Henri Lefebvre, *La production de l'espace* (Paris: Éditions Anthropos, 1974). I will cite the work in translation: Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Malden: Blackwell, 1991).

associated images and symbols."[5] This is sometimes called the "spatial imaginary." These three elements—spatial practice, representations of space, and representational spaces—combine in different arrangements according to the society in question to produce social space.

With its emphasis on affective and mental spatial orderings, it has been noted that the framework he proposed proceeded largely from Marx's critique of political economy.[6] It makes sense, then, that like Marx he would often return to the medieval world for inspiration, analysis, and illustration.[7] In fact, one cannot even finish his first chapter—the "plan of the present work"—before the author has broadly outlined medieval space as it fit his conceptual triad of space-producing elements:

> In the Middle Ages, spatial practice embraced not only the network of local roads close to peasant communities, monasteries and castles, but also the main roads between towns and the great pilgrims' and crusaders' ways. As for representations of space, these were borrowed from Aristotelian and Ptolemaic conceptions, as modified by Christianity: the Earth, the underground 'world', and the luminous Cosmos, Heaven of the just and of the angels, inhabited by God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost. A fixed sphere within a finite space, diametrically bisected by the surface of the Earth; below this surface, the fires of Hell; above it, in the upper half of the sphere, the Firmament—a cupola bearing the fixed stars and the circling planets—and a space criss-crossed by divine messages and messengers and filled by the radiant Glory of the Trinity. Such is the conception of space found in Thomas Aquinas and in the *Divine Comedy*. Representational spaces, for their part, determined the foci of a vicinity: the village church, graveyard, hall and fields, or the square and the belfry. Such spaces were interpretations, sometimes marvelously successful ones, of cosmological representations.[8]

Such, for Lefebvre, was medieval space: the paths of transport and pilgrimage, the cosmological representations of scholars and poets, and the local places where one lived, worked, prayed, and was

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[5] Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 39.
[6] Alex Loftus, *Everyday Environmentalism: Creating an Urban Political Ecology* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012), 113.
[7] On the place of the medieval in the thinking of Karl Marx, see John H. Pryor, "Karl Marx and the Medieval Economy," *Arts: The Journal of the University of Sydney Arts Association* 18 (1996): 68-86.
[8] Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 45.

buried. As a description of medieval space, it is both essentially accurate and far too general. But Lefebvre was not an historian; he sketched medieval space in broad strokes, and more importantly, he acknowledged that there was not *a* social space; there were *many* social spaces that overlapped, competed, and nested within larger ones: "the *worldwide does not abolish the local*."[9] Lefebvre made it possible to think about the production of spaces, within a comprehensive theoretical framework, as historical processes. He opened up space to historical inquiry.

Within his inquiry, Lefebvre centered on the role of power. The social production of space is a tool wielded to reproduce hegemony.[10] The ordering of space as a strategy of subordination that continuously or ritually reconstitutes its hegemony was also the subject of Edward Said (the second main influence on this dissertation), both in his *Orientalism* and his *Culture and Imperialism*.[11] Said coined the phrase "imaginative geography" or "imagined geography" to describe the invention of the Orient as an imagined East, as a geographical space existing only to be the foil for or "other" to the West. An imagined geography, in other words, is the mental ordering of space that generates identities, and Said charted the construction of a distant geography that served as an affirmation of European identity. But such geographies do not have to be distant, and while often produced at a national level they exist also regionally and locally. By nature they both include and exclude, and can effectively link far off places to one another or dramatically disconnect neighboring communities. For Said, the creation of imagined geographies was inseparable from articulations of identity, particularly those bound up in imperial and colonial projects.

Is the study of space, then, always ultimately the history of hegemonic forces? In *The Practice of Everyday Life*, Michel de Certeau articulated a way to think about space that was ultimately more sympathetic to non-hegemonic actors, but which retained an emphasis on authority and its

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[9] Ibid., 86. Emphasis in original.
[10] Ibid., 10-11, 26
[11] Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978); idem, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1993).

contestation. His main theoretical contribution was the distinction between the *strategies* of institutions and structures of power, which attempt to fix spatial meaning, and the *tactics* of individuals, who navigate spaces in ways influenced but never fully determined by hegemonic cultural practices.[12] As the study of urban semiotics has shown, such individuals can have vastly different cognitive maps of their environment—even if close neighbors—because the ways in which space is perceived are "socially learned and experientially based": "cognitive geography locates the production of spatial meaning within the minds of individuals."[13] The existence of such individual tactics and cognitive geographies can be theorized, then, but finding them in the extant historical record proves difficult for the Middle Ages due to the nature of the sources.

The production of space, however, is tied to more than just power. Toward the end of his life, Said began to write of the way memory intersected with geography. Drawing on Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger's *The Invention of Tradition* and Simon Schama's *Landscapes and Memory*, he argued that modern Palestine "instances an extraordinarily rich and intense conflict of at least two memories, two sorts of historical invention, two sorts of geographical imagination."[14] Here he wrote of social memory—that is, not the past as it actually happened but the past as it is deemed particularly useful, an invented tradition that produces identities and legitimates authority. He could just as easily have cited James Fentress and Chris Wickham's *Social Memory*, in which the authors lay out the relationship between social memory and identity in texts and oral traditions.[15] An important interpolation was made by Paul Connerton, who expanded social memory to include habit and

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[12] Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven Rendall (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984).

[13] M. Gottdiener and Alexandros Ph. Lagopoulos, "Introduction," *The City and the Sign: An Introduction to Urban Semiotics*, ed. idem (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), 11.

[14] Edward W. Said, "Invention, Memory, and Place," *Critical Inquiry* 26 (2000): 182-183; Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983); Simon Schama, *Landscape and Memory* (New York: HarperCollins, 1995).

[15] James Fentress and Chris Wickham, *Social Memory* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992).

ritual, both of which can and often do have spatial components.[16] In his seven-volume work, *Les lieux de mémoire*, Pierre Nora surveyed precisely how certain places, habits, and rituals became symbolically significant sites of heritage in the invented tradition of French national memory.[17] Pasts are inscribed in material environments, and it is in cities where such inscriptions build up to a critical mass:

> A description of Zaira as it is today should contain all Zaira's past. The city, however, does not tell you its past, but contains it like the lines of a hand, written in the corners of the streets, the gratings of the windows, the banisters of the steps, the antennae of the lightning rods, the poles of the flags, every segment marked in turn with scratches, indentations, scrolls.[18]

These are the words of modern novelist Italo Calvino, put in the mouth of the thirteenth-century traveler Marco Polo, who attempts to describe for Kublai Khan the cities of his Mongol empire. They suggest that to describe a city is to excavate the material vestiges of its past. Urban space and urban memory are here nearly synonymous. It is suggestive, moreover, that Calvino chose a medieval setting and protagonist for his book of (sometimes quite modern) ruminations on cities. In his mind, that is to say, medieval cities are good to think with. This only highlights the need for spatially-informed historical analyses of distinctive settlements.

According to Nora, however, a *lieu de mémoire* does not have to be a monument or even a place; it can also be an object. And it is here that the kinds of spatial inquiry facilitated by Lefebvre and Said intersect fruitfully with another current in the discipline of history, the focus on non-human objects and forces. Space is experienced materially, bodily, in movement, touch, gaze, and sound. Spatial practices involve the navigation of built spaces and the circulation of objects in and through them. As one historian of the ancient world has written, "A focus on space demands an interest in linkages and relationships between spaces, architecture, objects and users...these elements

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[16] Paul Connerton, *How Societies Remember* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).
[17] Pierre Nora, ed., *Les lieux de mémoire*, 7 vols. (Paris: Édition Gallimard, 1984-1992).
[18] Italo Calvino, *Invisible Cities*, trans. William Weaver (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1974), 10-11.

help to draw us away from the tendency to consider objects, buildings and sites in isolation from the

networks in which they exist and which they help to constitute."[19] The study of space, in other

words, has the potential to contribute to theories of materiality and fragmented, networked agency.

The best known example of such an approach is actor-network theory (ANT), developed initially by

Bruno Latour, Michael Callon, and John Law in the early 1980s.[20] It posits the existence of "the

social" as an association or web of materially heterogeneous elements. These elements are both

human and non-human, and it is within this network or web of materialized relations that agency is

located. Agency is not defined in terms of intentionality, and so not uniquely assigned to humans,

but is rather shared across and triggered only in networks of actors. Here, we can explore ANT with

the help of Gilles Deleuze's notion of the assemblage, which he explained with a thoroughly

medieval example drawn from Lynn White's study of the stirrup and the feudal system:

> Technologists have explained that the stirrup made possible a new
> military unity in giving the knight lateral stability: the lance could be
> tucked in under one arm, it benefits from all the horse's speed, acts as
> a point which is immobile itself but propelled by the gallop. 'The
> stirrup replaced the energy of the man by the power of the animal'.
> This is a new man-animal symbiosis, a new assemblage of war...Man
> and the animal enter into a new relationship, one changes no less
> than the other.[21]

The terrifying agency of the medieval knight on horseback is vested not in a single human individual,

but an assemblage or—in the vocabulary of ANT—a network of human and non-human actors

(knight, horse, lance, and stirrup).

More recent theories embracing the mutually constitutive nature of the relationship between

people and objects/things have expanded on the consequences of that imbrication. For

archaeologist Ian Hodder, the preferred metaphor for such relationships is "entanglement": humans

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[19] Michael Scott, *Space and Society in the Greek and Roman Worlds* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 8-9.
[20] The most recent introductory text is Bruno Latour, *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).
[21] Gilles Deleuze and Claire Parnet, *Dialogues II* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1987), 70-71. His reference is to Lynn White, *Medieval Technology and Social Change* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962).

and things are entangled, and the their entanglement is such that it effects a co-dependency of humans and things.[22] Humans come to depend on the products of their labor and culture as much as those products depend on humans for creation and maintenance. In other words, both humans and things are mutually "entrapped" by each other, constrained by the boundaries or limits imposed by their entanglement. For an example, we might return to the medieval knight on horseback, who required that certain parameters be met in order to make an effective combat unit. He needed open space, enough to build up enough momentum for a cavalry charge, as well as (at a broader level) the resources to field horses and attendants to look after them. He was also constrained by the culturally constituted norms and expectations governing the behavior of the Christian knight, that is to say, the religious, moral, and social code known as chivalry. The knight's initial reliance on things—the stirrup and the horse—entangled him in the threads of other things (a category that includes words and ideas). Hodder argues that theorizing such relations as networks both ignores the way such relations are entrapping or constraining and overstates the fixity or permanence of nodes in those networks: knights and horses grow old, while equipment breaks down.

When things break down or fail on us, Bill Brown would say, their "thingness" becomes apparent. Returning to Heidegger's distinction between things (which are autonomous) and objects (which are discursively constituted), Brown's "Thing Theory" highlights how the irreducibility of things to their ascribed cultural and pragmatic value problematizes subject-object relations: "The story of objects asserting themselves as things…is the story of a changed relation to the human subject and thus the story of how the thing really names less an object than a particular subject-object relation."[23] In another work, Brown uses late nineteenth-century literature in order to ask "why and how we use objects to make meaning, to make or re-make ourselves, to organize our

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[22] Ian Hodder, *Entangled. An Archaeology of the Relationships between Humans and Things* (Oxford: Wiley Blackwell, 2012); idem, *Studies in Human-Thing Entanglement* (Open Access, 2016).
[23] Bill Brown, "Thing Theory," *Critical Inquiry* 28 (2001): 1-22; quotation on 4.

anxieties and affections, [and] to sublimate our fears and shape our fantasies."[24] The discursive deployment of things in these literary texts indicates to him that things substantially shaped (and shape) the modern subject. An attempt to move beyond human subjectivity, however, has recently been made in a series of multidisciplinary movements collectively known as new materialism. New materialism seeks to challenge the hegemony of anthropocentrism by emphasizing the nonhuman, by stressing the dynamic, even "vibrant" potential of the material environment.[25]

How do these theories of materiality and object-oriented philosophies intersect with the study of space? I understand space, with the help of the theorists surveyed here, to be constructed socially, culturally and materially. To speak of "medieval urban space," for example, is to speak of the entanglement of many things that do not always fit neatly into one of Lefebvre's three categories: the built spaces of houses, churches, streets, and squares; the use (and abuse) of such places (including the use of objects within them) and the meanings they thereby accrue or which are ascribed to them; the imagined geographies or mental orderings of space that may be traced in contemporary texts and images; and even the soundscapes that result from dense habitation and certain material manifestations of medieval culture like church bells. Such elements are always in flux—some retreat into the background as others gain traction. It is this very process of coalescence and separation that I identify as the production of space. My objective, moreover, is certainly not to come to a coherent theory or conceptual reification of "medieval space," but to examine particular elements of its production in particular contexts, informed by the theoretical observations of the scholars noted above. I do not wish to suggest, for example, that spaces or their associated objects have agency in and of themselves (*à la* the new materialists), but I will argue that men and women

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[24] Ibid., *A Sense of Things: The Object Matter of American Literature* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), 4.
[25] Diana Coole and Samantha Frost, eds., *New Materialisms: Ontology, Agency, and Politics* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2010); Rick Dolphijn and Iris van der Tuin, *New Materialism: Interviews and Cartographies* (Ann Arbor: Open Humanities Press, 2012); Jane Bennet, *Vibrant Matter: A Political Ecology of Things* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010).

between 1200 and 1400 very much believed they did and, moreover, that a spatially informed historical analysis of Occitània and northern Catalunya in these centuries brings many of these networks of vibrant matter and medieval people into sharp relief. First, however, I must outline in broad strokes the history of the region in order to illustrate how it proves particularly fruitful ground for such analysis.

II. Occitània and Northern Catalunya: An Historical Overview

The distinctive social and political structures and cultural practices of Occitània and northern Catalunya developed from the region's access to the Mediterranean and its deep history, a past that the French kingdom did not share. The Greek colony of Massalia—modern Marseille—was centuries old when the Romans began trading with its inhabitants in the second century B.C. When the Roman colony of Narbo Martius—modern Narbonne—was founded in 118 B.C., it gave its name to the province for which it served as administrative center—Gallia Narbonensis (fig. 2).[26] This province stretched along the coast from the Alps to the upper Garonne, bounded on the north by the Cévennes mountains. It included, when founded, the Roman military outpost of Tolosa—modern Toulouse—which achieved municipal status after the conquest of Gaul. The Romans often simply called it Provincia Nostra ("our province"), since it was the first Roman province north of the Alps. The great Via Domitia, also built in 118, connected Italy to Spain, and its stones have been exposed where it passed through Narbonne, in the middle of the main square before the archbishop's palace and town hall, so that modern tourists can themselves walk the ancient Roman road for a few meters. The region provided both a buffer against Gallic raids on Italy and control of

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[26] The official name of the province, which had been established just years earlier, was Gallia Transalpina. The older and catalog-like summary of its history in A.L.F. Rivet, *Gallia Narbonensis. Southern France in Roman Times* (London: B.T. Batsford, 1988) has been superceded in every way by Helga Botermann, *Wie aus Galliern Römer wurden. Leben im römischen Reich* (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2005). Her focus on Narbonensis was in some ways inspired by its absence, for the most part, in Greg Woolf, *Becoming Roman: The Origins of Provincial Civilization in Gaul* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

the lucrative trade routes passing through Massalia. Offering access to Hispania, it also served as a vital connection to the gold and silver mines of Carthago Noua in the peninsular southeast and of Lusitania in the northwest.[27] From Narbo Martius, another road led west, through Tolosa, to the province of Gallia Aquitania founded around 27 B.C. With Roman colonization came urbanization, and a number of cities expanded or refounded by the Romans still existed in the thirteenth century: Béziers (Colonia Julia Baeterrae Septimanorum), Elne (Illiberis), and Agde (Agatha), for example, all of which were originally Greek colonies.
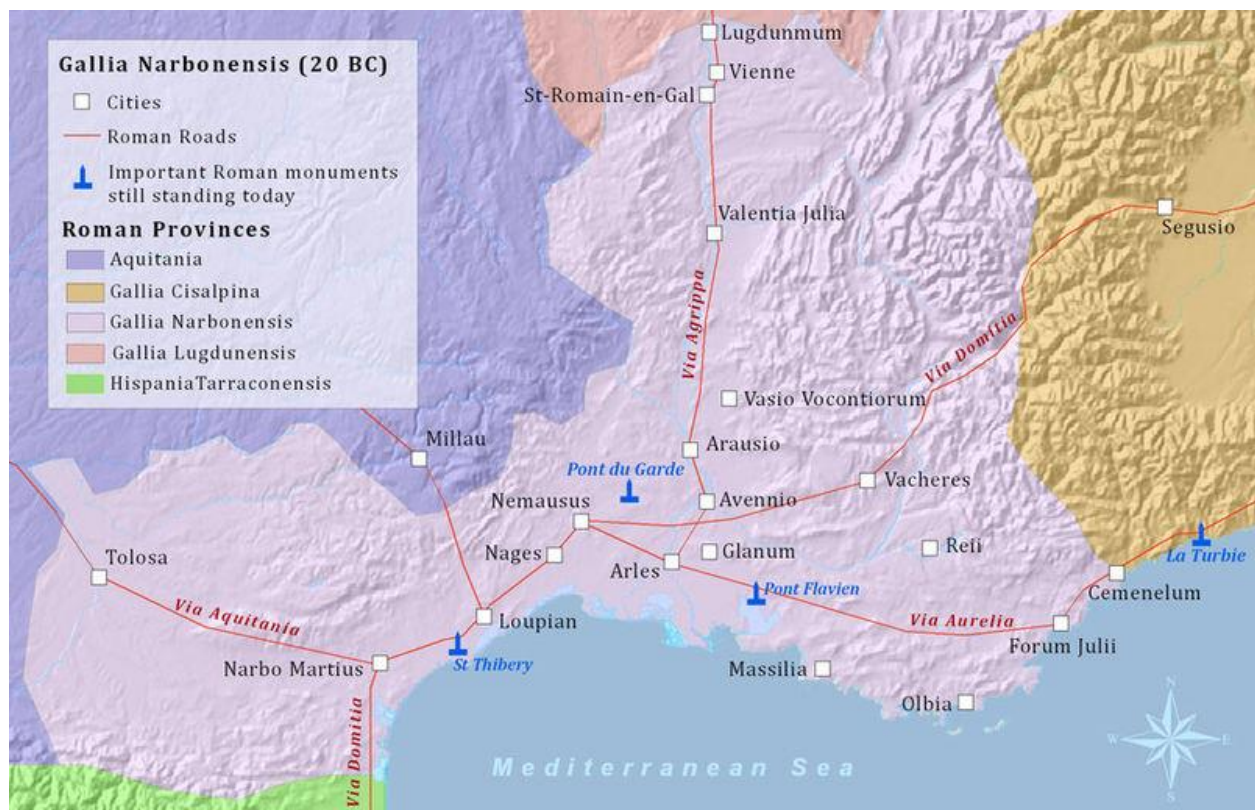
Fig. 2. Map of the Roman province of Gallia Narbonensis. Taken from the interactive atlas at www.explorethemed.com. License: Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 3.0.

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[27] Almudena Orejas and F. Javier Sáchez-Palencia, "Mines, Territorial Orginization, and Social Structure in Roman Iberia: Carthago Noua and the Peninsular Northwest," *American Journal of Archaeology* 106 (2002): 581-599.

But for Strabo, writing in the time of Augustus, the region was almost entirely defined by its

rivers and the networks of shipping they facilitated: "Now the whole of this country," he wrote, in

his *Geography*,

> is watered by rivers: some of them flow down from the Alps, the
> others from the Cemmenus and the Pyrenees; and some of them are
> discharged into the ocean, the others into Our Sea. Further, the
> districts through which they flow are plains, for the most part, and
> hilly lands with navigable water courses. The riverbeds are by nature
> so well situated with reference to one another that there is
> transportation from either sea into the other; for the cargoes are
> transported only a short a distance by land, with an easy transit
> through plains, but most of the way they are carried on the rivers—
> on some into the interior, on others to the sea.[28]

Strabo defined precisely the fluvial axis between Narbonne and Bordeaux, with Toulouse as a kind

of midway point: "Tolosa" he explained,

> is situated on the narrowest part of the isthmus which separates the
> ocean from the sea that is at Narbo, which isthmus, according to
> Poseidonius is less than three thousand stadia in width. But it is
> above all worthwhile to note again a characteristic of this region
> which I have spoken of before—the harmonious arrangement of the
> country with reference, not only to the rivers, but also to the sea,
> alike both the outer sea and the inner; for one might find, if he set his
> thoughts upon the matter, that this is not the least factor in the
> excellence of the region—I mean the fact that the necessities of life
> are with ease interchanged by every one with every one else and that
> the advantages which have arisen therefrom are common to all.[29]

While elsewhere Strabo, following Caesar, uses the Garonne as a kind of natural boundary in his

ethnography of Gallic tribes, here the connective tissue of the rivers of Gaul transcended these

essentially human partitions. They provided a web of pathways into the diversity of barbarian

landscapes, along which flowed all the cultural artifacts of Roman life. The river was both conveyor

and locus of that nebulous mass of cultural phenomena usually encompassed by the term

"Romanization." In fact, Strabo even hints that the rivers of Gaul constituted a divine invitation to

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[28] Strabo, *Geography, Volume II: Books 3-5*, trans. Horace Leonard Jones, Loeb Classical Library 50 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1923), 4.1.2, 166-167.
[29] Ibid., 4.1.14., 208-209.

extend the boundaries of Roman *imperium*: "one might believe," he concluded in his passage on the Garonne, "that there is confirmatory evidence for the workings of Providence, since the regions are laid out, not in a fortuitous way, but as though in accordance with some calculated plan."[30] We might read in Strabo some rhetorical elements of a concern with water and its management that Nicholas Purcell has identified as central to Roman identity and *imperium*. Hydrological manipulations and the discourse surrounding them "form a theme in Roman self-awareness."[31] Establishing control over water and the watery landscape was both an economic and a cultural imperative; it "was integral to the genesis of the whole phenomenon of Roman imperialism."[32] Strabo's imagined geography of southern Gaul, with its fluvial harmonies, legitimated Roman colonization.

Following the breakdown of Roman rule in the western empire, the Visigoths were settled in Aquitaine at the beginning of the fifth century.[33] They would eventually extend their control over much of southern Gaul—including Septimania, the western portion of Gallia Narbonensis—and the Iberian peninsula. The city of Tolosa served as one of the kingdom's capitals. When Alaric II was defeated by Clovis at the Battle of Vouillé in 507, however, the Visigoths lost most of their territory north of the Pyrenees, retaining only Septimania. Aquitaine was now a Frankish march. Difficult to control, the region was often only nominally under Frankish overlordship until the eighth century, when Duke Eudes acknowledged the suzerainty of Charles Martel in exchange for help against the Umayyad forces entering from Iberia. In 781, Charlemagne made his son Louis the Pious king of Aquitaine, conceived of as an entity within the greater Carolingian empire.

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[30] Ibid.

[31] Nicholas Purcell, "Rome and the Management of Water: Environment, Culture and Power," in *Human Landscapes in Classical Antiquity: Environment and Culture*, eds. Graham Shipley and John Salmon (London: Routledge, 1996), 182.

[32] Ibid., 205.

[33] The most recent work on the settlement and subsequent kingdom of the Visigoths can be found in Ralph W. Mathisen and Danuta Shanzer, eds., *Society and Culture in Late Antique Gaul: Revisiting the Sources* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001). But see also Hagith Sivan, "On *Foederati, Hospitalitas*, and the Settlement of the Goths in A.D. 418," *The American Journal of Philology* 108 (1987): 759-772 and Ralph W. Mathisen and Hagith S. Sivan, "Forging a New Identity: The Kingdom of Toulouse and the Frontiers of Visigothic Aquitania (418-507)," in *The Visigoths: Studies in Culture and Society*, ed. Alberto Ferreiro (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 1-62.

Septimania, however, had in the meantime fallen to the Umayyads.[34] Initial forays across the Pyrenees began in 717 under the governor of Al-Andalus, Al-Ḥurr ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Thaqafī, and culminated with the fall of Narbonne in 720 under his successor, Al-Samh ibn Mālik al-Khawlānī. The Umayyad advance into Gaul was halted at Toulouse the following year, where the abovementioned Duke Eudes, with Carolingian help, decimated their besieging army. Nevertheless, Septimania was held by the Umayyads until they were pushed back across the mountains by Pepin the Short, Charlemagne's father, in the middle of century. He wrested Narbonne from their control in 759.[35] Muslim raids on the northern coast of the Mediterranean, however, would continue into the eleventh century. Indeed, a small frontier state in Provence known as Fraxinetum (Arabic: *Farakhshanī*) was established in 889, from which raids would issue as late as the 970s.[36] The reign of the Saracens—as they are called in the sources—and their defeat at the hands of Charlemagne (for he, and not his father, was ultimately credited with the reconquests) would leave a lasting impression on social memory in Occitània, as I will illustrate in chapter one.

In the tenth and eleventh centuries, after the collapse of Carolingian public authority, both Occitània and northern Catalunya entered a period of social and political instability. The monastic and ecclesiastical chroniclers would have us believe that everywhere the people and the Church were suffering from unjust seigneurial violence. According to Jean-Pierre Poly, Eric Bournazel, Pierre Bonnassie, and Thomas Bisson, such sources are evidence of historical rupture, of a new form of

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[34] Roger Collins, *The Arab Conquest of Spain 710-797* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1989).
[35] The Carolingian conquest of the region is covered by Archibald R. Lewis, *The Development of Southern French and Catalan Society, 718-1050* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1965), 20-33.
[36] Mohamad Ballan, "Fraxinetum: An Islamic Frontier State in Tenth Century Provence," *Comitatus: A Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 41 (2010): 23-76; David R. Blanks, "Islam and the West in the Age of the Pilgrim," in *The Year 1000: Religious and Social Response to the Turning of the First Millenium*, ed. Michael Frasseto (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 259. The kidnapping of the abbot of Cluny by Muslims from Fraxinetum in 972 as it was represented in hagiographies and chronicles is the subject of Scott G. Bruce, *Cluny and the Muslims of La Garde-Freinet: Hagiography and the Problem of Islam in Medieval Europe* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2015).

lordship characterized by violent demands on an increasingly subject peasantry.[37] Other historians

argue for continuity, pointing out that the transformation was both slower than previously imagined

and that the *violentia* of these new lords was little different from the violence of feud common in

early medieval Europe.[38] What these scholars do not deny, however, is that lords and castles were

multiplying across Europe, that the *violentia* they inflicted was perceived as novel and disruptive

(even though for Bisson it was ultimately *constructive*, shaping new relations of dependence), and that

it was thought particularly pervasive in Occitània and Catalunya.

It was in these regions that the first challenges to the new lordship were articulated at the

councils of ecclesiastics and some lay lords, attended by crowds of the subject peasantry (the

impotentes), that inaugurated the Peace of God or Peace Movement.[39] At Charroux (989), Limoges

(994), Rouergue (c. 1012), Elne (1027), and elsewhere in Aquitania, Septimanian Langeudoc, and

northern Catalunya, restrictions on violence were laid out and enforced through sworn pacts.

Certain holy spaces and categories of people were declared inviolate, and ultimately a truce (*treuga*)

was declared, which limited the periods of time within which licit violence could take place. The

Peace and Truce of God spread quickly. Reflecting on events that took place around 1033, the monk

Rodulphus Glaber wrote that

> At that point, in the region of Aquitaine, bishops, abbots, and other
> men devoted to holy religion first began to gather councils of the
> whole people. At these gatherings the bodies of many saints and
> shrines containing holy relics were assembled. From there through
> Burgundy, and finally in the farthest corners of France, it was
> proclaimed in every diocese that councils would be summoned in

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[37] Jean-Pierre Poly and Eric Bournazel, *La mutation féodale: Xe-XIIe siècles* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1980); Pierre Bonnassie, *From Slavery to Feudalism in South-Western Europe*, trans. Jean Birrell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991) expounding on ideas he first expressed in 1978; Thomas Bisson, "The Feudal Revolution," *Past and Present* 142 (1994): 6-42.

[38] Dominique Barthélemy and Stephen D. White, "Debate: the 'Feudal Revolution,'" *Past and Present* 152 (1996): 196-223; Timothy Reuter and Chris Wickham, "Debate: the 'Feudal Revolution,'" *Past and Present* 155 (1997): 177-208. But now see also Bisson, "Reply," in the same volume: 208-25.

[39] Thomas Head and Richard Landes, eds., *The Peace of God: Social Violence and Religious Response in France around the Year 1000* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992); William Chester Jordan, *Europe in the High Middle Ages* (London: Penguin Books, 2001), 23-25.

> fixed places by bishops and by the magnates of the whole land for
> the purpose of reforming both the peace and the institutions of the
> holy faith.[40]

Whether or not the movement effectively limited seigneurial violence, it heralded a new alliance

between lords and the Church that would later serve to legitimate secular government as lords

increasingly intensified their control over the spaces of violence. Their methods in the thirteenth and

fourteenth centuries are discussed in chapter three.

These later centuries witnessed dramatic political reorientations in Occitània and Catalunya.

At the turn of the thirteenth century, the political landscape of Occitània was anything but simple. It

was largely dominated by the "Raimondine" counts of Toulouse.[41] Raimon VI (1156-1222) was also

the duke of Narbonne and, from 1194, the marquis of Provence. His father, Raimon V (c. 1134-c.

1194), had been forced to do homage for Toulouse to Henry II of England (whose claim came

through his wife, Eleanor of Aquitaine) in 1173. Raimon VI also received from Richard I, upon his

marriage to the king's sister, Joan, the Agenais region of Aquitaine in 1196. Nominally, however,

much of Occitània, including Toulouse, was part of the *regnum Francorum.* Theoretically its counts

could be considered vassals of the French Crown, but this relationship was, at the opening of the

thirteenth century, in no way experienced or activated. Additionally, the neighboring viscounts of

Béziers, close allies of and related by blood to the counts of Toulouse, were also powerful lords, but

they recognized the overlordship of the counts of Barcelona (soon to become the kings of Aragon),

who themselves possessed the county (as opposed to the marquisate) of Provence as well as the area

around Montpellier. Pere II of Aragon (1178-1213) strengthened his ties to Occitan lords at the

opening of the thirteenth century by marrying his sister Eleanor to Raimon VI in 1209. Thus, at the

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[40] Translated in Head and Landes, eds., *The Peace of God*, 338.
[41] The recent, excellent, and comprehensive survey of these lords and their political situations is Laurent Macé, *Les comtes de Toulouse et leur entourage, XIIe-XIIIe siècles: rivalités, alliances et jeux de pouvoir* (Toulouse: Privat, 2000). See also Laurence W. Marvin, *The Occitan War: A Military and Political History of the Albigensian Crusade, 1209-1218* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 4-11.

dawn of the century, the region was defined by overlapping and intersecting dynastic claims. Ties of feudal and familial relations linked Raimon VI of Toulouse to the kings of France, England, Aragon, and (because possession of the marquisate of Provence demanded it) even the Holy Roman Emperor.

All of this would change drastically when the Cistercian monk and papal legate Peire de Castelnau was murdered on 14 January 1208, near Saint-Gilles. Peire had been tasked with suppressing heresy in Languedoc. His murder, popularly attributed to Raimon VI, whom many had criticized for his inability or unwillingness to combat the heterodoxies of "the good men and good women" (*bons omes* and *bonas femnas*, whom later historians often, rather inaccurately, term "Cathars"), triggered an immediate and dramatic response. Raimon was excommunicated by Innocent III. This pope released Raimon's vassals from any oaths that tied them to him and declared his lands open to anyone who would possess them and expel the heresy that infected them. The same remission of sins granted to those crusaders battling Saracens in the East was offered to any *crucesignati* who responded to his call. Thus began the Albigensian Crusade.[42] Between 1209 and 1218, French armies would repeatedly march south to the *Midi*, where they devastated many of its lands and communities, perhaps most famously in the massacre of the entire population of Béziers on 22 July 1209. In the absence of direct royal interest (despite Innocent's entreaties), the crusaders elected a minor lord to lead them, Simon de Montfort. In conjunction with papal legates, de Montfort and his crusaders traversed Languedoc, fighting with towns and local lords, at one point achieving the titles Count of Toulouse and Duke of Narbonne. Pere II of Aragon entered into the conflict on the Occitan side, but was killed at the Battle of Muret in 1213. Later, de Montfort was killed while besieging Toulouse in 1218. At that point, however, the interest of the French monarchy had finally been sparked. Prince Louis, the son of Philip Augustus, fulfilled his crusader's vow of

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[42] Mark Gregory Pegg, *A Most Holy War: The Albigensian Crusade and the Battle for Christendom* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008); Marvin, *The Occitan War.*

forty days of service in the spring of 1215. In 1226, the same lord (now King Louis VIII) led crusade forces into the *Midi* after Raimon VII was again excommunicated. Although the king died later that year, French forces continued to campaign there under the auspices of the Queen-Regent, Blanche of Castile, ruling on behalf of her son, Louis IX (1214-1270). A peace was finally brokered in 1229 that signaled a de facto victory for the northerners. Raimon had to turn over all of his castles, destroy the walls of Toulouse, and marry his daughter, Joana, to the French king's brother, Alphonse of Poitiers (1220-1271), who would inherit his county and title. This was accomplished when Raimon died in 1249. The county of Toulouse thus became an *appanage* of the French Crown until Alphonse and Joana both died in 1271 without issue, after which it reverted to the king of France himself, now Philip III (1245-1285).

While Alphonse of Poitiers was ruling Toulouse, another brother of Louis IX was carving out a kingdom of his own in Provence and the western Mediterranean. Charles of Anjou (1227-1285) married Beatrice of Provence in 1246, thereby becoming Count of Provence and Fourcalquier. His rule, however, was much disputed, and two revolts against him had to be put down in 1251 (although Marseille held out until 1252) and 1262. Charles, however, had wider ambitions. In the context of conflict between the papacy and the Hohenstaufen, he accepted Urban IV's offer of the kingdom of Sicily (including both the island and much of southern Italy) in 1263. He was proclaimed king while in Rome on 23 May 1265 and by the end 1270 had achieved firm control of the territory. In the eastern Mediterranean, he conquered the kingdom of Albania by 1272, purchased the kingdom of Jerusalem in 1277, and inherited the Principality of Achaea in 1278. Charles, in other words, was creating a truly Mediterranean empire.[43]

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[43] On Charles and his empire, see Jean Dunbabin, *Charles I of Anjou: Power, Kingship and State-Making in Thirteenth-Century Europe* (London: Longman, 1998), Michel Grenon, *Charles d'Anjou: frère conquérant de Saint Louis* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2012), and , for both Charles and the kingdom he established, Jean Dunbabin, *The French in the Kingdom of Sicily, 1266-1305* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

His Mediterranean ambitions, however, brought him into conflict with the Crown of Aragon, whose rulers were similarly expanding their reach across the great inland sea.[44] Although Occitània remained beyond their reach after the death of Pere II at Muret, their rights over Catalunya were secured by a treaty between Jaume I (1208-1276) and Louis IX of France. Jaume also continued to push into Muslim Al-Andalus, and he conquered the Balearic islands between 1229 and 1235. Upon his death the Balearics and the counties of Roussillon and Cerdanya passed to his younger son, Jaume II of Mallorca (1243-1311), as a separate kingdom, while his Iberian holdings were inherited by Pere III (1239-1285). Pere would nevertheless consistently claim overlordship over his younger brother, which Jaume was forced to recognize in 1279. Another opportunity for expansion came when the island of Sicily rebelled against Charles of Anjou in 1282. The inhabitants quickly turned to Pere III, who had a claim to the island through his wife. He travelled to the island in the same year and was proclaimed king at Palermo. Although consequently excommunicated by the pope, he pressed into Italy along the Calabrian coast. The excommunication, however, was followed by papally supported violence—the Aragonese Crusade. Pope Martin IV had granted the kingdom of Sicily to Charles of Valois, the third son of Philip III of France, in 1284. Jaume II of Mallorca, ever resentful of his brother's suzerainty, threw in with Philip and Charles, allowing them passage to Catalunya through Roussillon. Unfortunately, the expedition was a complete disaster for the French, who suffered extensive military defeats and a virulent bout of dysentery. Philip himself died of the latter at Perpignan on 5 October 1285. Some years of general warfare followed until the Treaty of Tarascon restored Aragon to Pere's heir, Alfons, in 1291. These were only the opening events in the "two-hundred years' war" between the Angevins of Naples and the Aragonese, but an exhaustive survey is unnecessary, for they sufficiently demonstrate how intensely-contested claims to sovereignty along the Mediterranean littoral form the backdrop for any spatial analysis of its history.

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[44] David Abulafia, *The Western Mediterranean Kingdoms, 1200-1500* (London: Longman, 1997); Thomas N. Bisson, *The Medieval Crown of Aragon: A Short History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986).

It is clear that, when viewed politically, the region chosen for this study—Occitània (including the counties of Toulouse, Aquitaine, and Provence) *and* northern Catalunya—appears rather fractured or divided. But this is, in fact, one reason to study it as single entity. The thirteenth and fourteenth centuries were for these territories a period of political ambiguity, in which one of several kingdoms might have secured overlordship. Had Pere II not died in 1213 battling alongside Occitan forces against the Albigensian crusaders, we might now be speaking of "northern Spain" rather than "southern France." Indeed, until this prominent defeat, the Catalan nobility were more likely to marry into or take brides from Occitan rather than Aragonese families, indicating substantial political aspirations north of the Pyrenees.[45] On the other hand, had Jaume II's alliance with Philip III resulted in a different outcome for the Aragonese Crusade, Perpignan and the counties of Roussillon and Cerdagne might have been incorporated into France much earlier than they eventually were (in 1659, with the Treaty of the Pyrenees). Culturally, moreover, the region was more or less homogenous. The vernacular languages of Toulouse, Montpellier, Perpignan, and Barcelona were virtually identical.[46] Ecclesiastical organization, too, often bridged the supposed Occitan-Catalan boundary. The Dominican province of Provence (*provincia Provinciae*), for example, included nearly all of Occitània *and* Roussillon; the Dominicans of Perpignan attended the same provincial chapters as those of Toulouse, Montpellier, and Marseille.

Perpignan also shared with Occitan towns a similar trajectory of urban expansion and municipal governance. From the eleventh century, urban growth increased across Europe. But in the south, along the Mediterranean, this often meant immigration rather than new foundations. Ancient towns expanded, establishing *salvetats*—areas designed to attract settlers with offers of urban privileges—and incorporating them as new suburbs into their jurisdictions. In many cases, this

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[45] J. Lee Shneidman, *The Rise of the Aragonese-Catalan Empire, 1200-1350*, vol. 2 (New York: New York University Press, 1970), 295.
[46] Ibid., 298.

meant that an ancient city (*civitas, cité*) now abutted a recent suburb (*suburbium, bourg*), both of which might either be comprehended in single legal corporation (the *universitas*) or remain legally distinct. Moreover, the *cité* was often coterminous with certain episcopal jurisdictions when the *bourg* was not, and so at times this distinction is a crucial one. Towns were usually ruled by an oligarchical elite (the *probi homines*) that, drawing on the memory of the Roman past, elected its members to serve as consuls (*consules*). The heritage of Roman colonization was also felt in smaller settlements, for they are often called *castra*, a Latin word originally denoting lands reserved for military or defensive purposes. An ancient *castrum* could take many forms, both temporary and permanent. Usually, however, it meant something like "fort."[47] In medieval Occitània, the term was used for small, fortified towns, but it might also mean "castle," and so there is some confusion to be worked through when, for example, Alphonse of Poitiers wanted to build a new *castrum* at the (already extant) *castrum* of Najac (see below, chapter three). For these reasons, I prefer to use the word "town" when talking about thirteenth- and fourteenth-century urban communities, and indeed some places—like Perpignan, which was neither a Roman foundation nor the seat of the bishop—were always called *villa*. However, when such use elides significant differences between and within communities, I will make free use of *cité, bourg,* and *castrum.*

In the following chapters, several major towns will appear time and again. It is therefore necessary to say a brief word about each here. Most of them lie along the coast of the Mediterranean, in the Gulf of Lion (Occitan: *golf dau Leon*; Catalan: *golf del Lleó*). Narbonne we have already encountered. The Roman colony would be transformed by the thirteenth century into a flourishing center of trade and ecclesiastical administration.[48] It had both a *cité* and a *bourg* (separated neatly by the Aude river) each with its own consulate that had certain jurisdictional rights (the two

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[47] *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Greece and Rome*, ed. Michael Gagarin, s.v. "Fortifications and Forts, Roman."
[48] Crucial for any understanding of this town is the collection of essays in Jacqueline Caille, *Medieval Narbonne: A City at the Heart of the Troubaour World*, ed. Kathryn L. Reyerson (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005).

were united legally only in 1338). Nevertheless, these rights were restricted because jurisdiction of

the town was shared with a seigneurial officer (a viscount under the counts of Toulouse before 1229

and, after, a *bayle* under the kings of France) as well as the archbishop, who had extensive temporal

powers within the town.[49] At the end of the thirteenth century Narbonne had probably around

20,000 to 25,000 inhabitants.[50] Before the expulsion of 1306, many of these were Jewish, for the

town had long been a center of Jewish culture in the western Mediterranean.[51] From the mid-1240s

through the 1260s, for example, there was a vibrant debate between Jewish scholars and

ecclesiastical authorities on the topic of usury.[52] By the mid-fourteenth century, Narbonne had

started to decline. This is most noticeable in the still unfinished, but massive and grandly planned,

cathedral of Saint-Just-et-Saint-Pasteur that was begun in 1272.

Toulouse, also, we have already seen—as a Roman settlement at the western end of Gallia

Narbonensis. Like Narbonne, it had both *cité* and *bourg* and was ruled by a consulate, here under the

authority of the count of Toulouse. We have a very good knowledge of the social and political

history of Toulouse because it has been exhaustively studied by John Mundy.[53] In the opening

decades of the thirteenth century, the consuls achieved a remarkable degree of autonomy, even

leading military expeditions against rival towns and lords in order to secure the safety of their

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[49] Caille, "Origin and Development of the Temporal Lordship of the Archbishop in the City and Territory of Narbonne," ed. Reyerson in ibid., V.

[50] This is the estimate of Caille, "Historical Overview: Narbonne from Roman Foundations to the Fifteenth Century," ed. Reyerson in ibid., I, 26.

[51] Most recently, see Nina Caputo, "Regional history, Jewish memory: the purim of Narbonne," *Jewish History* 22 (2008): 97-114 and Shlomo H. Pick, "Jewish Aristocracy in Southern France," *Revue des Études juives* 161 (2002): 97-121. Older, yet still helpful, is Arthur J. Zuckerman, *A Jewish Princedom in Feudal France, 768-900* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1972), but see the critique of Zuckerman in Jeremy Cohen, "The Nasi of Narbonne: A Problem in Medieval Historiography," *ASJ Review* 2 (1977): 45-76.

[52] Robert Chazan, "Anti-Usury Efforts in Thirteenth-Century Narbonne and the Jewish Response," *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research* 41 (1973): 45-67.

[53] John Mundy, *Liberty and Political Power in Toulouse, 1050-1230* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1954); idem, *Men and Women at Toulouse in the Age of the Cathars* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1990); idem, *Society and Government at Toulouse in the Age of the Cathars* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1997); idem, *Studies in the Ecclesiastical and Social History of Toulouse in the Age of the Cathars* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006).

merchants.[54] The urban, mercantile elite nevertheless participated in rural economies, owning and leasing agricultural land in the surrounding countryside. The power of the bishop was weak, largely due to the presence of the formidable abbey of Saint-Sernin, which drew lay patronage away from the parish churches and cathedral. The town, however, was most known for heresy, which was thought to permeate and spread from it throughout much of Occitània. The Albigensian Crusade interrupted any consular ambitions, although these would return in forms inflected by the status of the town as one of the "bonnes villes" of France in the fourteenth century. Still, the consuls would continue to press for greater rights, particularly over justice.[55] The crusade had also impaired the fortunes of the town's Jews, for one stipulation of the 1229 treaty was that Raimon no longer allow them to hold public office. Another was that he allow the establishment of a university, one of the earliest in Europe, which attracted such distinguished scholars as Jean of Garland and Roland of Cremona.

The two other towns from which the bulk of my evidence comes were much younger than Toulouse and Narbonne. Montpellier, east of Narbonne along the coast, emerged as an urban center only in the twelfth century. In terms of political, economic, and spiritual life, however, it had become at least their equal by the thirteenth century.[56] Its precocious consulate, which gained Marie of Montpellier's approval of their town's customs as early as 1204, held extensive powers and rights in justice and financial matters.[57] Economically, the town served as an important emporium linking

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[54] Pamela Sue Marquez, "Urban Diplomacy: Toulouse an its Neighbors in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Century," *Viator* 33 (2002): 87-99.

[55] Patricia Turning, *Municipal Officials, Their Public, and the Negotiation of Justice in Medieval Languedoc: Fear Not the Madness of the Raging Mob* (Leiden: Brill, 2013).

[56] Jacquline Caille directly compares Narbonne and Montpellier in "Urban Expansion in the Region of Languedoc from the Eleventh to the Fourteenth Century: The Examples of Narbonne and Montpellier," in *Urban and Rural Communities in Medieval France: Provence and Languedoc, 1000-1500*, ed. Kathryn Reyerson and John Drendel (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 51-72.

[57] Archibald Ross Lewis, "The Development of Town Government in Twelfth-Century Montpellier," *Speculum* 22 (1947): 51-67.

Europe to the Mediterranean and as a space of banking and foreign exchange.[58] Like Toulouse, Montpellier had a famous university with faculties in law and the arts, but was perhaps best known for medicine. Most importantly, however, the lords of Montpellier came from the House of Barcelona—they were kings of Aragon and Mallorca. The town and its countryside therefore formed an enclave of foreign sovereignty in a region increasingly dominated by France.

Perpignan, which lies in Catalunya just 65 km south of Narbonne, was similarly attached to Aragon and Mallorca; after the death of Count Nunyo Sanç in 1243, it passed directly to Jaume I of Aragon. The town was an early medieval foundation, first mentioned in 972, so like Montpellier it lacked the prestige of an ancient past. Nevertheless, its prodigious wool industry became something of a manufacturing powerhouse, while the nearby port of Collioure made it a center of international trade.[59] Like its Occitan counterparts to the north, Perpignan had a Jewish and, indeed, an enslaved Muslim population.[60] Its consulate, which depended directly on the king, was not as powerful as those of early thirteenth-century Toulouse and Montpellier. In fact, it seems to have disappeared completely for several decades before reviving in the 1260s and taking an active role in political affairs through the fourteenth century.[61] Nevertheless, the most powerful political actor in Perpignan was, for much of its thirteenth- and fourteenth-century history, the king of Mallorca, who made the town one of his capitals. Perpignan was a royal town—a royal space—in a way that Narbonne, Toulouse, and Montpellier could never be.

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[58] Kathryn L. Reyerson, *Business, Banking and Finance in Medieval Montpellier* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1985); eadem, *Society, Law, and Trade in Medieval Montpellier* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1995).
[59] Richard W. Emery, "Flemish Cloth and Flemish Merchants in Perpignan in the Thirteenth Century," in *Essays in Medieval Life and Thought in Honor of A.P. Evans*, ed. John H. Mundy, Richard W. Emery, and B.N. Nelson (New York: Columbia University Press, 1955), 153-166; Silvia Orvietani Busch, *Medieval Mediterranean Ports: The Catalan and Tuscan Coasts, 1100-1235* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 62-80; David Abulafia, *A Mediterranean Emporium: The Catalan Kingdom of Mallorca* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).
[60] Richard W. Emery, *The Jews of Perpignan in the Thirteenth Century: An Economic Study Based on Notarial Records* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959); Rebecca Lynn Winer, *Women, Wealth, and Community in Perpignan, c. 1250-1300: Christians, Jews, and Enslaved Muslims in a Medieval Mediterranean Town* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006).
[61] The institutional history of the town is studied by Philip Daileader, *True Citizens: Violence, Memory, and Identity in the Medieval Community of Perpignan, 1162-1397* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), esp. 50 on the disappearance of the consulate.

Finally, responding to the spiritual needs of the new urban culture fostered in these prospering towns, to the perceived inadequacy of other forms of religious and monastic life, and to the heresies that traditional ecclesiastical structures seemed unable to combat, the mendicant orders established at the beginning of the thirteenth century had a profound effect on life in Occitània and northern Catalunya.[62] Dominic de Guzmán and his followers, residing in a small cluster of houses in Toulouse in 1215, preached by word and example the errors of the pervasive and heretical *bons omes*. Sworn to apostolic poverty, their mission was to comfort the faithful and confound the heretic. The Dominican order, rapidly institutionalized, infiltrated the centers both of learning and of European politics. So, too, did the Franciscans, who emulated the severe asceticism of their founder, Francis of Assisi. On the whole, these orders spoke to and reformed a society in spiritual crisis. They represented new ways of living a Christian life in the increasingly commercialized and religiously diverse spaces of the towns. They could not but transform those spaces in the process. Indeed, as David Rosenthal has put it, "reenvisioning urban spaces and the way they could be configured was integral to the logic of reform."[63] Unlike the Franciscan, Servite, or Augustinian orders, however, the Dominican order was native to the region and formed explicitly to combat autochthonous heretical traditions. The Dominicans were therefore far more active than other mendicants in the Church's increasingly successful efforts to monitor belief and practice in the pursuit of religious minorities through inquisition in the *Midi*.[64] Occasionally, they were even killed by local populations and

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[62] The standard summary is C.H. Lawrence, *The Friars: The Impact of the Mendicant Orders on Medieval Society* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2013). A relatively recent and accessible history of their role in southern France is *Cahiers de Fanjeaux: L'Ordre des Prêcheurs et son histoire en France méridionale* 36 (2001).

[63] David Rosenthal, "The Spaces of Plebian Ritual and the Boundaries of Transgression," in *Renaissance Florence: A Social History*, ed. Roger J. Crum and John T. Paoletti (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 162.

[64] Laurent Albaret, *Les inquisitors: Portraits de défenseurs de la foi en Languedoc (XIIIᵉ-XIVᵉ siècles)* (Toulouse: Privat, 2001); Jean-Louis Biget, "L'inquisition en Languedoc, 1229-1329," in *L'inquisizione: Atti del Simposio internazionale, Città del Vaticano, 29-31 Ottobre 1998*, ed. A. Borromeo, Studi e Testi 417 (Rome, Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, 2003), 41-94. There were, nevertheless, some Franciscan inquisitors; see Jacques Chiffoleau, "L'inquisition franciscaine en Provence et dans l'ancien Royaume d'Arles (vers 1260-vers 1330)," in *Frati minori e inquisizione: Atti del XXXIII Convegno internazionale (Assisi, 6-8 Ottobre 2005)* (Spoleto, Fondazione Centro italiano di studi sull'alto Medioevo, 2006), 153-284.

considered martyrs by their fellow friars. This history of inquisition and martyrdom in Occitània would, especially once enshrined in the works of Bernard Gui in the early fourteenth century, come to form an important part of Dominican identity in a way that has no analog among the Franciscans and other mendicants.

In all the ways described above, the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries witnessed the profound transformation of urban, religious, and political life in Occitània and northern Catalunya. The following chapters each take up a strand of this history and expand on its spatial and material dimensions. The first two take an urban perspective. Chapter one explores how urban inhabitants thought about their town's ancient and post-Roman history through its topographical and material vestiges. The classical and sacred pasts were, both figuratively and literally, inscribed on the streets and stones of the town, much as they were in Italo Calvino's Zaira. In chapter two, I focus on one of the most ubiquitous spatial practices of urban life between 1200 and 1400—the production of documents. This production transpired not in the musky offices of impersonal bureaucracies, as we imagine it does today, but in the open and observable spaces of urban architecture. It involved the mediation of the oral and the written via the notary, who translated and transcribed what he heard onto parchment before a congregation of witnesses. Town seals, first appearing in the thirteenth century, now graced many of these documents, and they represented a material emblem of communal immanence with an iconography that mimicked urban form. Meanwhile, consulates harnessed the rituals of documentary production to legitimize their authority and rule. In chapter three, I turn to their biggest rivals, the lords and kings who competed for dominance in the western Mediterranean, whose own documentary practices materialized sovereign claims and "performed" lordship. Their construction of castles and palaces, as well as their regulation of such construction undertaken by others, similarly expressed and mediated seigneurial authority. Finally, chapter four

addresses the way the Dominicans reshaped the urban spaces where members of their order lived

and preached. They forged new spiritual networks and reworked old hagiographies in order to foster

imagined geographies that constructed and legitimated their identity as keepers of the *vita apostolica*.

These four chapters, then, address the imagined geographies and production of space in

Occitània and northern Catalunya from different angles: urban, seigneurial/royal, and mendicant. In

so doing, they illustrate how spatially-informed approaches can shed new light on the diverse topics

of medieval history. The urban, religious, and political transformation of Latin Christendom in the

thirteenth and fourteenth centuries represented the dawn of a new era, what many have claimed to

be the origins of modernity—whether in the form of nascent monarchical bureaucracies, early

capitalism in the towns, or the first phases of Europe's "persecuting society" (in the expression of

R.I. Moore). "Every new age," Carl Schmitt has suggested, "and every new epoch in the coexistence

of peoples, empires and countries, of rulers and power formations of every sort, is founded on new

spatial divisions, new enclosures, and new spatial orders of the earth."[65] This dissertation outlines

just a few of these new spatial orders, both real and imagined, as they were produced by medieval

men and women in southern France. It examines their relationship to not just structures of power,

but also history and memory, discourses of authority and authenticity, and religious practice in the

context of heresy and inquisition.

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[65] Carl Schmitt, *Nomos of the Earth in the International Law of the Jus Publicum Europaeum*, trans. G.L. Ulmen (New York: Telos Press, 2006), 79.

Chapter 1

Constructing Community: Material Pasts and Material Presence

The medieval records and chronicles of southern France frequently make reference to a "Saracen" wall or tower. According to the *Canso*, a poem recounting the Albigensian Crusade, when Simon de Montfort attacked Toulouse, "Crystals shone, helmets and hauberks gleamed, blazons glowed blue and scarlet, and all the countryside and the Saracen rampart (*murs sarrazinals*) rang and re-echoed to the jingling of poitrel bells."[1] What made this rampart "Saracen" was its age: as a fortification of venerable antiquity, its existence was linked to the Umayyad conquest of Septimania (the western portion of the Roman province of Gallia Narbonensis, at the time under Visigothic rule) in the eighth century. For thirteenth- and fourteenth-century men and women, the rampart recalled a history of Muslim domination and, perhaps more importantly, Carolingian reconquest, which was celebrated in both vernacular and Latin literature. But because of the conflation of "Saracen" and "pagan" in the European medieval imagination, the "Saracens" were also those polytheist Romans who colonized the region in the second century BC. That these fortifications were consistently referred to as "Saracen" illustrates how history and memory were inextricably bound up with place—with the physical and material landscapes of southern France in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

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[1] William of Tudela and an anonymous successor, *The Song of the Cathar Wars: A History of the Albigensian Crusade*, trans. Janet Shirley (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1996), laisse, 187, 131-132 (emphasis added); Eugène Martin-Chabot, ed., *La chanson de la croisade albigeoise*, vol. 2 (Paris: Société d'édition "Les belles lettres," 1961), 12, ll. 55-58:
> Dels ausbercs e dels elmes on resplando·l cristals
> E de las entresenhas vermelhas e porprals
> E de las esquiletas de l'or en los peitrals
> Retendes la campanha e·l murs sarrazinals.

This chapter addresses such connections between place, memory, and identity in a period that saw all of them in flux. Local identities were beginning to be subsumed within the larger ones, yet still held on tenaciously in the urban outposts of southern France. The spaces of Occitània and Catalunya, meanwhile, were being reorganized politically, socially, and jurisdictionally. Such events could not but impact social or imaginative memory, which focused and condensed the past as it was useful in the formulation of identity.[2] I focus specifically on three major towns—Narbonne, Toulouse, and Perpignan—where inhabitants drew on material pasts in order to produce medieval urban identities. I say "material pasts" because their claims were often what we might call archaeological or topographical. In their imaginative memories they used the material evidence of the ancient past, as it was present in the built space of their towns, in order to buttress their historical and discursive claims in an increasingly contested social and political landscape.

I. *Artes memoriae*: Ancient Mnemonics and Embodied Memory in the Middle Ages

In some ways, ancient authors took the relationship between places and memory for granted. In their *artes memoriae*, they advocated a system of remembering based on placing images (*imagines*) in certain places (*loci*), rooms which could be ordered and placed together, as in a house or palace.[3] The practitioner of memory—here identified usually as an orator remembering his speech—would then mentally revisit a series of rooms in a certain order, stopping every so often in each room to stare intently at the image he had placed there before moving on the next. The orator's body moves through spaces in which he engages his sense of sight in order to imprint upon his mind a

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[2] As noted in the introduction, I understand social memory as it has been used by James Fentress and Chris Wickham, *Social Memory* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992), for whom it is the relationship between memory and social identity, but importantly also by Paul Connerton, *How Societies Remember* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Pree, 1989), who expands the concept to include habit and ritual (and not just texts and oral histories). "Imaginative memory" is preferred by Amy G. Remensyder, *Remembering Kings Past: Monastic Foundation Legends in Medieval Southern France* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995), 1, "in order to evoke the creative flair of the [monastic foundation] legends and their often fantastic transformations of reality."
[3] The classic study is Francis A. Yates, *The Art of Memory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966).

potentially long and complex series of thoughts. It was the operative body—the body engaged in walking and experiencing place—that facilitates remembering; images are easier to remember than abstractions, and "the embodied cannot be known without a place," as Cicero put it in his *De oratore*.[4] The classical art of memory was therefore conceptualized as a spatial and material (that is, embodied) practice.

Thanks to a recovery of ancient texts in the twelfth century, such models impacted the thinking of thirteenth-century scholars like Thomas Aquinas and Albertus Magnus.[5] For Aquinas, the embodiment of the soul meant that knowledge had to be derived from the senses and "imprinted" on the intellect, like a seal on wax.[6] His teacher, Albertus Magnus, adapting material from the classical text *Ad Herennium*, suggested placing memory images in typically medieval spaces: *templum*, *intercolumnium*, *pratum*, *hospitalis*. As Mary Carruthers notes, he probably envisioned an *intercolumnium* as the colonnaded space of a cloister or church space, and the columnar format of manuscript diagrams like Canon Tables further highlights the link between memory and architectural space in medieval thought.[7] That is to say, although Canon Tables served as a tool for reference (and not for memorization), as in the art of memory they organized knowledge visually within built space. Even laypeople, who would never have encountered Canon Tables, would be familiar with the dialectical relationship between memory and space (though they did not leave evidence of any attempt to articulate it); sites of pilgrimage were set up so as to facilitate an experience of the sacred that was structured by movements through and around spaces (ambulatories, radiating chapels, holy sites in Rome or Jerusalem). The history of the Christian faith was transmitted as much in the

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[4] Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 73, citing *De oratore* 87.357: "corpus intelligi sine loco non potest."
[5] Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, 122-155. According to Yates, *The Art of Memory*, 54, going by the manuscript tradition, the *Ad Herenium* (which was a main source for the classical art of memory) peaked in popularity between 1100 and 1400 AD.
[6] Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, 55-57. This is from Aquinas' commentary on Aristotle's *De anima*.
[7] Ibid., 139. Albertus Magnus addresses memory in his treatise *De bono*, Question II, article 2, written c. 1245.

spiritual exercise of movement and travel as in the sacred destination. The point here is that both intellectuals and ordinary medieval men and women understood and experienced memory as embodied and as mediated by built spaces and spatial practices. At the turn of the fifteenth century, when Christine de Pizan, in her *Livre de la Cité des Dames*, set out to extol the virtues of the women of the past, spurred on by female personifications of Reason, Rectitude, and Justice, she presented herself as a builder, and illuminators depicted her using a trowel as she mortared in building blocks. She puts her pen to the earth, her stories literally forming the foundation, walls, buildings, rooftops, doorways, and gates. "Mix the mortar in your ink bottle so that you can fortify the City with your tempered pen," Rectitude exhorts her.[8] The city in its material form is an imaginative construct for ordering the recollection of famous women, each of whom is imagined as a part of the built space. Christine constructed an allegory of the relationship between memory and materiality in the construction of community.

But was this relationship always primarily allegorical? These literary witnesses provide the broader context within which thirteenth- and fourteenth-century texts about past places should be understood. In Languedoc, however, material vestiges of the past sustained potentially troubling histories. Towns had been founded by pagan Romans, conquered first by heretical Visigoths, then by Saracens via the Iberian peninsula, and finally by the Carolingian Franks. All of this had to be squared with their current situations— fervently Christian though often with substantial Jewish populations and some enslaved Muslims, and administered by consulates but shared jurisdictionally with lords both lay and ecclesiastical. At the same time, landscapes were constantly reshaped, and the embedded meanings they accrued were often conflicting. Such concerns determined the discursive value of the material remains of the past in the medieval towns of Occitània and northern Catalunya.

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[8] Christine de Pizan, *The Book of the City of Ladies*, trans. Earl Jeffrey Richards (New York: Persea Books, 1982), II.1.1., 99.

II. Remembering Old Narbonne: Saracens, Jews, and Charlemagne

Before its decline in the later Middle Ages, Narbonne was an important political and religious center that featured prominently in the greater European imaginary. In *Aymeri de Narbonne*, a *chanson de geste* composed, it is believed, in the early thirteenth century (though ranges as great as 1170-1225 have been suggested) and usually attributed to Bertrand de Bar-sur-Aube, the town plays a central role. Although originally from Champagne, Bertrand was known by reputation in Gascony and Provence. His demonstrated knowledge of the geography of the *Midi* (and particularly that of Narbonne and its environs) has led scholars to believe that he travelled widely in the region, even to speculate that he served at the court of Viscountess Ermengarda of Narbonne (d. 1197), whose patronage of troubadours and trouvères is well known.[9] While the Aymeri of legend lived in the time of Charlemagne, many viscounts of Narbonne from the late eleventh to late fourteenth centuries also bore the name, including Ermengarda's father, Aymeri II, and her successor, Aymeri III, who reigned from 1194 to 1239.[10] To what extent Bertrand's work was connected to local politics cannot be verified. It was written in Old French, not Occitan, but it was widely popular and two later romances in Old Castilian that draw on it preserve Provençal versions of the name—Almenique and Benalmenique.[11] The poem itself was merely one of many expansions of the poetic corpus dedicated to Charlemagne and his deeds that began with the *Chanson de Roland*. Roland's death, in fact, is mentioned throughout, and so the poem assumes familiarity with this popular collection of tales. But *Aymeri de Narbonne* recounts the story of its eponymous hero, the son of Hernaut (one of

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[9] Michael A.H. Newth, trans., *Aymeri of Narbonne: A French Epic Romance* (New York: Italica Press, 2005), xviii. On Ermengard and her patronage of such poets, see Fredric L. Cheyette, *Ermengard of Narbonne and the World of the Troubadours* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001), 233-247.

[10] On the name, see Cheyette, *Ermengard of Narbonne*, 23 and Rita Lejeune, "La question de l'historicité du héros épique, Aimeri de Narbonne," in *Economies et sociétés au moyen âge: Mélanges offerts à Edouard Perroy* (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1973), 50-62.

[11] Newth, trans., *Aymeri of Narbonne*, xxxii-xxxiii.

Charlemagne's counts), and his conquest of Narbonne and victory over the Saracens who held it.

The town lies at the center of the conflict within the *chanson*.

The poem begins with Charlemagne and his army, distraught over the loss of Roland and

Oliver, returning from Spain. But then the emperor spots a glorious city:

> Between two cliffs and set along a bay
> Upon a ridge he saw a town (*vile*) standing
> That Saracens (*Sarrazin*) had raised.
> The town was girt by walls and colonnades
> More strongly built than any ever made;
> Viburnum trees, grown in a grove for shade,
> And yews they saw, which in the breezes swayed.
> You could not see a sweeter sight than they.
> Some twenty towers the shining town displayed,
> And in their midst stood one of greatest praise.
> No man alive, although his skills were great,
> Would take less time than one whole summer's day
> To tell of all the skill those pagans (*paien*) gave
> To building this majestic tower I've named.
> The crenels were all sealed with leaden frames,
> Though any bolt would barely reach their range;
> The dome that crowned its highest floor was made
> Of shining gold, the best the East (*outremer*) contained;
> Set in it was a garnet-stone (*escharbocle*) which blazed
> Its luster forth and shed as bright a ray
> As does the sun when dawn lights up the day.
> In darkest night, this is no lie or tale,
> Its glow would show from four full leagues away.[12]

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[12] I follow Newth's translation (*Aymeri of Narbonne*, 7-8) making certain emendations where a literal interpretation seems warranted (for example, translating "vile" as "town" rather than "city"). The translation is accompanied by the original language version (ibid., 151-152), reprinting Louis Demaison, ed., *Aymeri de Narbonne: Chanson de geste*, vol. 2 (Paris: Société des Anciens Textes Française, 1887), 8, ll. 159-181:
> Entre .ij. roches, près d'un regort de mer,
> Desus un puit vit une vile ester
> Que Sarrazin i orent fet fermer.
> Molt bien fu close de mur et de piler;
> Onques plus fort ne vit hom conpasser.
> Virent l'arbroie contre le vent brenler
> D'is et d'aubors q'an i ot fet planter.
> Plus biau deduit ne pot nus regarder;
> .XX. tors i ot fetes de liois cler,
> Et une en mi qui molt fist a loer.
> N'a home el mont tant sache deviser,
> N'i covenist .j. jor d'esté user,
> S'il voloit bien tote l'uevre aconter
> Que paien firent en cele tor fonder.

Narbonne, here called a *vile* (manuscript variants include *tor* and *roche*)[13] but later in the poem a *cité*,

astounds the emperor above all owing to its lithic grandeur: its walls and colonnades, towers, and

golden-domed, gem-encrusted barbican. Ordered nature has its place as well, but it is the

monumentality and ornamentation of the built space that astonishes most. In the lapidary

imagination of medieval men and women, garnets or carbuncles were the fieriest of stones,

generating their own light. They were bright, forceful, even virile in their potency.[14] The gleaming

escharbocle set in the high tower therefore marks the place as especially powerful. Well-protected and

skillfully made, the town, Charlemagne believes, must be taken from the Saracens who hold it.

Materiality is so central to the town's allure that when Charlemagne's men begin to destroy the walls

in the course of the siege, he rebukes them:

> "Don't smite the stones, my worthy lords well-loved!
> For all the gold that gleams in Syria,
> I do not want this ancient city touched,
> Its fortress felled or any ruin done.
> With Jesu's help, our blessed Mary's Son,
> We'll take the town exactly as it was!"[15]

> Les creniax firent tout a plon seeler;
> Jusqu'as batailles ot .j. ars que giter.
> Sus as estages del palès principer
> Ot .j. pomel de fin or d'outremer;
> Un escharbocle i orent fet fermer
> Qui flanbeoit et reluisoit molt cler,
> Com li solauz qui au main doit lever;
> Par nuit oscure, sanz mençonge conter,
> De .iiij. liues le puet en esgarder.

[13] For these variants, see the edition of two separate manuscripts in Hélène Gallé, ed., *Aymeri de Narbonne* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2007), 245 and 548.

[14] According to Albertus Magnus, *Book of Minerals*, trans. Dorothy Wyckoff (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), 61 (book II, tractate i, chapter 2), "they say that the carbuncle is the noblest, having the powers of all other stones; because it receives a power similar to that of the Sun, which is more noble than all other heavenly powers—and it is his universal power that gives brightness and power to all heavenly [things]." Suzanne Conklin Akbari, *Seeing Through the Veil: Optical Theory and Medieval Allegory* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), suggests (on 97-98) that Jean de Meun replaced Guillaume de Lorris's transparant *cristaus merveilleus* with *uns carboncles merveillables* both because the latter generated its own powerful light (rather than merely reflecting other sources) and because a type of carbuncle called *granatus* recalled the "seed" that Genius encourages the reader to plant. The stone therefore had virile connotations.

[15] Newth, trans., *Aymeri de Narbonne*, 36; Demaison, ed., *Aymeri de Narbonne*, 48, ll. 1106-1111:
> "Mar abatez, franche gent seignorie!

The desire for material wholeness is related to the town's antiquity, and for those reading and listening to *Aymeri de Narbonne*, this past was undoubtedly pagan. It is left unclear, however, if the *paien* credited with its construction are the Muslims inhabiting it or the ancient Romans whom we know to have founded it. Here, the medieval conflation of "Saracen" and "pagan" in the European imagination (such that even the Romans of antiquity were occasionally called Saracens) is in evidence.[16] Although Romans are nowhere mentioned in this text, the *chanson* unquestionably transmits a recognition of Narbonne's pagan past. And it reveals how that past was perceived in and through the very stones of the town itself.

In a very real way, these stones did indeed translate the past, for the late antique walls that encircled the *cité*, raised hurriedly sometime between 250 and 320, were built with materials removed and repurposed from the town's Roman temples and monuments.[17] Ancient epigraphs and sculpture thus dotted their surface. Retained and reused again when the walls were enhanced in the sixteenth century, they were finally removed when the ramparts were destroyed in 1867-1868. Many are today

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Je ne vodroie por tot l'or de Sulie,
Que abatue feust ne agastie
La forterece de la cité entie,
Car se Deu plest, le fil sainte Marie,
Sanz trebuchier sera prise et sessie."

[16] John V. Tolan, *Saracens: Islam in the Medieval European Imagination* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 105-134, esp. 126-127. Tolan represents the scholarly consensus, but cf. Norman Daniel, *Heroes and Saracens: An Interpretation of the Chansons de Geste* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1984), for whom Saracen "paganism" in *chansons de geste* is nothing more than literary convention. The Saracens of *Aymeri de Narbonne* are undoubtedly idol-worshippers, venerating an image of Muhammed that they had transported to Mecca; Demaison, ed., *Aymeri de Narbonne*, ll. 3498-3503:

De l'autre enpire ne vos sai ge nomer;
Merveille gent i ot fet asenbler
Por une feste que vodrent celebrer
De Mahomet que durent aorer,
Si com en l'ot a Mesques fet porter
Et en la fiertre couchier et reposer.

[17] Cheyette, *Ermengard*, 46; Jacqueline Caille, "Les remparts de Narbonne des origines à la fin du Moyen Âge," in *Défendre la ville dans les pays de la Méditerranée occidentale au Moyen Âge, Actes de la journée d'étude du 6 mars 1999*, ed. Daniel Le Blévec (Montpellier: Centre historique de recherches et d'études sur la Méditerranée occidentale, 2002), reprinted in Jacqueline Caille, *Medieval Narbonne: A City at the Heart of the Troubadour World*, ed. Kathryn Reyerson (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), III, 15-17.

housed in the thirteenth-century church of Notre-Dame-de-Lamourguier, now a *musée lapidaire*, where for a small entrance fee visitors may wander between aisles of stacked stones bearing inscriptions and reliefs that visually and materially broadcast the ancient, pagan past (fig. 3).

Fig. 3. Narbonne, Musée lapidaire, Church of Notre-Dame-de-Lamourguier. 13th century Photo: author.

It is unclear how much other Roman stonework was visible in the thirteenth and fourteenth

centuries. Certainly parts of the *capitolium*—the ancient temple dedicated to the capitoline triad of

Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva—were still around, for this building, converted into a palace and fortress

under the Visigoths, was documented as part of the town's fortifications in 1212 and 1215.[18] The

presence of these ruins and reused rocks should leave no doubt that when Narbonnais consumers of

Aymeri de Narbonne read or heard Charlemagne's reaction to the walls and towers of the town, they

would immediately have understood how such fortifications materially connected Narbonne to its

pagan past. For them, a "Saracen" wall was made not just of old cut rock, but might also be studded

with stones bearing words and images that inscribed the ancient past on the material present.

In *Aymeri de Narbonne*, the hero succeeds in conquering the town for Charlemagne. He later

fends off a Saracen attempt to recapture it and finally bestows it on his wife, Hermenjart. Guillelmus

Paduanus, however, offered a different version of Narbonne's conquest in his *Gesta Karoli Magni ad*

Carcassonam et Narbonam.[19] Written toward the middle of the thirteenth century (sometime after 1237

but before 1255) at the behest of Abbot Bernard of Lagrasse, the *Gesta* used the conquests of

Charlemagne to frame the founding of Bernard's abbey. Two fourteenth-century manuscripts that

contain an Occitan version, moreover, establish that the text was likely known in the *Midi* beyond

the Latin-literate world of the monasteries.[20] According to the *Gesta*, conquering Narbonne on the

way to Spain (rather than returning from it, as *Aymeri de Narbonne* had it), Charlemagne came across a

valley inhabited by hermits clustered around a shrine to the Virgin. Recognizing the place as sacred,

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[18] The *capitolium* and the connected *Porte royale* were enfeoffed by the archbishop to Guillhem du Capitole in 1212, while in 1215 it was pledged by the archbishop to Jean Bistan along with the gate and five towers; Caille, "Les remparts de Narbonne," 24-25.

[19] The most recent edition is Christian Heitzman, ed. *Gesta Karoli Magni ad Caracassonam et Narbonam* (Florence: SISMEL-Edizioni del Galluzzo, 1999), henceforth cited as simply *Gesta*. An earlier edition, bearing the same title, was published alongside the Occitan version in F. Ed. Schneegans, ed., (Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1898). On dating this work to the middle of the thirteenth century, see Amy G. Remensyder, *Remembering King's Past: Monastic Foundation Legends in Medieval Southern France* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995), 317.

[20] BnF, ms. fr. 2232 and London, British Library Add. ms. 21218.

he established the monastery of Lagrasse there under the guidance of Pope Leo and Archbishop Turpin. The *Gesta* thus supplied the abbey with a legendary founder and esteemed past, which was precisely the author's purpose.[21] Narbonne is given a less prominent place in the text, and Charlemagne desires to conquer the city not owing to its material magnificence, but for the much more strategic reason that it provided access to Spain.[22]

Yet, the *Gesta* incorporated a facet of Narbonne's history that the *chanson* had ignored—its Jewish past. In this text, the Jews of Narbonne play a vital role in the conquest of the town. Convinced of Charlemagne's eventual victory, they attempt to persuade the town's Saracen ruler, Matrandus, to broker a peace. After he refused, they send a delegation, headed by Isaac, to the Frankish emperor with 70,000 marks of silver to petition for mercy for themselves and the town (*villa*) and they ask that there always be a king in Narbonne of their people (*rex de gente nostra*), the present ruler being a descendant of David and from Baghdad (*de genere Davidis et Baldachi*).[23] Charlemagne then takes the Jews under his protection and, in return, they admit the Franks to the

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[21] On the search for legendary founders on the part of monasteries in the region, see Remensyder, *Remembering Kings Past*. She discusses Lagrasse and the *Gesta Karoli Magni* at 54, 71-74, 81-83, and esp. 196-199.

[22] *Gesta*, 5-6: " 'Modo est ita, quod ipso adiuvante proponimus intrare Yspaniam. Sed tamen est hic prope quedam nobilis civitas, que Narbona nuncupater, et alie quam plures citra Yspaniam, que nos infestant quam plurimum. Et si possemus dictam Narbonam capere, introitus Yspanie aperiretur et alie civitates ipsa devicta de facili vincerentur. Et si consulitis, ut versus Narbonam eamus, ex parte Domini; sin autem, intremus Yspaniam et, quod magis vobis placuerit, eligatis.' Tunc omnes unanimiter clamaverunt, quod melius erat primo devincere et capere Narbonam et postea Yspaniam introire."

[23] Ibid., 67-68: "Iudei autem in civitate permanentes in sortibus suis cognoverunt, quod Karolus caperet civitatem et tocius terre, que citra mare erat, dominus efficeretur. Et habito inter se consilio venerunt ad Matrandum et dixerunt ei, quod, qualemcumque posset, cum Karolo concordiam faceret vel sciret pro certo, quod civitatem amitteret et ipsemet interficeretur et omnes sui fautores. Et ipse indignatus respondit, quod hoc nullo modo faceret...Sed ipsi spernentes eius inhibitionem elegerunt Ysaac et alios X et cum LXX milia marchas argenti eos ad Karolum miserunt. Qui coram Karolo venientes salutaverunt eum et Ysaac primo locutus fuit dicens ei: 'Domine rex, bene cognoscimus, quod Narbona non potest vobis ulterius resistere; et nos sumus Iudei et petimus misericordiam tam pro nobis quam pro omnibus de villa et, quicquid vobis placuerit, faciemus.' Et ille respondet ei: 'Qui misericordiam petit, misericordiam consequi debet; et ego vos recipio in mei iuridictione et custodia.' Et Ysaac dixit: 'Domine, non credatis, quod nos aliquam proditionem faciamus. Nam Matrandus nichil habet in nobis nec aliquid tenemus ab ipso, nisi quia pro amparancia dabamus ei certam pecuniam annuatim. Preterea rogamus vos, ut semper sit in Narbona rex de gente nostra, quoniam ita debet esse et est hodie. Et ex parte ipsius nos ad vos venimus, et est de genere Davidis et Baldachi et mittit vobis per nos LXX milia marchas argenti et, si plus vultis, plus habebitis et, quicquid habemus, vestrum erit. Preterea ex parte ville nostra inpugnetis Narbonam et capietis eam; nam C brachias de muro tenebimus et plus, et quod nullus vobis erit ausus lapidem prohicere nec inferre aliquod nocumentum.'" According to the editors (n. 241), *Baldachi* here is not another ancestor but the alleged origin of the ruling family: Bagdad/Babylon.

town through the Royal Gate. The emperor rewards them with jurisdiction over a third of the town

and permission to install their king at Narbonne.[24] Another third went to Aymeric and the last to the

archbishop, whose twelfth-century successor would emphasize the temporal powers granted by the

emperor (in the heated context of "local politics") by sculpting Charlemagne's image on a cloister

pier at the cathedral (fig. 4).[25] The *Gesta* thus explained, historically, the division of secular and

ecclesiastical jurisdictions obtaining in thirteenth-century Narbonne.[26]

Fig. 4. Charlemagne on a cloister pier from the cathedral of Narbonne. Toulouse, Musée des Augustins. 12th century. Inventory no. Ra 831. Photo: author.

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[24] Ibid., 70: "Similiter aliam tertiam partem civitatis dedit Iudeis, qui eam ei reddiderant, et dedit eis regem ad voluntatem eorum."

[25] Such is the argument of Frances Terpak, "Local politics: The Charlemagne Legend in Medieval Narbonne," *Res: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 25 (1994): 97-110.

[26] Cf. Arthur J. Zuckerman in *A Jewish Princedom in Feudal France, 768-900* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1972), 67-73, who argues for the historicity of the legend contained in the *Gesta* and uses it to support his argument for a Jewish princedom. He publishes the relevant passages of the text in Appendix I, 379-381.

In fact, even in the twelfth century there is evidence that Narbonne was known throughout

Christendom as a place of religious and cultural encounter, and especially (and accurately) as a center

of Jewish culture and Davidic descent. In his *Sefer ha-Masaot*, Benjamin of Tudela, who visited

Narbonne sometime around 1166, wrote that the town was "an ancient city of the Torah. From it

Torah goes forth to all lands. Therein are sages, magnates, and princes at the head of whom is…a

descendant of the House of David as stated in his family tree."[27] He further claimed, "Local Jews

now vaunt the fact that their forefathers supported the Holy Roman Emperor [when he drove out

the Muslims]. They like to talk about how King Charlemagne rewarded Narbonne's Jews for

supporting him, by giving them special rights and even naming a 'Jewish king' here—perhaps what

we call a *nasi*, or prince."[28] Apparently, then, elements of the tale recorded in the *Gesta* had

antecedents in the social memory of local Jews. A passage appended to Benjamin's travelogue

sometime in the late twelfth century elaborated on how this *nasi* came to Narbonne following its

conquest:

> Then King Charles sent to the King of Babylon requesting that he
> dispatch one of his Jews of the seed of the royalty of the House of
> David. He hearkened and sent him one from there, a magnate and a
> sage, Rabbi Makhir by name. And [Charles] settled him in Narbonne,
> the capital city, and planted him there, and gave him a great
> possession there at the time he captured it from the Ishmaelites.[29]

This tradition, the historicity of which has been thoroughly challenged by modern scholars, was

nonetheless known and used by Christian authors.[30] Those familiar with the vaguely contemporary

Vita et passio of William of Norwich, written by Thomas of Monmouth in the third quarter of the

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[27] Translated from the Hebrew by Arthur J. Zuckerman in *A Jewish Princedom in Feudal France, 768-900* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1972), 58.
[28] Benjamin of Tudela, *The World of Benjamin of Tudela: A Medieval Mediterranean Travelogue*, trans. Sandra Benjamin (Cranbury, N.J.: Associated University Presses, 1995), 62.
[29] Translated by Zuckerman in *A Jewish Princedom*, 59-60.
[30] See the critique of Zuckerman, *A Jewish Princedom* in Jeremy Cohen, "The Nasi of Narbonne: A Problem in Medieval Historiography," *ASJ Review* 2 (1977): 45-76.

twelfth century, may recognize Narbonne as the supposed location of the annual Jewish gathering

that decided (by lot) which Jews would carry out the sacrifice of a Christian child. Each year, as the

monk Theobald, a former Jew, claimed, "the princes and the rabbis of the Jews of Spain convene in

Narbonne, where the royal seed resides and where they are held in the highest estimation."[31]

The author of the *Gesta* seems therefore to have drawn not only from widely-known legends

about the Jews of Narbonne, but also from the received wisdom of the Jewish community there.

There is evidence here that Christians and Jews did not merely live side-by-side in medieval towns,

but shared and traded elements of social or imaginative memory. The text created a historical space

in which Narbonne's thirteenth-century community (consisting of both Christians and Jews) could

be constructed. It rationalized this social formation, but it also competed with the imagined

geographies of Thomas of Monmouth's life of William and *Aymeri de Narbonne*, which highlighted

the town's Mediterranean otherness. In the former, Narbonne sheltered the Jews of Spain as they

pondered the sacrifice of Christian children. In the latter, the town connected Europe to the Saracen

East: a passage in *Aymeri* speaks of a secret "ancient tunnel" used by Narbonne's non-Christian

rulers to escape from Charlemagne's siege and flee to the emir in Babylon.[32] It was potentially

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[31] Augustus Jessop and M.R. James, eds, *The Life and Miracles of St. William of Norwich* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1896), 94: "Qua de re principes et rabite iudeorum qui Hispaniam inhabitant apud Narbonam, ubi semen regium et eorum maxime uiget gloria, pariter conueniunt, atque uniuersarum regionum quas iudei inhabitant sortes ponunt."

[32] Demaison, ed., *Aymeri de Narbonne*, 146, l. 3469 for the "ancient tunnel" (*croute antie*) and, for the initial escape to Babylon, 43, ll. 988-1001:

> "Se vos volez croire le mien avis,
> En Babiloine seront li dui tramis
> A l'amirant qui tant est posteis.
> Secorra nos, de ce soiez toz fis,
> Et li dui autre remondront ci tandis,
> Si garderont ce palès seignoriz."
> Dient li autre: "Ja n'en seroiz desdiz.
> Nos en ferons tot a vostre devis."
> Tot maintenant que lor conseil ont pris,
> Rois Desramez s'est a la voie mis,
> Et Baufumez o lui tot ademis.
> Par une croute dont bien furent apris,
> S'an sont torné, n'i ont plus terme quis;

corrupting because of its connectivity, we might say, to use the vocabulary espoused by Peregrine

Horden and Nicholas Purcell.[33] The Jewish past and Saracen walls of Narbonne allowed

contemporaries elsewhere in Latin Christendom to deploy it in what we now, following Edward

Said, would call Orientalist projects. Indeed the variety of imagined geographies surveyed so far

should remind us that they were forms of knowledge that produced and contested contemporary

hegemonic claims. In the *Gesta*, the Jews came before Charlemagne and asked that they be granted

their own king, "since it should be such and it is today."[34] Tellingly, in the fourteenth-century

manuscripts of the Provençal translation of the *Gesta*, undoubtedly produced after the expulsion of

the Jews in 1306, the equivalent of *et est hodie* is lacking.[35]

The Jewish past of Narbonne was celebrated locally alongside the Roman and early Christian

pasts in a little-known, abbreviated history appended to one of the town's thirteenth-century

cartularies, the third *thalamus*.[36] This manuscript, compiled in 1256 but with some later additions,

contains the customs of the *bourg* along with many other municipal administrative documents:

consular ordinances, regulations of the trades, and acts pertaining to relations with lords.[37] Since

customary law essentially relied on memory and precedent and so fostered a significant engagement

with the past, such manuscripts often included chronicles and other historical notes.[38] And because

custom held force on account of its antiquity, such texts often emphasized a town's connection to

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    Se vont le secors querre.

[33] *The Corrupting Sea: A Study of Mediterranean History* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000).

[34] *Gesta*, 67: "Preterea rogamus vos, ut semper sit in Narbona rex de gente nostra, quoniam ita debet esse et est hodie."

[35] Schneegans, ed., *Gesta Karoli Magni*, 179: "Per estiers preguam vos que tostems aja rey a Narbona de nostra gent, car aissi deu esser."

[36] A.M.N., AA103, f. 130v, beginning "Aysso son las antiquetatz e las noblesas antiquas de la vila de Narbona." My transcription comes from the copy preserved in Doat 50, ff. 2-4v. Not having studied the original cartulary in person, I cannot attempt to date the text myself, though 1256 serves as a *terminus post quem*. Scholars have typically placed it in the thirteenth century (for example, Cheyette, *Ermengard of Narbonne*, 45), no doubt following M. Germain Mouynès, *Ville de Narbonne. Inventaire des archives communales antérieures a 1790. Série AA (Actes constitutifs et politiques de la commune* (Narbonne: E. Caillard, 1877), 74.

[37] For more on this cartulary, see Jacqueline Caille, "Les '*Thalamus*' de Narbonne," in *Les cartulaires méridionaux*, ed. Daniel le Blévec (Paris: École des chartes, 2006), 241. Such cartularies will be discussed below in chapter two.

[38] See Graeme Dunphy, "Cartulary Chronicles and Legal Texts," in *Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle*, ed. idem (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 256-259.

venerable pasts. Thus, when we read here of *las antiquetatz e las noblesas antiquas de la vila de Narbona*, we should be aware that the author's discursive goals were related to bolstering the legal weight of the customary legislation in the preceding folios.

According to this anonymous author, Narbonne was ancient indeed: "the first sailors to cross the sea bearing goods," he began, "were the merchants of Narbonne."[39] The town's mercantile elite, which also ran the consular government, was thus credited with the earliest transmarine trade in the Mediterranean. But the next item recorded in this brief catalogue returns to the Jewish history of the town that we glimpsed in the *Gesta* and in William of Norwich's *Vita et passio* :

> It is found that Narbonne was enclosed by walls in the time of King
> David, and at that time King David sent two knights to Narbonne to
> make an alliance with the city. So it has been found in the archives of
> the Jews in Avignon.[40]

Unpacking this brief notice reveals much. First, the act of foundation appears to be synonymous with the laying of the walls. While attributed in *Aymeric de Narbonne* to Saracen or pagan manufacture, the walls are here set in a biblical timeframe. More than that, however, the author connects the town historically to the House of David, a claim based, he tells us, on extant Jewish documents from Avignon. Here, then, is more evidence of cross-cultural transmission in the production of thirteenth-century imagined geographies. Perhaps hailing from the same tradition that had reached Benjamin of Tudela, Thomas of Monmouth, and Guillelmus Paduanus, this legend linked Narbonne to the Jerusalem of King David.

Turning next to the town's Roman heritage, the author highlighted Narbonne's golden age under the emperors. Again, the historical turns to the geographical and topographical:

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[39] Doat 50, f. 2-2v: "Primo se atroba que los premiers navegans que iamais passero la mar foron mercadiés fasen mercantie de Narbona."
[40] Ibid., f. 2v: "Item se troba que en lo temps del Rey David la Ciutat de Narbonna era enmurada e que en aquel temps lo Rey David trames deux Cavaliers de Narbona per far liansa am ladite Ciutat et aisso ses trobat als archios des Jusieus en Avinhon."

> And it is found that at the time of Rome's great prosperity three
> *Capitols de Justicia* were founded, to which the whole world answered.
> The first was in Jerusalem, to which all the Jews answered. Another
> was in Rome, and the last was in Narbonne, to which answered all of
> Spain and the Gallic regions, for which reason the *Capitoh* of
> Narbonne is called *Capdeul*.[41]

In a claim that we will soon see repeated at Toulouse, the ancient temple of the *capitolium* has here

become a place of justice, one of three across the entire Roman empire. Narbonne is therefore

linked to both the *urbs* itself and the sacred city of Jerusalem by virtue of its *Capdeul*, which by the

thirteenth century was a fortified building attached to the city walls. The passage also suggests an

ancient urban hegemony over Spain and Gaul which might theoretically justify consular or

seigneurial claims outside the town by providing them with a deeper history. The connection to

Spain is further elaborated by the immediately following statement that the "maritime town" of

Narbonne is called in histories and laws the "key to Spain, and for that reason bears the sign of the

key."[42] Echoing Charlemagne's comments in the *Gesta* about Narbonne offering access to the

Iberian peninsula, this author made the town's geographic liminality one of its defining features

while maintaining its political centrality with the history of the *Capdeul*. By the second quarter of the

fifteenth century, the *cité* and the *bourg* (legally unified in 1338) had abandoned their earlier, two-sided

seals bearing Virgin and Child and *agnus dei* in favor of one with a prominent key next to a two-

barred, archiepiscopal cross.[43] History had furnished medieval Narbonne with an enduring symbol

of urban identity based on the town's liminal position—as a gateway to both Europe and the

broader Mediterranean world—in the spatial imaginary of the Middle Ages, an identity shaped

around its ancient mariners, Carolingian conquerors, and Jewish networks (both ancient and

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[41] Ibid.: "Item se troba que en lo temps que Roma era en sa gran prosperitat foron estituits tres Capitols de Justicia hont respondia tot lo universal mon la un era en Jerusalem hont respondian totas las iudias l'autre era en Roma l'autre era en Narbona ont respondian tota Espage, et las partides Gallianes, loqual Capitoh de Narbona se apelha Capduel."

[42] Ibid., f. 3: "Item se troba que Narbona es vila maritana appelhada per estorias, et per las leys clau d'Espanha e per aisso fa senhal de clau."

[43] *Corpus des sceaux français du Moyen Age*, vol. 1, ed. Brigitte Bedos (Paris: Archives nationales, 1980), 373.

contemporary). Just how long such elements of urban identity endured is attested by the modern tympanum of the *hôtel de ville* designed by Eugène Viollet-le-Duc (fig. 5). The arms of Narbonne, the same key and archiepiscopal cross that graced the town's seal (although now surmounted by three *fleurs de lis*), lie in a field of *rinceaux*, beneath which three ships sail past a crenelated wall and gate.

Fig. 5. Tympanum of the *hôtel de ville*, Narbonne. 19th century. Designed by Eugène Viollet-le-Duc. Photo: author.

The rest of this short text emphasizes Narbonne's place in Roman and Christian history. We are told that the town furnished an emperor, Carinus, who reigned in the year 288 and was the cousin of Saint Sebastian, a martyr under Carinus' successor, Diocletian.[44] The author then claims that Narbonne had been Christianized no more than forty years after the Lord's Passion, and that it was flourishing when visited by Saint Paul of Narbonne, one of the "apostles to the Gauls," whom

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[44] Doat 50, f. 3: "Item se troba que en lo temps que Roma era en sa gran prosperitat un de Narbona fouc Emperador loqual auia nom Carinus cosin german de Sainct Sebastian que regnet l'an de la Nativitat deux cens huitante huit." In fact Carinus reigned from 282-285. Saint Sebastian was reputed to have come from Gallia Narbonensis.

the consuls and the people honored and to whom they gave the keys to the town.[45] A list of

canonized Narbonais preachers is followed by the claim that "never was any man killed or

disparaged for preaching the faith at Narbonne."[46] The text ends with the tale of how Narbonne

sheltered a papal ambassador returning from Spain, where he had been sent by Pope Silvester, from

the attacks of those in nearby communities claiming that he was a heretic. For their efforts, the pope

"wrote many noble and good letters to the consuls and the people as true Christians," ordering that

the aggressors repair any damages they had caused.[47] Narbonne's contributions to Roman *imperium*

and late-antique Christianity along the Mediterranean littoral thus complete (and, in some ways,

crown) this survey of the town's *antiquetatz e las noblesas antiquas*. The historical claims of its author

are buttressed by archival and archaeological evidence of the material past. Walled in the time of

King David (as Jewish documents proved) and honored with one of only three *Capitols de Justice*

(which still stood at the northern gate), Narbonne could produce Christian saints and protect papal

ambassadors from the aggressions of less pious Languedocians. Indeed, when this chronicle was

compiled together with the town's charters and customs in the middle of the thirteenth century,

papal legates and other agents of the Church were often in mortal danger as they travelled through

Occitània; in 1242, eleven friars and Benedictine monks serving as inquisitors were murdered at

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[45] Ibid., f. 3-3v: "Item se atroba que quarante ans apres la Passion de nostre senhor Narbona fouc Christiana.
Item se troba que en lodit temps per voluntat de Dieu vent Sant Paul a Narbona els Cossols am lo poble laneron recoulhir et au senga e li portero las claus de la vila.
Item se troba per la ligenda de Sant Paul que Narbona era en mot gran estat ont auia grans riquesas et grans noblesas de gens e gran poble e bonas aygas e bon ayre."
[46] Ibid., f. 3v: "Item se troba que de Narbona son yssits mots de bos homes per anar presiquar la fe de nostre senhor per lo mon dels quals nia de sans canonizats aquestes que se segion."
Primo Sant Sabastian Sant Ferruol Sant Fabian [lacuna] Sant Fermin Sant Guilhem.
Item no se troba que iamais sant home sia estat mort ni enuilanit a Narbona per presiquar la fe."
[47] Ibid., f. 4-4v: "Item se troba que en lo temps de Papa silvostre per lui fouc mandat un Enbassador en Espanha e al retourn vené a Narbona per repausar se e va selevar lo poble de Beziers e de Cabestans e de Casols e de Muruiel e de quarante locs de leurs vesis et tots emsems vengron a Narbona e requeriran lo susdit Embassador que los fos liurat cardirian que era ysege e la vila de Narbona lo gardec el condific e saluament en Roma e car la vila nol vol bailhar lodit pobolar dels locs susdits van damni fiquet un ter mal de ladite Ciutat entro lo lin dels mesels.
Item quant lo susdit Papa Silvestre fouc enformat daquo que la vila aura fait a son Embassador escrits motas noblas e belhas letras als Cossols e al poble de la vila coma verays Chrestias e donec tanta malediction al pobolar dels locs susdits que tenent que fesso emenda del dan que auian donat a Narbona et coneguda de dux laycs e de dos clercs de ladita vila de Narbona."

Avignonet. An ancient history of protecting the Church from the violence of religious dissenters therefore vigorously emphasized Narbonne's orthodoxy at a time when the entire region was under intense spiritual scrutiny.

III. "The stones cry out": Saint Sernin and Archaeological Allegoresis at Toulouse

According to Pierre des Vaux-de-Cernay, a miracle happened in Toulouse in 1210 while the crusaders were besieging Minerve. At the Dalbade, a newly whitewashed parish church dedicated to the Virgin Mary, inhabitants began to see shining, silvery crosses appear on its walls at dusk. Every evening, for nearly fifteen days, "they were constantly in motion, appearing suddenly then quickly vanishing...they emerged in flashes of all sizes, large, middling, and small."[48] Witnessed by two bishops and the abbot of Cîteaux, they were unfortunately concealed from the church's chaplain, Vidal, who desparately wanted to see them. Finally, after entering the church and praying that the Lord grant to him what He had already given to others,

> Suddenly he saw innumerable crosses—not on the walls, but in the air about him, one of them larger and more prominent than the rest. Soon the large cross moved out of the church; the others followed and began to move straight towards the city gate. The priest, utterly dumbfounded, followed the crosses, and as they were moving out of the city, there appeared to him, coming towards the city, someone of awe-inspiring and noble aspect, holding an unsheathed sword.

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[48] Pierre des Vaux-de-Cernay, *Historia albigensis*, vol. 1, ed Pascal Guébin and Ernest Lyon, Sociéte de l'Histoire de France (Paris: Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion, 1926), §160, 163-164: "In civitate illa prope palatium comitis Tolose est quedam ecclesia, fundata in honore beate Viginis Marie; parietes autem illius ecclesie de novo erant forinsecus dealbati. Quodam autem die ad vesperum ceperunt videri infinite cruces in parietibus ipsius ecclesie circumquaque, que videbantur quasi argentee, ipsis parietibus albiores; erant autem cruces ille semper in motu, apparentesque subito, statim non videbantur; siquidem multi eas videbant, sed aliis ostendere non valebant: ante enim quam posset digitum levare quis, disparuerat crux quam volebat ostendere; nam in modum coruscationis apparebant, nunc majores, nunc medie, nunc minores; duravit visio ista ferme per .XV. dies, singulis diebus ad vesperam, ita quod fere omnis populus civitatis Tolose hoc viderunt. Ut vero fides dictis adhibeatur, sciat lector quod Fulcho Tolose et Raimundus Uticensis episcopi et abbas Cisterciensis, apostolice sedis legatus, et magister Thedisius, qui in Tolosa tunc erant, istud viderunt et michi per ordinem narraverunt." I have consulted and used (with minor changes) W.A. and M.D. Sibly, trans., *The History of the Albigensian Crusade: Peter of les Vaux-de-Cernay's* Historia Albigensis (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1998), 86.

> Helped by the crosses and just at the entrance to the gates, this figure
> then slew a huge man who was emerging from the city.[49]

Vidal ran to the bishop of Uzès and related this wonderful vision, and we may presume that the

bishop was the source used by Pierre. This author's *Historia albigensis* was the history of the crusade

from the perspective of the crusaders. Its hero is Simon de Montfort, the minor French lord whom

the crusaders had elected as their leader and who would go on to hold (briefly) the comital title of

Toulouse. The town's original count, Raimon VI, was at the time of this miracle appealing his

disinheritance before Innocent III in Rome. The town itself was momentarily held in surety by the

papal legates accompanying the crusaders, but its inhabitants would later join Raimon (once more

excommunicated) in defending their town against the crusaders in 1211 and again in 1217-1218..

Thus, when Pierre recorded this tale sometime between 1212 and 1213, he undoubtedly hoped it

heralded the vanquishing of Raimon and his forces.[50] It is difficult not to read someone "of awe-

inspiring and noble aspect" (*reverendus et decorus aspectu*) as a description of Simon, since it very much

fits Pierre's words about the man earlier in the text (*aspectu decorus*).[51] Whether the "huge man"

(*quendam magnum hominem*) emerging from the city was meant to be Raimon or, more allegorically, the

monstrous specter of heretical depravity that Toulouse was long known to house, the miraculous

vision foretold a victory for the forces of orthodoxy.

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[49] Pierre des Vaux-de-Cernay, *Historia albigensis*, vol. 1, §161, 164-165: "Accidit autem, Deo disponente, quod capellanus predicte ecclesie cruces videre non potuit prenotatas. Quadam igitur nocte intrans ipsam ecclesiam, dedit se in orationem, rogans Dominum ut sibi dignaretur ostendere quod viderant fere omnes; subito autem vidit innumerabiles cruces, non in parietibus, sed in aere circumfuso, inter quas una ceteris major et eminencior videbatur; mox, egrediente majore de ecclesia, omnes egresse sunt post illam ceperuntquo recto cursu tendere versus portam civitatis; sacerdos autem, vehementissime stupefactus, cruces illas sequabatur; et, dum essent in egressu civitatis, visum est sacerdoti quod quidam, tendens in civitatem, reverendus et decorus aspectu, evaginatum tenens gladium, crucibus illis prebentibus ei auxilium, quendam magnum hominem, egredientem de civitate, in ipso egressu interfecit; sepedictus itaque sacerdos, factus quasi exanimis pre stupore, cucurrit ad dominum Uticensem episcopem, procidensque ad pedes ejus, istud sibi per ordinem enarravit; W.A. and M.D. Sibly, trans., *The History of the Albigensian Crusade*, 86-87.

[50] On dating the main body of the *Historia Abligensis* to 1212-1213, see W.A. and M.D. Sibly, trans., *The History of the Albigensian Crusade*, xxiii-xxvi.

[51] Pierre des Vaux-de-Cernay, *Historia albigensis*, vol. 1, §104, 104-105, with "aspectu decorus" on 104; W.A. and M.D. Sibly, trans., *The History of the Albigensian Crusade*, 56-57.

Dancing across the church's walls, the crosses of the Dalbade attest the vibrant agency that could animate the material structures of urban topography in the minds of medieval Toulousans. Divine will, embodied in the image of the cross, emanated from a consecrated space to help the crusaders liberate the town from the heresy that infected it. While modern political theorists like Jane Bennet have only recently begun to conceive of "a vitality intrinsic to materiality" that participates in and with networks of human and nonhuman actors, thirteenth-century men and women already knew that such forces could inhabit things like precious gems set in the stone of a tower or the whitewashed walls of a small, poor parish church.[52] As Jeffrey Jerome Cohen has argued, medieval authors both witnessed and theorized about the powers of non-human objects, particularly stone in its various forms.[53] The imbrication of human and non-human was acknowledged by Guillaume d'Auxerre, for example, when he explained the crime of usury in his *Summa aurea* (1215-1220):

> The usurer acts in contravention to universal natural law, because he sells time, which is the common possession of all creatures. Augustine says that every creature is obliged to give of itself; the sun is obliged to give of itself in order to shine; in the same way, the earth is obliged to give all that it can produce, as is the water. But nothing gives of itself in a way more in conformity with nature than time; like it or not, every thing has time. Since, therefore, the usurer sells what necessarily belongs to all creatures, he injures all creatures in general, even stones. Thus even if men remain silent in the face of usurers, the stones would cry out if they could; and this is one reason why the Church prosecutes usury.[54]

Guillaume's condemnation of usury was connected to the urban expansion of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, since towns were built on the mercantile gains facilitated by such systems of credit. Although he ultimately denied the material agency to which he alluded ("the stones would cry out *if they could*," a reference to Luke 19:40), the example of the miracle at the Dalbade reveals that it

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[52] Jane Bennet, *Vibrant Matter: A Political Ecology of Things* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010), 3.
[53] Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, *Stone: An Ecology of the Inhuman* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2015).
[54] Jacques Le Goff, "Merchant's Time and Church's Time in the Middle Ages," in *Time, Work, and Culture in the Middle Ages*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), 289-90, n. 2.

was commonly perceived. Medieval urban spaces were filled with material potential that might activate brilliantly at moments of crisis.

The miracle at the Dalbade, however, relied fundamentally on the presence of sacred, Christian spaces within Toulouse, and such spaces did not always exist. The pagan, Roman history and Christian conversion of the town was, for medieval inhabitants, transmitted mainly through the memory of the town's patron saint and martyr, Sernin (Latin: *Saturninus*). In the middle of the third century AD Saturninus was ordained bishop of Toulouse and sent to spread the word of God among the Gauls. According to the earliest extant hagiographic text—the *passio antiqua* –when he arrived in the city of Toulouse the pagan idols on the Capitol ceased to answer the queries of Roman priests.[55] The priests and populace soon discovered the reason for this reticence, and one day a man accosted Saturninus near a pagan altar: "There is the enemy of our religion, the standard-bearer of the new sect, he who teaches that our temples should be destroyed, he who condemns our gods, calling them demons, he in fact whose presence keeps us from receiving our accustomed responses!"[56] The bishop was subsequently bound and taken to the *capitolium*, where he refused to sacrifice to the pagan idols. This ensured his martyrdom. Tied to a bull originally intended for sacrifice, he was dragged from the height of the temple. His skull broke on the stone steps, spilling his blood and brains across the ground. The bull continued to pull him along through the streets of the Roman city until the rope snapped. Christians hid his corpse to protect it from the pagans.

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[55] The sources concerning the life and martyrdom of Saturninus have been usefully collected and published by Jean-Luc Boudartchouk and Jean-Charles Arramond, "Le souvenir du *Capitolium* de Toulouse à travers les sources de l'Antiquité tardive et du Moyen-Âge," *Archéologie du Midi Médiéval* 11 (1993): 30-37. See 30-31 for the *passio antiqua* (BHL 7496), which has been partially translated into English by Pamela Sue Marquez , "Recentering the City: Urban Planning in Medieval Toulouse in the Early Thirteenth Century" (PhD diss., University of Colorado, 1999), 274-278 (appendix 3).

[56] Here translated by Marquez, "Recentering the City," 277, from Bourdartchouk and Arramond, "Le souvenir du *Capitolium*," 31: "En ipsum adversarium cultibus nostris, novae religionis signeferum, qui destruenda praedicat templa, qui deos nostros daemonum appellatione condemnat, cujus postremo praesentia consueta nos prohibit obtinere responsa…"

Such was the *vita et passio* of Sernin known to Toulousans in the thirteenth century. His life

and death left a permanent mark on the urban topography of the city. Dragged from the *capitolium*

to his death on its steps and then along the main thoroughfare of the town, the Roman *cardo*, the

saint's bodily presence was both figuratively and literally inscribed on the city streets. One stage of

his martyrdom, the place where the rope snapped, was commemorated by the church known as

Saint-Sernin-du-Taur (now called Nôtre-Dame-du-Taur), just north of the old Roman walls. His

remains, originally stashed away by two of his female disciples, were later translated to the church

built to house them, the imposing basilica of Saint Sernin, and the street connecting this basilica to

the medieval town hall was (or at least is at present) known as *la rue du Taur*.[57] The story of his

martyrdom thus physically mapped a hagiographic tradition onto the streets and buildings of

Toulouse, which became holy sites not only to the townspeople but also to pilgrims from across

Christendom on their way to Santiago de Compostela, an important route to which passed through

the town.[58]

The medieval legend of Sernin exemplifies what Jennifer Summit has called "archaeological

allegoresis."[59] Drawn from Augustine's comment that "any statements by those who are called

philosophers...which happen to be true and consistent with our faith should not cause alarm, but be

claimed for our own use, as it were from owners who have no right to them," this model, Summit

argues, "allowed medieval Christians to make use of classical culture by appropriating without

destroying, and by acknowledging cultural and historical difference while also bridging that

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[57] John H. Mundy wrote that the present *rue du Taur* was in the Middle Ages known as the *carraria maior de Freneriis*; *Society and Government at Toulouse in the Age of the Cathars* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1997), 20 and 365.

[58] Jeanne Vielliard, ed., *Le Guide du Pélerin de Saint-Jacques de Compostelle*, 5th ed. (Paris: Librarie Philosophique J. Vrin, 1984), 48: "Item in eadem via visitandum est corpus dignissimum beati Saturnini, episcope et martiris,…" This pilgrimage guide was dated by its editor to around 1139. It is usually assumed that pilgrims also passed through Toulouse on their way to the tomb of Saint Gilles, Rome, and other destinations; René de la Coste-Messelière and Gérard Jugnot, "L'accueil des pèlerins à Toulouse," in *Cahiers de Fanjeaux: Le Pèlerinage* 15 (1980): 118-19.

[59] "Topography as Historiography: Petrarch, Chaucer, and the Making of Medieval Rome," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 30:2 (2002): 211-46.

difference."[60] She extends the model to topography, using the works of Petrarch and Chaucer and texts like the twelfth-century *Mirabilia urbis Romae* to illustrate how pagan places in the city of Rome were redeemed, in the eyes of medieval authors, largely through the history of Christian saints and martyrs. In these texts, "Rome's classical topography was continually called on to define its medieval identity, particularly at times when that identity appeared to be in crisis."[61]

Sernin's martyrdom was almost always represented topographically. On a reliquary from the end of the twelfth century, today housed in the crypt of the basilica of Saint-Sernin, the nimbed saint is nearly trampled under the bull to which he is tied, while the animal is prodded from behind by one of his persecutors (fig. 6). Angels lift the martyr's soul to heaven, where he resides within a mandorla. The image has obvious parallels with agricultural scenes in many manuscript illuminations; holy body and bull replace plow and yoked oxen, and the blood of the martyr is the seed from which the shoots of the Christian faith will spring forth (in those botanical metaphors so beloved by medieval clerics). On the other side of the reliquary, a central oculus providing a view of his relics is flanked by two later bishops: Hilaire on the right, who blesses the relics seen within, and Exupère on the left, who waves a censer beneath them. The rectangular reliquary bears a shingled roof, no doubt meant to recall the basilica that housed his remains. The cultic object thus illustrates how plowing the streets with Sernin's body allowed the faith, here represented architecturally (in the form of the church-reliquary), to rise. Other contemporary and later images are more explicitly urban or architectural. A romanesque sarcophagus from the abbey of Saint-Hilaire, in Aude, displays a pictorial narrative of the saint's death (fig. 7). Read from right to left, he is first arrested in front of the *capitolium*, then tied to and dragged by the bull from its heights (fig. 8).[62] Readers of an illustrated

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[60] Ibid., 219; citing Augustine, *De Doctrina Christiana* 2.40; trans. R.P.H. Green as *On Christian Teaching* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 64.

[61] Summit, "Topography as Historiography," 215.

[62] This is the work of the artist known as the Master of Cabestany, on whom see Marcel Durliat, "Le maître de Cabestany," *Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa* 4 (1973): 116-127.

copy of a fourteenth-century translation of Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda Aurea*, meanwhile, would see before his *vita* an image of the saint pulled up a set of stairs before a building with two towers and large central portal (fig. 9).[63] These visual and material witnesses to Sernin's cult highlight the way his death was tied to the topography of pagan Toulouse and its Christian transformation.
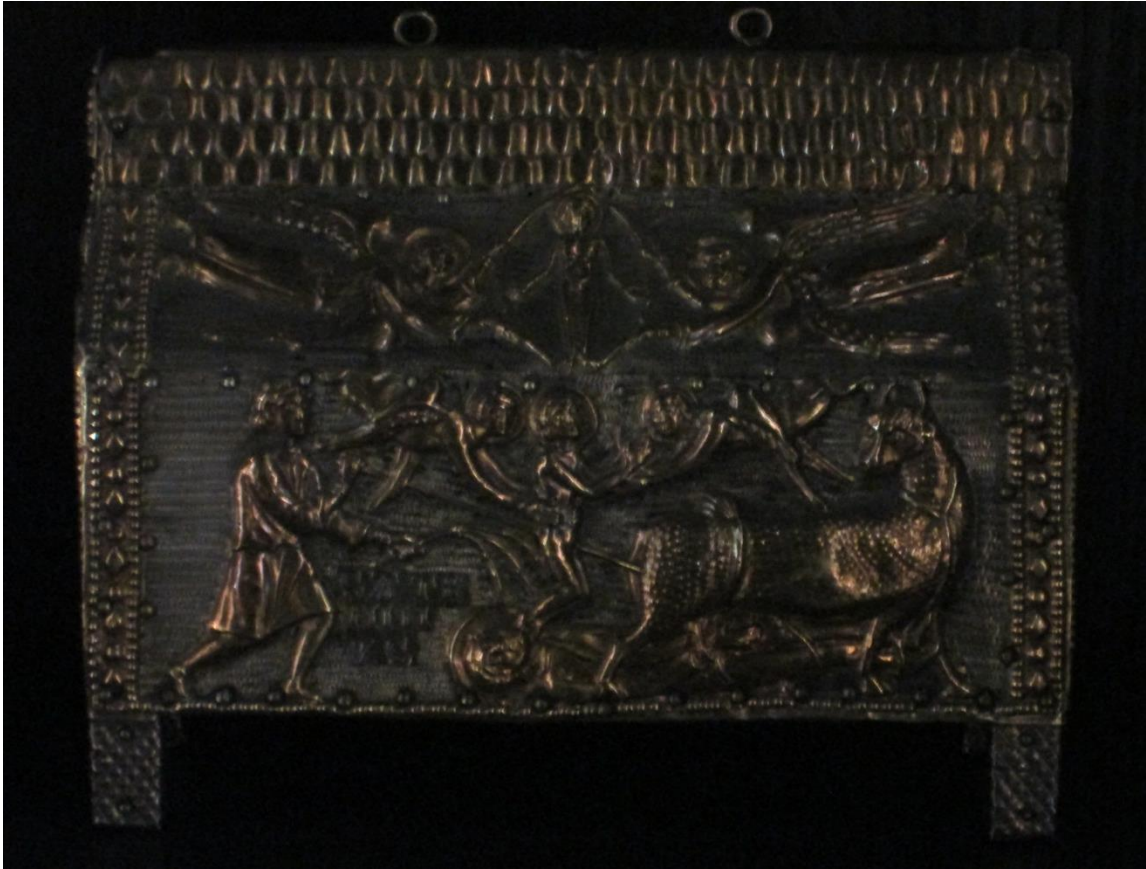
Fig. 6. Sernin dragged behind a bull. Reliquary of Saint Sernin. Late 12th century. Trésor de la basilique Saint-Sernin. Toulouse, France. Photo: author.

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[63] BnF ms fr. 241, f. 319.

Fig. 7. Scene, right to left: Sernin is arrested before the *Capitolium*, then dragged by a bull. Sarcophagus from the abbey of Saint-Hilaire, in Aude. 12th century. Centre de Sculpture Romane "Maître de Cabestany," Cabestany, France. Photo: author.

Fig. 8. Detail of fig. 7. Photo: author.
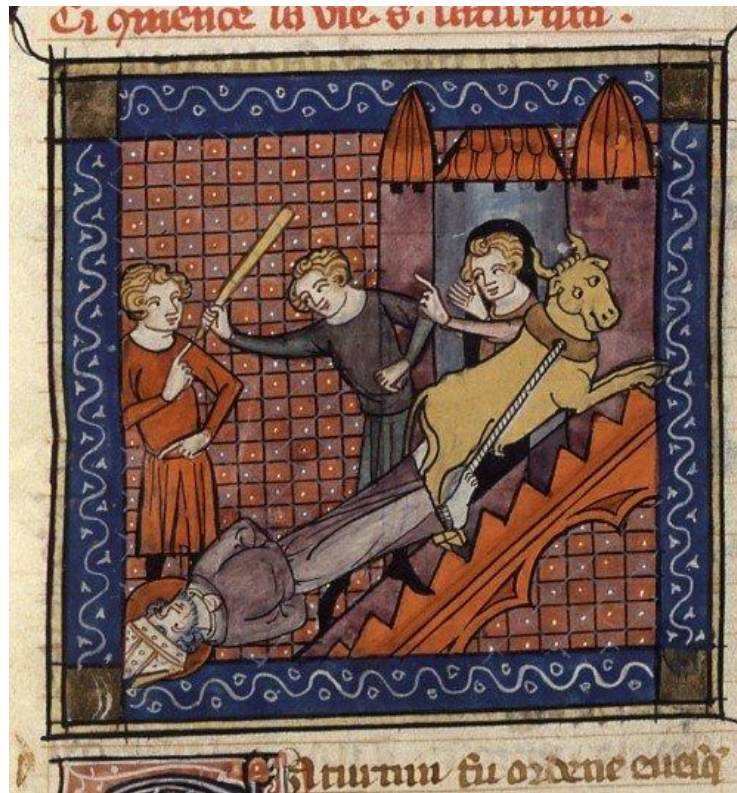
Fig. 9. The martyrdom of Sernin. Jacobus de Voragine, *Legenda Aurea* in a fourteenth-century vernacular translation. BnF. MS. fr. 241, f. 319. Image in the public domain.

That such hagiographies had an impact on urban and civic identity is attested by a gloss on the town's customs, the *Consuetudines Tholose*, made in 1296.[64] Its author has been tentatively identified as the jurist Arnaud Arpadelle. Susan L'Engle argues that Arpadelle composed the commentary at the request of one Petrus de Solio, probably a consul, and specifically as a didactic tool.[65] Explaining why the consuls of Toulouse were called, in the vernacular, *le capitol*, Arpadelle turned to archaeology by way of etymology and Roman law:

> But why in the city of Toulouse are the consuls called by the name "*le capitol*"? To this, say that in the cities of Rome, Constantinople, and Toulouse the consuls are or were called by the name "*capitol*" as if in a play on words, and the reasoning is clear, since *Capitolium* or *Capitolenses quasi capita auferentes*, as names are consonant with substances *Instit. de dona. § est et aliud* and *ff. ad municipal.l.fi.* and you should note that there were only three *Capitolia*, namely in the cities

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[64] Published in Henri Gilles, ed., *Les Coutumes de Toulouse (1286) et leur Premier Commentaire (1296)* (Toulouse: M. Espic, 1969). I have also consulted the manuscript: BnF ms Latin 9187.

[65] Susan L'Engle, "Justice in the Margins: Punishment in Medieval Toulouse," *Viator* 33 (2002): 133-65, esp. 149.

of Rome and Constantinople and in the city of Toulouse, as we read in the chronicles, and formerly it was not called after their judgements. Likewise, the *Capitolium* was called that place where men were sentenced to lose their heads and so whenever it was used it designated the location in place of the action. Nevertheless, in ancient times the consuls of Toulouse congregated in the place where now stands the church of Saint-Pierre-Saint-Gérard, and in that place there were idols adored by the pagans (*Saracenos*) and that place was called the *Capitolium* since there men were sentenced to lose their heads. Thus it is found in the readings of Saint Sernin, who was the first Christian bishop, how he was led to the *Capitolium* and how he was judged by the *Capitolium*.[66]

The martyrdom of Sernin here merely serves to illustrate Arpadelle's main point—that the consuls are called *le capitol* because of the association of the ancient *capitolium* with justice. He knew, quite accurately as it turned out, that the building was located not where *le capitol* of his day met, at the *domus communis*, but rather near the center of the old Roman city where in his day stood a prominent church.[67] From the *vita* of Sernin he understood that the site had been a place of pagan worship (and here we see again that conflation of ancient pagan and "Saracen") but the Life was also possibly the source of a misunderstanding, for Sernin's martyrdom there led him to believe that it was a regular place of judgement—a court or seat of justice—rather than merely the place where this particular punishment was meted out. Finally, we witness the same claim made by the anonymous author of *Las antiquetatz e las noblesas antiquas de la vila de Narbona*, that there were only three *capitolia* in antiquity,

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[66] Gilles, ed., *Les Coutumes de Toulouse*, 158: "Sed quid erit in civitate Tholose quia vocantur nomine isto consules "le capitol"? Dic quod in civitate Romana et Constantinopolitana et Tholose consules vocantur seu vocabantur isto nomine "*capitol*" juxta allusionem vocabuli et est ratio in promptu quia Capitolium vel Capitolenses quasi capita auferentes ut nomina sint consonantia rebus *Instit. de dona. § est et aliud* et *est et aliud* et *ff. ad municipal.l.fi.* et debes notare quod non erant nisi tria Capitolia, videlicet in civitate Romana et Constantinopolitana et civitate Tholose prout legitur in cranonicis et ab eorum sentenciis olim non appellabatur. Item Capitolium dicebatur ille locus ubi judicabant homines ad aufferendum capud et sic quandoque ponebatur continens pro contento. Verumptamen antiquitus consules Tholose congregabant se in loco ubi modo est ecclesia sancti Petri sanctique Gerardi et in illo loco erant ydole que colebantur per Saracenos et ille locus dicebatur Capitolium quia ibi judicabantur homines ad perdendum capud et ita invenitur in legenda sancti Saturnini qui fuit primus episcopus christianorum, qualiter fuit ductus ad Capitolium et qualiter fuit judicatus per Capitolium."

[67] Eugène Martin-Chabot first suggested that the glossator's claim be taken seriously; "La tradition capitoline à Toulouse à la fin du XIIIème siècle," *Annales du Midi* 30 (1918): 345-354. The long-debated question of the location of the *Capitolium* was definitively answered when excavations in 1992-1993 uncovered a Roman temple of the appropriate dimensions in the present-day *place Esquirol*. See Bourdartchouk and Arramond, "Le souvenir du *Capitolium*."

although here they are Toulouse, Rome, and Constantinople. Whereas in Narbonne it was Jerusalem that rounded out the triad, the inclusion of Constantinople serves a slightly different purpose. Arpadelle, trained in Roman law, has connected Toulouse with the two centers of Roman government and administration in antiquity. The "chronicles" from which he derived this information remain unidentified. Nevertheless, although for Arpadelle and his contemporaries the *capitolium* of the Toulouse was no more, its memory and classical legacy (or what was thought to be that legacy) was retained and served to rationalize the function of the thirteenth-century consuls. Summit's model of "archaeological allegoresis" and "architectural conversion" is useful here. As a location of martyrdom that was ultimately replaced by the church of Saint-Pierre-Saint-Gérard, the ancient pagan temple has become, for Arpadelle, a center of justice that could be used to reinforce consular authority. Redeemed by the blood of Sernin, which was spilt across its steps and along the streets of the town, the *capitolium* has been claimed in order to produce consular, and thus civic, identity. At Toulouse, as at Narbonne, social memory and identity were inextricably tied to urban topography.

IV. Perpignan: City of Refuge and Roman Weavers

Narbonne and Toulouse have offered enlightening illustrations of how medieval communities perceived their towns' varied and problematic pasts, pasts that were present materially in Roman stones or preserved in the memory of events that had unfolded at local sites. Inhabitants of these towns, in other words, found urban topography good to think with when creating identities based on shared pasts. In Perpignan, a very different situation obtained. As an early medieval foundation, first mentioned in 972, Perpignan had no Roman past. No Roman stones or temples graced its streets. No legends of Charlemagne extolled its walls and fortifications. In a region where historical connections to ancient Rome were both common and highly valued, Perpignan's novelty

stood out. What this meant in practice, however, was merely that its citizens would need to be more creative when they sought a connection with antiquity.

In 1392 or 1393, the consuls of Perpignan commissioned a new cartulary, which they prefaced with a rather strange historical note. It opened by describing the "cities of refuge" found in the books of Exodus, Deuteronomy, and Joshua that offered protection to those who had unintentionally committed homicide.[68] The authors then made a similar point about ancient Rome, where Romulus, after he "built the great circuit of walls," established "a certain house that was proclaimed a place of asylum" for those fleeing "whatever evils or debts." "Thanks to the house of asylum," they wrote, "the city of Rome was filled with houses and buildings, and with people, very much surpassing the neighboring cities. It grew to such an extent that the whole world submitted to it, and it was made the head of the heavenly and earthly kingdom." They continued, "And so arose during most ancient times the famous town of Perpignan, at the foot of the Pyrenees next to the river Têt in the district of Roussillon."[69] Without clear material connections—a *capitolium*, for example, or an abundance of ancient sculpture and inscriptions—Perpignan was envisioned as an iteration of an ancient *model* of urban formation and growth: a place of walled sanctuary.

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[68] Old Testament mentions to these cities are numerous, but the essential reference is Deut. 19.2-4 Vulgate: "Tres civitates separabis tibi in medio terrae quam Dominus Deus tuus dabit tibi in possessionem. Sternens diligenter viam et in tres aequaliter partes totam terrae tuae provinciam divides ut habeat e vicino qui propter homicidium profugus est quo possit evadere. Haec erit lex homicidae fugientis cuius vita servanda est qui percusserit proximum suum nesciens et qui heri et nudius tertius nullum contra eum habuisse odium conprobatur."

[69] J. Massot-Reynier, ed., *Les coutumes de Perpignan* (Montpellier: J. Martel, 1848), 57: "Cum ad civitatem, villam vel rempublicam augendam, amplifficandam e conservandam, nedum legibus et juribus indigeat, ymo et privilegiis, libertatibus et immunitatibus, contra jura et ad dictamen recte rationis, ut ipsius privilegiis et immunitatibus confisi ad ipsam confugiant, inibique domicilium transferentes, se collocent; legitur siquidem in Exodo. Deuteronomio et Josue quod tres fuerunt civitates refugii ultra Jordanem, et tres citra, quarum talis erat immunitas quod si quis volens hominem occidisset, si ad alteram ipsarum confugere poterat, ibi tutus erat a consanguineis occisi, usque ad mortem summi sacerdotis, et post ad propriam securus revertebatur. Fertur etiam de Romulo, quod, cum magnum circuitum murorum pro civitate Romana construxisset, ut ipsa murorum constructio popularetur, domum inibi quandam construxit, que domus asili seu asilius nuncupabatur, ad quam confugientes de omnibus finitimis urbibus ex quibuscumque maleficiis vel debitis tuti erant: indeque brevi tempore, dicte domus asili suffragio, ipsa urbs Romana domibus et ediffiiciis impleta, et admodum populosa fuit, excedens nimium omnes alias urbes vicinas antiquas; que et in tantum crevit quod totum mundum sibi subjecit, et caput celestis et terrestris imperii est effecta. Surgit itaque vetustissimis temporibus insignis villa Perpiniani, que in pede Pirenei montis juxta Thetim flumen in pago Rossilionensi fundatur."

Philip Daileader has suggested that the compilation of this cartulary—the *Livre vert majeur*—may be related to the pogrom of 1391 and the continued acts of violence against Jews in the following years.[70] It was, in other words, a consular response to a moment of crisis. Reconstituting the town codicologically (that is to say, in a new compilation of urban privileges and municipal legislation) at the same time that they renewed the communal oath of mutual defense (by force, if necessary), the consuls sought to re-establish urban unity after this breakdown of the social order. They evoked an imagined topography of Rome—its walls and house of asylum—in order to redefine an urban identity that had recently been challenged by those townspeople who had attacked Perpignan's religious minority. Indeed, the reference to Old Testament "cities of refuge" may suggest that the consuls specifically had their Jewish community in mind. The turn to such cities and their houses of asylum in this historical preface therefore fits neatly into the argument of Summit; at times of crisis, medieval authors called on topography to define identities.

The problem, of course, was that Perpignan had very little Roman topography to invoke. The consuls readily admitted that "the histories do not record the origin or first foundation of this famous town, even though it was famous already in the time of Charlemagne" and his heirs (a claim we know to be false).[71] Rather than rely only on the idea of a shared model of urban growth, however, they looked for other material and spatial practices that might allow them to claim Roman descent. "And so arose during most ancient times the famous town of Perpignan," they had claimed,

> whose women, as if taught by Minerva or Gaia Cecilia, the wife of
> Tarquinius Priscus, king of the Romans, prove to be the best wool-
> workers. And the origins of this seem to be derived from the ancient
> customs of the wives of the Romans, since Valerius Maximus reports,
> in book ten, in the chapter concerning the cognomen of newlyweds,
> that newlywed women when, before the threshold of the husband on

<blockquote>
the day of the ceremony, were asked what they were called, said Gaia,
that is, the wool-worker, after this queen Gaia Cecilia.[72]
</blockquote>

The reference is to an anonymous treatise called the *De praenominibus* that was often appended as a tenth book to manuscript copies of the *Facta et dicta memorabilia* by Valerius Maximus, who wrote in the first century AD. Indeed, the language matches that of the *De praenominibus* quite closely.[73] At the end of the fourteenth century, a version of the tale also circulated in the *De mulieribus claris* of Boccaccio, who took something of a dim view of it.[74] But Valerius Maximus was the place to go if one was searching for stories that might be used to connect a medieval town to ancient Rome. His *Facta et dicta* contained an encyclopedic treatment of the capital, its history, and its social practices. In at least one fourteenth-century manuscript of the text, the opening initial—the "U" of *Urbis Rome*—is inhabited by a vignette of the *urbs* itself, imagined as a medieval walled city with fantasy structures (fig. 10).[75] Readers of the text were primed to take the stories within as archetypically representative of the *urb*an.[76]

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[72] Ibid., 57: "...cujus mulieres quasi a Minerva vel Gaia Cecilia Tarqini Prisci regis Romani uxor edocte, optime laniffices existunt; quorum exordia a mulierum Romanorum moribus antiquis tracta videntur. Refert siquidem Valerius Maximus, libro decimo, capitulo de cognomine noviter nuptarum, quod mulieres noviter nupte, dum ante januam mariti, die sollempnitatis, essent interrogate quenam vocarentur, Gayas se esse, id est laniffices, a dicta Gaya Cecilia regina, dicebant."

[73] Valerius Maximus, *Facta et dicta memorabilia*, vol. 2, ed. John Briscoe (Stuttgart: B. G. Teubner, 1998), 10.7, 798-799, entitled *fragmentum de praenominibus*: "Antiquarum mulierum frequenti in usu praenomina fuerunt Rutila Caesellia Rodacilla Murrula Burra, a colore ducte. illa praenomina a uirilibustracta sunt, Gaia Lucia Publia Numeria. ceterum Gaia usu super omnes celebrata est: ferunt enim Gaiam Caeciliam, Tarquinii Prisci regis uxorem, optimam lanificam fuisse, et ideo institutum ut nouae nuptae, ante ianuam mariti interrogatae quaenam uocantur, Gaias esse se dicerent."

[74] Giovanni Boccaccio, *Famous Women*, ed. and trans. Virginia Brown (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001), 46.2-4, 190-192: "Hec cum esset prestantissimi ingenii femina, quantumcunque regia coniunx et in regia esset domo, ocio torpere passa non est, quin imo cum se lanificio dedisset (quod credam eo tempore apud Latinos honorabile) adeo erga illud egregiam opificem atque solertum fecit ut in hodiernum usque nominis sui fama protensa sit; nec evo suo publico caruit munere. Nam cum apud Romanos mirabilis et amantissima femina haberetur, nondum eis marcentibus deliciis asyaticis, instituto publico cautum est ut ab intrantibus novis nuptis primitus sponsorum suorum domos unaqueque rogaretur quo vocaretur nomine, rogataque se evestigio Gaiam vocari profiteretur, quasi ex hoc sumpture essent future frugalitas omen. Quod quantumcunque apud insolentes modernorum animos videatur perminimum, non dubitem quin apud prudentiores, illius seculi simplicitate pensata, optime et plurimum laudande mulieris videatur inditium."

[75] Ann Arbor, University of Michigan, MS 148, f. 5. To my knowledge no one has done a detailed description of this manuscript. In the catalogue, it is dated to 1300-1400 and listed as Italian in origin.

[76] The text was could also serve the discursive objectives of kings and emperors, who similarly sought to highlight their connections to ancient Rome. See, for example, on royal commissions of vernacular translations, Barbara

Fig. 10. Ancient Rome. Illuminated initial in Valerius Maximus' *Facta et dicta memorabilia*. Italy, 14th century. Ann Arbor, University of Michigan, MS 148, f. 5. Photo: author.

By referencing this particular story, the consuls linked Perpignan culturally to Rome in the absence of any real historical or topographical connection. With Rome and the Old Testament cities of asylum providing only the vaguest model of urban formation for a town whose own origins were obscure, the men of Perpignan, in the everyday movements of their wives working with wool, and perhaps also in the ritual movements and threshold crossings of marriage ceremonies, could envision a gendered genealogy of experience that more fully furnished them with a classical past. My reading of this text therefore returns to the notion of embodied memory inherited from antiquity

Drake Boehm, "Valerius Maximus in a Fourteenth-Century French Translation: An Illuminated Leaf," *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 18 (1983): 53-63.

and discussed in the rarefied texts of medieval scholastics. In this late fourteenth-century historical note, women are the bearers of tradition because in the absence of a material past, the consuls of Perpignan found Rome in material presence—in the bodies of their wives and the textiles they manufactured.

V. Conclusions: Materialities Past and Present

Jacob Burckhardt wrote that it was "the material knowledge of old Rome," acquired through archaeological excavation, that encouraged fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Italians to revive classical ideas and forms in the cultural movement that modern historiography has termed the Renaissance.[77] In this chapter, I have endeavored to show that "the material knowledge of old Rome" also inspired the inhabitants of Narbonne, Toulouse, and Perpignan between 1200 and 1400. Ancient buildings, whether extant or existing only in memory, offered possibilities to reflect on their relationship with a distant past—a past that was undoubtedly pagan, but which was redeemed by the blood of Christian martyrs (whether Sernin and his fellow apostles to the Gauls, or the men of Charlemagne who died to take the "Saracen" fortress of Narbonne) and could therefore supply these towns with models of urban community. Ancient topography served a vital role in these medieval constructions of community. The *capitolia* of Narbonne and Toulouse were deployed in attempts to rationalize the political claims of their consuls. For Arnaud Arpadelle, the consuls of Toulouse (that is to say, those called *le capitol* by Toulousans) derived their right to provide justice within the town from the *capitolium* where Sernin earned his martyr's crown. For the consuls of Narbonne, the *Capdeul* functioned similarly, perhaps even justifying claims against parties elsewhere along the Mediterranean littoral, for "all of Spain and the Gallic regions" fell within its jurisdiction.

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[77] *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*, trans. S.G.C. Middlemore (London: C. G. Harrap, 1965), 96; cited in Summit, "Topography as Historiography," 211, n. 3. The original German is "die sachliche Kenntnis des alten Rom"; Jacob Burckhardt, *Die Kultur der Renaissance in Italien* (Leipzig: Bernina, 1936), 117.

When ancient topography was lacking, as at Perpignan, the pasts sought out were just as material and embodied, now in the wool-working habits of the town's women.

History was inscribed materially in urban topographies, and those material remnants did not, ironically, fix or set memory permanently in stone, but rather multiplied the possibilities for creative reworking in the imaginative memories of medieval people. Narbonne's walls could be "Saracen" at one point but hark back to King David at another, while abroad the imagined geographies of Narbonne that they fostered could be used not to unite Christians and Jews (as in the *Gesta Karoli Magni*) but to sharply divide them—to differentiate pious boys in Norwich from their Jewish persecutors. Nevertheless, the chronicles of this town reveal how knowledge of material pasts traveled along a network of cross-cultural transmission—between Jews and Christians at Narbonne and Avignon—attesting to their shared deployment in medieval constructions of identity. The evidence indicates that medieval men and women viewed the material pasts they inherited in much the same way that Simon Schama frames his *Landscape and Memory*: "Instead of being yet another explanation of what we have lost, it is an exploration of what we may yet find."[78]

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[78] Simon Schama, *Landscape and Memory* (London: HarperCollins, 1995), 14.

Chapter 2

Documentary Spaces: Authority, Authenticity, and the Production of Written Records in the Towns

On 13 May 1227, the twenty-four consuls of Toulouse lamented the sorry state of municipal

documentation in their town. Consular ordinances (*stabilimenta*) went unrecorded, victims of the

"carelessness or negligence" of notaries or of the consuls themselves. As a result, they remained

"hidden in the mists of oblivion," unavailable to the townspeople who needed them.[1] "Hereafter,"

the consuls declared,

> since nothing more precious than the treasury [*theasauro*] of
> ordinances is held in the city and bourg of Toulouse, and so that the
> jewel [*gemma*] of these ordinances be not trampled by the feet of
> negligence and oblivion, but shines always upon those who need it
> and is found fruitful, the consuls of the city and bourg of Toulouse
> have decided that four public notaries, two from the city and two
> from the bourg, shall keep books of ordinances, and they will record
> in these books the ordinances made each year by the consuls...[2]

Although cartularies composed twenty years earlier indicate interest in compiling important town

records, this ordinance of 1227 marks the first time that objective was formally enshrined in

municipal legislation. And it does so in language that highlights these documents as material objects,

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[1] This ordinance was added to the early thirteenth-century cartulary of the bourg. A.M.T. AA1: 73, published in R. Limouzin-Lamothe, *La commune de Toulouse et les sources de son histoire (1120-1249). Étude historique et critique suivie de l'édition du cartulaire du consulat* (Toulouse: Privat, 1932), 405-406. On 405: "Cum stabilimenta singulis annis a consulibus tolosanis facta seu posita, propter incuriam aut negligentiam consulum et notariorum eorumdem, penes eosdem notarios inscripta remanerent neque in libris publicis scriberentur, immo oblivionis nebula tegerentur, ut si aliquis vel aliqua civium vel burgentium tolosanorum ipsis stabilimentis indigeret, super eisdem stabilimentis nullum consilium reperiret."

[2] Ibid., 405-406: "Preterea, cum thesauro stabilimentorum in civitate tolosana et suburbio nichil preciosius habeatur, ne gemma stabilimentorum negligentie et oblivionis pedibus conculcetur, set semper indigentibus irradiet et appareat fructuosa, dicti consules urbis Tolose et suburbii statuerunt quod IIII publicorum notariorum, duo urbis et duo suburbii, libros teneant stabilimentorum, et singulis annis stabilimenta a consulibus tolosanis facta seu posita in eisdem libris scribi et redigi faciant..."

even objects with a certain kind of agency. The Latin *gemma*, meaning both "jewel" and, although less commonly, "plant bud," evokes organic growth or fecundity (the bud is *fructuosa*) as well as the latent *potentia* or *virtus* thought to inhere in precious stones (and with which it shines, *irradiet*).[3] Municipal ordinances are here both the source of light and the leafy growth it nourishes. Such lapidary and vegetal language is, of course, figurative. But it eloquently suggests how the consuls imagined the productive relationship between written records and urban citizens in medieval Toulouse or, to put it another way, between textual artifacts and their social environments.

This relationship, and the medieval technologies of record-keeping that produced it, is the subject of this chapter. Documents defined relations between and within communities in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Their creation, circulation, and collection in Occitan and northern Catalan communities helped define medieval urban spaces. Towns were especially prolific. After sparse record-keeping in the latter half of the twelfth century, urban communities suddenly, for reasons still poorly understood, began to produce collections of charters (cartularies), customary law (customaries), and municipal legislation. They also forged their own seal matrices for imprinting wax with images that would authenticate records once they had been affixed by a strip of parchment or piece of thread. Meanwhile, individuals of all statuses increasingly had notaries draw up copies of contracts, donations, and wills. Between 1200 and 1400, however, written records did not just increase in number; they structured new modes of experience and facilitated new discourses of identity, authority, and authenticity. In this chapter, I will pursue the material, spatial, and performative aspects of writing practices in this period. Such practices, I argue, constituted an important part of the medieval production of space, particularly in urban milieux. Refocusing on

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[3] See Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, "Stories of Stone," *postmedieval: a journal of medieval and cultural studies* 1 (2010): 56-63; Kellie Robertson, "Exemplary Rocks," in *Animal, Vegetable, Mineral: Ethics and Objects*, ed. Jeffrey Jerome Cohen (Washington, D.C.: Oliphaunt, 2012), 91-121; Valerie Allen, "Mineral Virtue," in ibid., 123-152.

medieval documents in their material and performative contexts ultimately forces us to rethink

urban histories of memory, power, and identity.

I. Notaries and their Textual Artifacts

As indicated by the Toulousan ordinance of 1227, at the center of the production of written

records was the figure of the notary, a paid, professional scribe who drafted transactional and legal

instruments on behalf of others.[4] These instruments were usually drawn up in open public spaces in

the presence of witnesses (in addition to any parties involved), whose names were recorded.

Transcribing acts that were dictated to him in this social context, the notary was the mediator

between oral and literate modes of remembering. The documents he produced were authenticated

by his *signum manuale*, a personalized design or symbol that he included as part of a notarial

signature.[5] A selection of such *signa* from thirteenth-century Perpignan illustrates the variety of

individualized patterns created for this purpose (figs. 11-13). Apart from the copies presented to

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[4] The vast and growing body of scholarship on medieval notaries permits only an incomplete list here. An essential introduction may be found in John H. Pryor, *Business Contracts of Medieval Provence: Selected notulae from the cartulary of Giraud Amalric of Marseilles, 1248* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1981). Also useful and accessible is Kathryn L. Reyerson and Debra A. Salata, eds. and trans., *Medieval Notaries and Their Acts: The 1327-1328 Register of Jean Holanie* (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Medieval Institute Publications, 2004). The most recent synthesis for France is Franck Roumy, "Histoire du notariat et du droit notarial en France," in *Handbuch zur Geschichte des Notariats der europäischen Traditionem*, eds. Mathias Schmoechel and Werner Schubert (Baden-Baden: Nomos, 2009, 125-168. Evidence from several southern French towns, but mainly Montpellier, is collected by Maïté Lesné-Ferret, "The Notariate in the Consular Towns of Septimanian Languedoc (Late Tweflth-Thirteenth Centuries)," in *Urban and Rural Communities in Medieval France: Provence and Languedoc, 1000-1500*, ed. Kathryn Reyerson and John Drendel (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 3-21. Still fundamental to the notariate of the Midi is Frank Bréchon, "Autour du notariat et des nouvelles pratiques de l'écrit dans les régions méridionales aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles," in *Comprendre le XIIIe siècle: études offertes à Marie-Thérèse Lorcin*, ed. Pierre Guichard and Danièle Alexandre-Bidon (Lyon: Presses universitaires de Lyon, 1995), 161-172. For Aragon and Catalunya, see Francesch Carreras y Candi, "Desenrotllament de la institució notarial a Catalunya en el segle XII," in *Congrès d'Historia de la Corona de Aragó dedicat al rey En Jaume I y a la seva época* (Barcelona, 1913), vol. 2, 751-789, and Maria Teresa Ferrer i Mallol, "L'instrument notarial: concepte i evolució (s. XI-XV)," in *Actes del 2. congrès d'Historia del notariat català*, eds. Juan José Lopez Burniol and Josep Maria Sans i Travé (Barcelona, 2000), 29-88.

[5] On Toulousan notarial *signa*, see Pierre Saliès, "Les seings des notaires toulousains au Moyen Age," *Mémoires de la Societé archéologique du Midi de la France* 28 (1962): 41-63, and Ernst Roschach, "Les signets authentiques des notaires de Toulouse du XIII au XVI siècles," *Recueil de la Societé archéologique du Midi de la France* 1 (1867): 142-162. A study of *signa* from the region south and east of Toulouse, including Narbonne, is Alan Friedlander, "*Signum meum apposui*: Notaries and their Signs in Medieval Languedoc," in *The Experience of Power in Medieval Europe: 950-1350*, ed. Robert F. Berkhofer, Alan Cooper, and Adam J. Kosto (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 93-117.

participants, however, notaries also transcribed each instrument into their protocols, and these notarial registers (where they still exist) have consequently been thoroughly mined by scholars of economic and social history.[6]
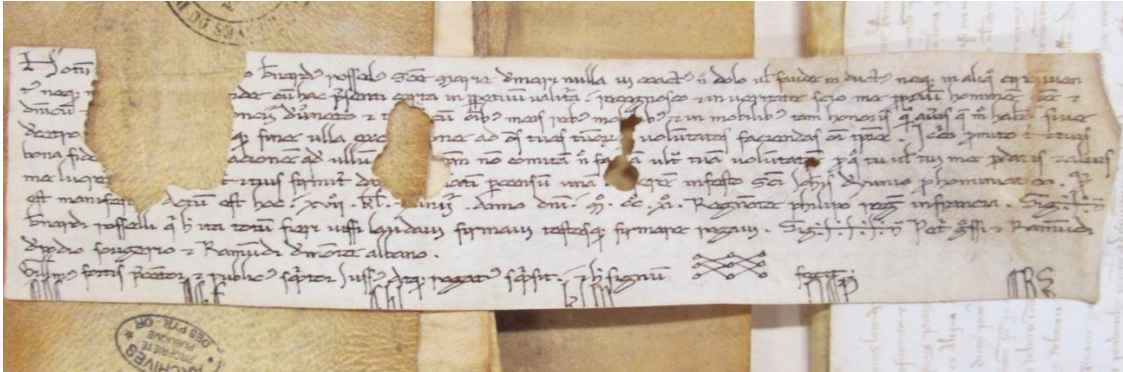
Fig. 11. Notarized written instrument of 1211. A.D.P.O. 1B 50 (unnumbered document). Drawn up by a *publicus scriptor*, with his *signum* on bottom right (two columns of crossed diagonal lines ending in small circles). Note also the alphabet across the bottom cut of the parchment, indicating that this is a chirograph, originally drawn up in duplicate on the same parchment and then split across these letter forms. Photo: author.
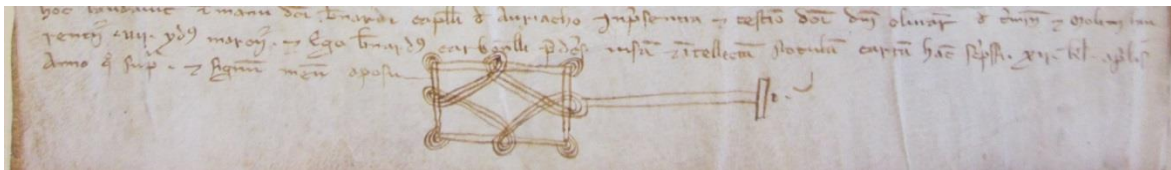
Fig. 12. Notarial *signum* of 1256. A.D.P.O. 1B 50 (unnumbered document). Photo: author.

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[6] Kathryn Reyerson, *Business, Banking and Finance in Medieval Montpellier* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1985); idem, *Society, Law and Trade in Medieval Montpellier* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1995); Philippe Wolff, *Commerces et Marchands de Toulouse (vers 1350-vers 1450)* (Paris: Plon, 1954); Richard W. Emery, *The Jews of Perpignan in the Thirteenth Century: An Economic Study Based on Notarial Records* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959); idem, "Flemish Cloth and Flemish Merchants in Perpignan in the Thirteenth Century," in *Essays in Medieval Life and Thought in Honor of A.P. Evans*, ed. John Hines Mundy, Richard W. Emery, and B.N. Nelson (New York: Biblo and Tannen, 1955), 153-166; Rebecca Lynn Winer, *Women, Wealth, and Community in Perpignan, c. 1250-1300: Christians, Jews, and Enslaved Muslims in a Medieval Mediterranean Town* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006).
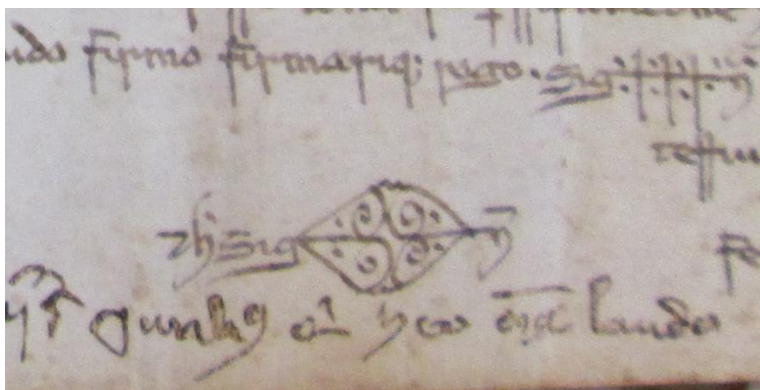
Fig. 13. Notarial *signum* of 1224(?). A.D.P.O. 1B 50 (unnumbered document). Photo: author.

By the time the consuls of Toulouse chastised their notaries in 1227, urban notariates were well established along the Mediterranean littoral. In name and practice, they revived a documentary culture that had roots in ancient Rome.[7] Now, however, emanating from princely chancelleries, professional scribes became firmly associated with emerging consulates in Languedoc, Provence, and Catalunya in the second half of the twelfth century.[8] Montpellier, with its particularly precocious consulate, established a public notariate around 1140.[9] Other towns followed suit only in the final quarter of the century. Narbonne's first *publicus notarius* appears in an act of 1177.[10] In a document from the following year, another scribe is identified as *publicus Narbone tabellio*; eight years later, in 1186, the same man appears as *notarius Narbone*.[11] Acts from Toulouse, meanwhile, were usually recorded by a *scriptor comitis* ("scribe of the count") into the 1180s, although there is mention of a *tabellio publicus* in 1179. In 1186 we find the first mention of a *scriptor publicus Tolosane*, and by the

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[7] A comprehensive history of the ancient notary is H.C. Teitler, Notarii *and* exceptores: *An Inquiry into the Role and Significance of Shorthand Writers in the Imperial and Ecclesiastical Bureaucracy of the Roman Empire: From the Early Principate to c. 450 A.D.* (Amsterdam: J.C. Gieben, 1985).

[8] In general, see André Gouron, "Les étapes de la pénétration du droit romain en Septimanie," *Annales du Midi* 69 (1957), 111-113.

[9] Bréchon, "Autour du notariat," 161-172.

[10] Rodrigue Tréton, "Prélude à l'histoire du notariat à Perpignan et dans le comté Roussillon (1184-1340)," published online at http://www.mediterranees.net/histoire_roussillon/moyen_age/notariat.pdf, 8, n. 45: citing Doat 55, fol. 245v: "Egidius, publicus Narbonae notarius."

[11] Jacqueline Caille, "Le consulate de Narbonne: problem des origines," *Les origines des libertés urbaines, actes du XVIᵉ congrès des historiens médiévistes de l'enseignement supérieur (Rouen, 7-8 juin 1985)* (Rouen: Publications de l'Université de Rouen, 1990), 249, citing Doat, 57, f. 138 and 146v.

1190s the title is no longer *scriptor* but *notarius*.[12] Similarly, Rodrigue Tréton has recently dated the installation of a notariate of Perpignan to around 1184 based on the appearance at that time of *notarii* and *scriptores publici* in charters from Roussillon.[13] In the following century, evidence for notarial activity is much more abundant, and charters often refer to the presence of *notaria publica* or *scribania* (as they are often called in Catalan lands) in the towns and even smaller communities in the countryside.[14]

Certain elements of notarial practice may be gleaned from town customaries and seigneurial charters. The earliest evidence comes from Montpellier, where the written customs of 1204-1205 dictated how notaries were to include the date, day, and year (calculated from the Incarnation) on public instruments.[15] Notaries in other towns might calculate the year differently, such as at Toulouse, where it was common practice to begin the year not on 25 March, as in Montpellier, but on 1 April. The adoption of this new system, John Mundy suggested, which coincided in the late twelfth century with changes in notarial title (from "scribe of the count" to "public scribe of Toulouse" to, finally, "notary of Toulouse"), indicated a desire to attach notaries more firmly to the town (as opposed to the count) and to differentiate their method from that of other notariates in Languedoc.[16] Such a system thus distinguished Toulousan documents from those drawn up elsewhere, and may have been connected to growing consular jurisdiction over the notariate. In other words, these changes may have been part of an assertion of urban autonomy and distinctiveness. Other articles of the customs of Montpellier more clearly specify notarial immunity

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[12] John Hines Mundy, *Liberty and Political Power in Toulouse, 1050-1230* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1954), 116.

[13] Tréton, "Prélude," 6-9.

[14] In general, see the records collected in Célestin Douais, ed., *Documents sur l'ancienne province de Languedoc*, vol 3 (Paris: Al. Picard et fils, 1906), 1-49; Cited by Lesné-Ferrett, "The Notariate in the Consular Towns," 4. And for Catalunya, see Treton, "Prélude," 12-13.

[15] Charles Giraud, *Essai sur l'histoire de droit français au moyen âge*, vol. 1 (Paris: Videcoq, 1846), 78 (Customs of 1205, art. 11): "Omnes notarii in instrumentis publicis debent incarnationem et numeros et diem per consequentiam litterarum inscribere."

[16] Mundy, *Liberty and Political Power*, 116-118.

from seigneurial authority in certain cases. Notaries could not be forced to hand over private documents to any lord or court, nor could they be compelled to testify to those things that "were said before them in secret."[17] Such protections guaranteed independence from the lord of Montpellier, and it is surely no accident that they coincide with the marriage of Marie of Montpellier to Pere II of Aragon (15 June 1204), who almost immediately attempted to divorce her but retain Montpellier. Faced with the prospect of an unfamiliar lord and the rights he might claim, the consuls of Montpellier sought to ensure that their notaries remained firmly outside his jurisdiction.

Subsequent lords of Montpellier, however, never attempted to undermine notarial independence. In 1231, Jaume I of Aragon confirmed that notaries of Montpellier must be at least thirty years old, of good reputation, and, importantly, both native to the town and resident there for at least ten years. Clerics were also forbidden from the office.[18] This guaranteed that notaries' loyalities lay unquestionably with the town and not with any lay or ecclesiastical lord. The same king also published statutes regulating the prices charged by notaries for drawing up different types of acts. These payments had to be made within thirteen days, while the notaries were obligated to enroll the acts in their registers within three days.[19] Similar regulations were recorded in the late thirteenth-century customary of Agen, which declared the right of the town council and community to appoint its own notaries—adding that they must be literate in both Latin and the vernacular (*romans*)—and listed prices for different acts.[20] These customs also reveal how the notary first jotted down the essentials of each instrument in a rough copy (*el paper*), which was to be redacted in official

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[17] Giraud, *Essai sur l'histoire de droit français*, vol. 1, 68-69 (Customs of 1204, art. 102): "coram eis in secreto dicuntur."

[18] *Archives de la ville de Montpellier. Inventaires et documents*, vol. 3 (Montpellier: Serre and Roumégous, 1901), 94, no. 668, citing *Grand Talamus*, f. 32, art. 58.

[19] Ibid., 105, no. 725, citing *Grand Talamus*, f. 50, art. 113.

[20] F.R.P. Akehurst, ed. and trans., *The* Costuma d'Agen: *A Thirteenth-Century Customary Compilation in Old Occitan* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), 78-81 (chapters 49-50).

form on the same day while still in the presence of the parties involved.[21] Municipal—rather than seigneurial—regulation of notarial practice remained the norm across the region in the thirteenth and most of the fourteenth centuries.

Because of their vital role in the construction of a written legal and administrative culture, notaries often enjoyed a privileged and protected status. In Agen, for example, they were exempt from both the city tax and the military obligations required of other inhabitants, although in return they had to present themselves at the command of the council whenever municipal business required their specialized skills and authenticating presence.[22] But such privileges were not universal. Pere IV of Aragon denied notaries at Perpignan an exemption from military service when he granted it to lawyers in 1335.[23] The legal and notarial trades were thus distinct, and it was not everywhere that the latter carried the same benefits.

Notaries, however, always stood in a privileged position in relation to truth, at least in theory. They were sworn to accurately transcribe what they heard or read, by which oath they gained and held *publica fides*. The mid-twelfth-century customs of Perpignan convey the oath required of freshly appointed scribes, which was the same as that for the bailiff or *viguier*.[24] At Montpellier, two

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[21] Ibid., 80: "E que las cartas que seran enquestas devo esser notadas lo meiss dia ades en presentia de las parts el paper, e que tota la nota de la dicha carta sia plenerament el paper contenguda, e que en aquela meissa manera sia tornada e reduda en publica forma ses tot mermament e ses tot acreissement, cum sera en la nota del paper, e no en autra manera."

[22] Ibid., 79: "E li notari devo estre francs de questa e d'ost de vila, la qual franquesa an e devo aver, car cada notaris e tuchs ensems devo venir al mandamant del cosselh, e devo far los escriutz necessaris e covinals al cosselh e a la universitat, e devo anar dins e defora per los propris negocis del cosselh e de la universitat, a la messio de la vila ses tot pretz, e devo far generalment e especialment segont la bona ordinatio del cosselh aquels negocis que seran necessaris al cosselh e a la universitat sobredichs."

[23] Philip Daileader, *True Citizens: Violence, Memory, and Identity in the Medieval Community of Perpignan, 1162-1397* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 28, citing ACP, AA 1, ff. 168v-172r. Daileader does point out that those (and presumably only those) scribes and notaries working for royal procurator's office were formally excused from guard duty in 1362 because of their service; A.D.P.O. 1B 133, f. 108v. Private notaries and notaries of the consulate, however, were not exempt.

[24] J. Massot-Reynier, ed., *Les coutumes de Perpignan* (Montpellier: J. Martel, 1848), 28 (chapter 52, given in both Catalan and Latin: "Lo balle, veguer, o scriva novel, deu jurar que fara be e feelment son offici, he ab justicia, segons que li apparra just, e segons costumes e leys."; "Item quicumque bajulus, vel vicarius, vel scriptor, mittatur, debet jurare coram populo se facturum bene et fideliter suum officium, et cum justicia, secundum quod ei justum visum fuerit, et secundum conseutudines et leges."

oaths for notaries—one for public notaries and another specifically for notaries of the consulate—were recorded in the *Petit Thalamus*, a fourteenth-century manuscript that was part cartulary and part chronicle.[25] All notaries swore corporeally, physically touching the Gospels (*per aquestz sans avangelis de Dyeu de me corporalmens tocastz*), that their written instruments would be produced faithfully, rightfully, loyally, and truly (*fizelsmens, drechurieyramens, lialmens, vertadieyramens*), without changing anything.[26] In the early thirteenth-century cartularies of Toulouse, this meant that each document copied included an original scribal signature that was, in a sense, contradicted by the very next sentence, in which the notary claimed to have copied the act *eadem ratione et eisdem verbis*.[27] With such strict rules governing transcription, every written instrument drawn up by a notary in an acceptable form was, by that very fact, authentic and truthful in a way human memory could not be.[28] Notaries were therefore highly sought as professional witnesses.

The physical space within which notaries could fulfill this role, however, was constrained: "Their competence was linked to the geographic extent of the powers of the municipal administration before which they swore an oath."[29] Some evidence suggests that urban notaries were

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[25] F. Pégat, E. Thomas, and R. Desmazes, eds., *Le Petit Thalamus de Montpellier* (Montpellier: La Société archéologique de Montpellier, 1840), 253, 270.

[26] Ibid., 270: "E cartas et instrumens dels quals pregastz seray, fizelsmens faray segon que las partz a me auran eniung a far, e testamens o las derieyras volontastz, et en sobre que tot totas las autras de las quals cartas faray drechurieyramens lialmens vertadieyramens un mielhs non mudablemens e non variablamens faray, e neguna cauza non doniey ni cambiey ni promis ni alcun autre per me ni diray ni cambiaray ni prometray per me ni per autre, ni alcuna cauza non fis ni autre per me en frau del davan dig sagrament que yeu fes fag notari, et aquestas cauzas fizelsmens e non compudamens tenray e gardaray per bona fe e ses tot mal engen per aquestz sans avangelis de Dyeu de me corporalmens tocastz."

[27] For example, the eighth item in the cartulary is a document of 1200 (1199 according to the Toulousan system of dating) but copied in 1204 that ends, "Hoc fuit factum x die ad exitum Marcii, regnante Philippo rege Francorum et eodem Ramundo tolosano comite et Fulcrando episcopo, anno ab incarnatione Domini M°C°LXXXX°VIIII°. Horum omnium que predicta sunt testes sunt supradicti consules, mandato quorum Arnaldus Ferruscius scripsit hec. Istam cartam non scripsit Arnaldus Ferruscius, set illam de qua Willelmus Bernardus istam transtulit eadem ratione et eisdem verbis, mense Marcii, feria IIIᵃ, regnante Philippo rege Francorum et Ramundo tolosano comite et Ramundo episcope, anno ab incarnatione Domini M°CC°IIII°"; Limouzin-Lamothe, *La commune de Toulouse*, 286.

[28] Daniel Lord Smail, *Imaginary Cartographies: Possession and Identity in Late Medieval Marseille* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999), 28, citing Armando Petrucci, *Writers and Readers in Medieval Italy: Studies in the History of Written Culture*, ed. and trans. Charles M. Radding (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 152-157, 240-245.

[29] Lesné-Ferret, The Notariate in the Consular Towns," 14.

strictly limited to the confines of the city. The customs of Agen, for example, look particularly

severe:

> And let no writer from this town go outside the town with a
> foreigner outside the city limits, unless he does so at the will of the
> council. Nor let him go outside this town for a lawsuit nor to hear a
> witness, nor to be an advocate nor to hear a case because he is a
> judge – unless he does so with a bourgeois of this town in order to
> make an instrument – nor in any other way.[30]

Scribes who transgressed these boundaries were liable to lose their notarial appointment.[31] The flip-

side to the geographic limits of urban notariates, however, may have been the customary superiority

of instruments drawn up locally. A Toulousan consular opinion of 1196 treats the merits of two

documents: one drawn up by a Toulousan notary and verified by Toulousan witnesses, the other

made and witnessed by strangers from outside the town.[32] The foreign instrument was dated earlier

and formally authentic, but the consuls ruled in favor of the party with the Toulousan act.[33] As John

Mundy observed, this meant that inhabitants would get instruments that were drawn up elsewhere

registered with Toulousan notaries to ensure their legal force.[34] Toulousans, it appears, could not be

bound by foreign instruments, provided they had their own documents drawn up locally.

Despite such spatial restrictions, *within* the city notaries could be found drawing up public

documents at their homes and workshops, at the homes of other individuals (particularly in the case

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[30] Akehurst, *The* Costuma d'Agen, 80-81: "E que negus escrivas d'esta vila no an deforas la vila ab home estranh foras los decs, si no o faia ab voluntat del cosselh, ni no ane foras d'esta vila per razo de plags, ni per testimonis auzir, ni per razonar, ni per auzir plags per razo que fos jutges, si no o faia ab borgues d'esta vila, per razo de cartas far, ni en autra manera[.]"

[31] Ibid.: "...e si o faia estaria en la voluntat del cosselh e de la universitat de perdre l'offici de la notaria."

[32] Mundy, *Liberty and Political Power*, Appendix V, no. 7, 200: "Econtra Arnaldus Boverius et sui filii responderunt et dixerunt quod carta quam ipsi probaverant debebat esse firma et valere et pro carta Petri Bonafos non poterat rumpi quia carta quam ipsi produxerunt erat facta a publico scriptore Tolose et probi homines Tolose erant in carta pro testibus et carta quam Petrus Bonafos produxerat erat facta, ut in carta continebatur, a scriptore existente de foris Tolosam et cum testibus de foris Tolosam, et ideo carta Petri Bonafos non debebat valere quia omnia instrumenta proborum hominum Tolose possent leviter rumpi si instrumenta facta a scriptoribus de foris Tolosam et cum testibus de foris valebant ante instrumento facto a publicus scriptoribus Tolose et cum testibus Tolose."

[33] Ibid., 200-202.

[34] Ibid., 118-119, citing an example from the same decade, D, St. Bern 37 (a copy made in March 1193/4 of an original from 1185).

of testaments), in churches, or at town halls. It mattered where such scribal activity happened. In

Montpellier, notaries who were asked to leave their homes for business purposes were to be

compensated in good faith.[35] Church spaces, meanwhile, added a sacral element to documentary

production. Some families may even have stored their important documents in the same churches in

which they were redacted. In Toulouse, for example, a court case of 1218 relates how three men

entered the church of Saint-Rémi at the house of the Hospitallers and stole a sealed roll of

documents belonging to one Ponce de Saint-Martin that was "on deposit" there.[36]

Producing a document was thus a manifestly public act, and the spaces of such production,

as well as those of documentary consumption, were scattered across the urban landscape but came

to center particularly on spaces of consular authority. As Brigitte Bedos-Rezak has written, "urban

documentary practices came to form a physical and visual testimony that at once marked the city as

different from, although still continuous with, the rest of society...[and] they fostered a symbiosis

between townspeople's personal experience of urban identity and the city's role both as a site of

ceremony and political prestige and as a crucible of communal values."[37] The early association of

written instrument with the sacred, moreover, meant that when municipal governments began

drastically increasing (and in some cases even monopolizing) documentary production over the

course of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, it was accompanied by a valorization of communal

space—the town hall or house of the consulate—as a *locus credibilis*.[38] These observations by Bedos-

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[35] *Montpellier . Inventaires et documents*, 105, no. 725, citing *Grand Talamus*, f. 50, art. 113.

[36] Mundy, *Liberty and Political Power at Toulouse*, 119, n. 32, citing H Malta, Toulouse, I, 23: the three men "intraverunt in domo et in ecclesia Sancti Remigii que est in eadem domo hospitalis Ierusolimus Tolose et pro vi et ad prohibitionem preceptoris et fratrum eiusdem domus predicti hospitalis frangerunt hostium" and seize or steal the "cartas de Poncio de Sancto Martino qui erant in deposito scilicet in comanda ipsorum fratrum predicti hospitalis que erant in uno rostulo bene inclause cum catenato et cum sigillo quod ibi erat sigillatum in eodem rostulo..."

[37] Brigitte Bedos-Rezak, "Civic Liturgies and Urban Records in Northern France, 1100-1400," in *City and Spectacle in Medieval Europe*, ed. Barbara A. Hanawalt and Kathryn L. Reyerson (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), 34.

[38] The term *locus credibilis* is Bedos-Rezak's. Ibid., 45: "Written charters came to reify and symbolize the sacrality of the locus of their emission and conservation: the town hall and, by extension, the town itself. From such a locus,

Rezak, made in the context of northern French towns, apply equally to their meridional counterparts. When the consuls of Montpellier added a chapel to their new town hall in 1362 and placed in it a great chest for holding the records of the town, this archive was explicitly meant to enjoy the protections of the consecrated space.[39] But the towns of the *Midi* had an ancient Roman past that those of northern France did not, which inflected the way their documentary cultures related to social memory and urban identity. To witness notaries at work in these towns was to observe the heritage of old Rome.

This may be why thirteenth- and fourteenth-century urban consuls, who so self-consciously modeled their office on Roman antecedents (as is clear from Arnaud Arpadelle's description of *le capitol* of Toulouse, discussed in the previous chapter), quickly sought control of this emerging class of *litterati*. The development of consulates and that of notariates proceeded along similar trajectories and chronologies. The Toulousan consular ordinance of 1227 with which this chapter began was merely one of the most visible efforts to formally bring notaries into municipal governments and thereby to fuse notarial practice, with its unique claim to authenticity, with consular administration and civic memory. By the end of the fourteenth century, consular notaries were often required to store registers concerning communal matters at the town hall, as those of Montpellier were ordered to, for example, in 1370.[40] Similarly, at Perpignan after 1397, all those who wished to be considered citizens had to present themselves at the house of the consulate on Christmas of each year to have

records derived and transmitted, if not sacrality, an absolute authenticity. This logic of legal and administrative practice enabled the city hall to acquire near-consecrated status. Writing, in imposing on its users constraints of time and place, rooted the town hall's central role within the mysteries of a state liturgy that involved the sacraments of authentication." On the very real possibility of "monopolizing" documentary production, see Mundy, *Liberty and Political Power*, 119.

[39] Pierre Chastang, *La ville, le gouvernement et l'écrit à Montpellier (XIIᵉ-XIVᵉ siècle): Essai d'histoire sociale* (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2013), 232, citing (for the chapel and its chest) *Petite thalamus*, AA9, f. 108: "e feron penher la capela e feron far lo gran autar de la capella del cosolat el gran armari que es detras lo dich autar," and (for the protections of consecrated space) *Grand thalamus* AA 4, f. 141vA: "omnique immunitate privilegio et libertate quibus locus sacer gaudere debet."

[40] *Montpellier. Inventaires et documents*, 151, no. 884, citing *Grand Talamus*, f. 147v, art. 373.

their names written down (*fets scriure*) and swear to residency.[41] Citizenship was therefore only

confirmed in the presence of a consular scribe (undoubtedly a notary, although not named as such in

the document) installed at the center of municipal government in an annual civic ritual.

The link between notarial activity and municipal government can be supplemented by

literary evidence, for notaries could play important roles in literary expressions of urban identity. The

chronicle of Ramon Muntaner in particular, written between 1325 and 1328, provides a window

onto the cultural history of this significant but often overlooked profession.[42] Muntaner was a

Catalan soldier and administrator—a knight who fought in the Catalan Company in Greece and was

appointed governor of Gallipoli. His chronicle, which covered events from the conception of Jaume

I of Aragon (1207) to the coronation of Alfons IV (1327), is one of the four *grans cròniques* that

constitute a kind of official history of the Aragonese monarchy.[43] Notaries and "public letters" litter

the pages of this chronicle from the very start, but one of the most conspicuous moments of

documentary production comes early on.

After a brief prologue and a few chapters of introductory material, Muntaner began his

chronicle proper with the miraculous conception of Jaume I at Montpellier. Jaume himself had

described the event (rather matter-of-factly) in his autobiographical *Llibre dels fets* (c. 1280), and

Bernat Desclot had somewhat embellished the tale in his *Crònica* (1288). Muntaner, however, added

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[41] *Documents historiques sur la ville de Perpignan*, ed. H. Aragon (Perpignan: Imprimerie catalane de L. Comet, 1922), 77: "Item, que tots anys en les festes de Nadal, los dits habitadors se hagen à presentar en la casa del consolat de la dita vila à aquells qui serán consols de la dita vila o al scriva del dit consolat qui escrischa los noms de cascun per tal que sapia si serán venguts en la dita vila per la forma desus dita; e que juren en poder dels dits consols o del dit scriva si y serán venguts les dites altres festes anyals ab llurs mullers, e sien-ne-creseguts de son propri jurament." The three other required days of residency were Easter, Pentecost, and the Feast of the Virgin in August. Philip Daileader has shown how residency requirements became less strict over time; *True Citizens*, 29-37.

[42] Ramon Muntaner, *Crònica*, vol. 1, ed. Marina Gustà (Barcelona: Edicions 62, 1979), 24-29. On Muntaner and his chronicle, see Jaume Aurell, *Authoring the Past: History, Autobiography, and Politics in Medieval Catalonia* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012), esp. ch. 4.

[43] Ferran Soldevila, ed., *Les quatre grans cròniques* (Barcelona, Selecta, 1971). The other three texts are Jaume I's *Llibre dels fets*, Bernat Desclot's *Crònica*, and Peter IV's *Crònica*.

substantially to the account in ways that may have drawn on local, oral tradition.[44] According to him, Jaume's father, Pere II of Aragon, favored the attentions of other noble women over those of his wife, Marie of Montpellier. The consuls and notable citizens of Montpellier then concocted a plan to replace his lover with Marie during one of the king's nocturnal trysts. The ruse was successful, and at dawn the congregation of townspeople, who had waited outside the chamber door all night, entered the room and revealed to the king their well-intentioned deception. They remained with the queen until she gave birth nine months later. Notaries were essential to the plan. As valued witnesses, two notaries—"the best of Montpellier"—entered the chamber with the other townspeople and "in the presence of the Lord King had written public letters of the event, writing the same night."[45] They also remained with the queen until Jaume's birth. Here, Muntaner has expanded on Desclot's version, in which the queen, after revealing herself, commands her husband to have the date and time written down.[46] The later chronicler has introduced the figure of the notary—absent in Desclot—because of his value as a professional witness. The conjugal substitution and resulting royal gestation, which reads like something out of the Arthurian cycle, required the presence of notaries so that the narrative could guarantee the legitimacy of Jaume's dynastic line.

Ultimately, this version of the story credits the inhabitants of Montpellier more than anyone else for the plan and its success, which may suggest that it derives from local social memory.[47] The impetus for the subterfuge comes from the consuls and town notables, rather than, as Desclot had it, Marie herself and a royal butler. The queen merely acquiesces to their plan, for "she was certain that throughout all the world it was said that the wisest council of the world was that of

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[44] These three accounts, and the later versions of the tale that were based on them, are discussed by François Delpech, *Histoire et légende: Essai sur la genèse d'un thème épique aragonais (La naissance merveilleuse de Jacques I le Conquérant)* (Paris: Presses de la Sorbonne Nouvelle, 1993), 14-44.

[45] Muntaner, *Crònica*, vol. 1, 25: "E sí vendran ab nós dos notaris, los mellors de Montpestller...," and 28: "...e los dos notaris així, los quals davant lo senyor rei faeren cartes de la dita raó públiques, e escriviren la nit aquella e el canellar."

[46] Miquel Coll i Alentorn, ed., *Bernat Desclot. Crònica* (Barcelona: Barcino, 1949-51), 2:25: "E fèts escriure la nuyt e la hora, que axí ho trobarets."

[47] This is the suggestion of Delpech, *Histoire et légende*, 14-44.

Montpellier." She compares them to Gabriel before her namesake, the Virgin Mary, an annunciation that establishes their role as instruments of divine will (and Jaume himself as a Christ-like figure).[48] Later, while she lay with the king, a communal effort to secure divine support was carried out: "all the churches of Montpellier remained open and all the people in them were praying to God."[49] As a portrait of urban life, the tale highlights civic unity in ways common to medieval urban literature.[50] Emphasizing the role of notaries—in this case, "the best of Montpellier"—and their instruments therefore not only safeguarded Jaume's claim to legitimacy, but also underlined their important place in urban culture generally. By the second quarter of the fourteenth century, it was impossible to imagine the story of Jaume's conception at Montpellier without them.

II. Textual Artifacts in Rituals of Power: The Oaths of Toulousans and their Lords

The tale of Jaume's conception may be dubious, but other sources shed light on the documentation of events that were just as dramatic, if less colorful. One particular performance that notaries commonly witnessed and reduced to writing was that in which feudal oaths were exchanged. Such documents were not new to the region at the dawn of the thirteenth century. Indeed, the eleventh and twelfth centuries were marked by a preponderance of written commitments to and from lords—what one historian has called a "tumbling, piling, sack-splitting,

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[48] Muntaner, *Crònica*, vol. 1, 26-27: "E la dita dona dix-los que ells eren sos naturals, e que era cert que per tot lo món se deïa que el pus savi consell del món era aquell de Montpestller; e així com tot lo món testimoniejava açò, que a ella paria que es degués tenir per pagada de llur consell e que prenia la llur venguda en lloc de la salutació de l'àngel Gabriel, que féu a madona santa Maria; e que així com aquella salutació se complí a salvació de l'humanal llinatge, que així lo llur tractament vengués a compliment e a plaer de Déu e de madona santa Maria et de tota la vera cort celestial e a honor e profit de l'ànima e del cors del senyor rei e d'ella e de tots los seus sotsmeses, e que així es complís, amén."

[49] Ibid., 27: "E així estegren aquella nit mateixa totes les esgleies de Montpestller obertes, et tot lo poble qui hi estava pregant Déu, així com davant és dit que era ordonat."

[50] A good example of this would be the thirteenth-century *Canso* that describes scenes of urban unity in Toulouse during the Albigensian Crusade; William of Tudela and an Anonymous Continuator, *The Song of the Cathar Wars: A History of the Albigensian Crusade*, trans. Janet Shirley (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1996).

mouldering profusion...a written culture of fidelity."[51] The "feudal" societies of Occitània and

Catalunya produced many of these transcribed oaths (*sacramenta, sacramenz, sacrament[al]s*), which

recorded promises to abstain from violence or seizure and to render aid if needed. They were

written largely in Latin but also in the vernacular and, despite the virtual absence of a Capetian royal

presence in the region, scribes usually dated them by the Frankish regnal year. Lords had them

collected into some of the first lay cartularies in medieval Europe.[52] It would be wrong, therefore, to

say that notaries did not continue earlier documentary practices, or that urban communities were

doing something truly innovative as they began to keep records. However, the particular ways (and

spaces) in which they recorded them quickly evolved from 1200 onward. Some of the earliest

documents recorded in the consular cartulary of Toulouse are examples of that very "written culture

of fidelity" that characterized the previous two centuries. These are the reciprocal oaths of the

consuls and the count, often made upon his accession to the title. Four documents copied into the

cartulary present the oaths taken with Raimon V (1189), Raimon VI (1195), and Raimon VII (1222

and 1247).[53] Following the evolution of these oaths—in terms of what was said, how it was

recorded, and where it all happened—reveals how textual objects, oral contracts, and urban space

increasingly served to frame and define the relationship between Toulousans and their lord.

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[51] Thomas N. Bisson, *The Crisis of the Twelfth Century: Power, Lordship, and the Origins of European Government* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009), 105. My comments in the rest of this paragraph are based on his discussion on 104-111.

[52] E.g. the cartulary of the Trencavel (1186-1188); that of Guilhelm de Montpellier (shortly after 1202); and the *Liber feodorum maior* of Alfonso II of Aragon (before 1196). The Trencavel cartulary, drawn up at the command of Roger II, viscount of Carcassone and Béziers, is the oldest lay cartulary from the entire area now covered by France. See Hélène Débax, "Un cartulaire, une titulaire et un sceau: le programme politique du vicomte Roger II (Trencavel) dans les années 1180," in *Les cartulaires méridionaux*, ed. Daniel le Blévec (Paris: École des chartes, 2006), 125-43.

[53] Limouzin-Lamothe, *La commune de Toulouse*, 275-76, no. 8, 279-80, no. 10, 417-19, no. 80, and 450-53, no. 101. Note that, at least through the opening decades of the thirteenth century, the date given in a Toulousan document was often that on which it was drawn up and not necessarily that on which the act took place. Nevertheless, the dates recorded in these documents often line up with comital accession (e.g. that of Raimon VI in 1195 and that of Raimon VII in 1222), so we can be fairly certain in these cases that the *actio* and *conscriptio* were roughly coincident.

The document of 1189 is possibly the only one of the four that originally existed in chirograph form; when copied nearly fifteen years later, the scribe noted that the original was *divisa per alphabetum*.[54] It records relatively straightforward feudal oaths. Raimon V swore to be a *fidelis dominus et bonus iusticiator*, not harming the people of Toulouse in any way (and a number of ways are specified). The consuls, in return, swore fidelity to the count.[55] These acts took place at the church of Saint-Pierre-des-Cuisines. One of the earliest parish churches in Toulouse, Saint-Pierre-des-Cuisines depended directly on the Cluniac abbey of Moissac.[56] It was located on a large square and market near the very center of the *cité*, and it seems likely that its geographic centrality and public visibility (via the square) made it an attractive site for such highly ceremonial and symbolic acts. It was commonly used by the consuls for public business until they built a town hall in the first quarter of the thirteenth century.

The reciprocal oaths of 1195 similarly took place at Saint-Pierre-des-Cuisines, but the new count, Raimon VI, no longer swore to anything more particular than that he would be a good lord.[57] In addition, however, he also confirmed and agreed to abide by all previous privileges granted to the community. These unspecified franchises, ordinances, and customs—the words are *afranquimenta*, *stabilimenta*, *consuetudines*, and *usos*—are twice said to be better preserved "in the charters" of the count's father and grandfather.[58] Similarly, in 1222 Raimon VII confirmed, again at Saint-Pierre-des-Cuisines, everything granted by his predecessors *sicut melius, plenius et firmius in cartis donorum et afranquimentorum et stabilimentorum continetur*.[59] However banal it is to point out that the consuls sought

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[54] Ibid., no.8, p. 276.

[55] Ibid.: "...consules...mandaverunt et super sancta Evangelia iuraverunt domino Raimundo...fidelitatem et vitam et membra et Tolosam scilicet civitatem et suburbium et honorem..."

[56] John H. Mundy examines the history of the parishes of Toulouse in *Studies in the Ecclesiastical and Social History of Toulouse*, ch. 1, with a list of church officers for Saint-Pierre-des-Cuisines up to 1270 on p. 39.

[57] Limouzin-Lamothe, *La commune de Toulouse*, 279-80, no. 10: "in ecclesia sancti Petri Coquinarum"; "quod in eo credere et confidere se possint, sicut in eorum bono domino."

[58] Ibid., 279, no. 10: "...omnia illa afranquimenta et stabilimenta...sicut melius in cartis afranquimentorum et stabilimentorum continebantur, et omnes consuetudines et usos...sicut melius in cartis continentur..."

[59] Ibid., 417, no. 80.

confirmation of previous written instruments upon the accession of a new lord, it must be stressed

that the result was a recurring, public ritual in which the town's archive was made inviolable and

even sacrosanct, because of the religious character of the oaths (sworn in a church while physically

touching the Gospels).

In the oaths of 1247, however, the relationship between written word, oral promise, and

urban space was further compounded. This re-swearing of oaths with Raimon VII was preceded and

precipitated by some kind of disagreement between the town and its lord. The particulars are only

hinted at, but the oath he took (along with his confirmation, the following year, of the rights of the

town to consular elections) appears to indicate a capitulation on his part. In any case, the document

recording the oath begins with a solemnity—and a solemn, documentary referentiality—unequalled

on previous occasions:

> Let it be known to all those present together with those who will
> examine or hear this public instrument, that when lord Raimon, by
> the grace of God count of Toulouse, marquis of Provence, son of the
> late lady the queen, Joan, had come to the town hall of Toulouse in
> the presence of the consuls of Toulouse at that time and of very
> many good men of the town and the sworn consuls of the bourg and
> others, the public instrument written by the hand of Bruno Borrelli,
> pubic notary of Toulouse, was read out, the tenor of which was such:
> [the oath of 1222 is then copied in its entirety].[60]

This document and the act it records differ in several obvious but important ways from those of

1189, 1195, and 1222. The act is no longer transcribed at the church of Saint-Pierre-des-Cuisines,

but at the town hall (*domus communem*), which had been built sometime before 1212.[61] The document

itself, like that of 1222, is referred to as a public instrument (*publicum instrumentum*) rather than a

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[60] Ibid., 450, no. 101: "Noverint universi presentes pariter et futuri inspecturi vel audituri presens publicum instrumentum, quod cum dominus Ramundus, Dei gratia comes Tolose, marchio Provincie, filius quondam domine regine Iohanne, venisset ad domum comunem Tolose in presentia ipsius et consulum tolosanorum qui tunc erant et plurimum proborum hominum eiusdem urbis et suburbii consilii iurati et aliorum, fuit perlectum instrumentum publicum scriptum per manum Brunonis Borrelli, publici notarii Tholose, cuius tenor talis est:…"
[61] The properties that would become the *domus communem* were acquired by the consuls between 1190 and 1204; Mundy, *Liberty and Political Power*, 105, n. 15. The hall itself is first mentioned in a document of 1212; Pamela Sue Marquez , "Recentering the City: Urban Planning in Medieval Toulouse in the Early Thirteenth Century" (PhD diss., University of Colorado, 1999), 222-23. The next mention comes from 1226, in AA2: 83.

charter (*carta*), emphasizing their authenticity by employing the new vocabulary of the developing

notariate. The authority of a public notary (who was not identified as such in previous oaths) is

explicitly invoked, and his act is read aloud to the count and the gathered population, possibly from

the same cartulary into which this one would be transcribed.[62] After the reading, Raimon VII

confirmed "the said instrument and each and every thing contained in it and all other instruments

granted by him and his lord father and grandfather and his predecessors or theirs."[63] He then

absolved the current and previous years' consuls of any wrongdoing despite the "rancor or

ingratitude" he might bear towards them.[64] Only after this did he and the consuls exchange oaths.

The document ends with the signature of another *publicus Tolose notarius*, whereas in previous oaths

scribes were either unnamed or identified only by name.

The theatricality of urban documentary production and consumption here cannot be

stressed enough. In the common space of the town hall, a textual object was displayed, read out, and

confirmed by the solemn oath of the count before the consuls and good men of the town, who then

had this ritual act itself transcribed in another written instrument and, some months later, copied

from there into the consular cartulary.[65] No fewer than 104 men are listed as witnesses to the act.[66]

The authenticating role of the notary, which office was at this time controlled by the consulate, is

emphasized. The event therefore firmly and ritually linked documentary authenticity, consular

authority, and communal space (defined both topographically and by a congregation of the town's

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[62] The oath of 1222 was copied into the cartulary of the bourg (although not that of the city) at an unknown date.
[63] Limouzin-Lamothe, *La commune de Toulouse*, 451: "...dominus Ramundus comes...laudavit, aprobavit, confirmavit et rata et firma habuit in perpetuum dictum instrumentum et omnia et singula in ipso instrumento contenta et omnia alia instrumenta ab ipso et domino patre suo et avo et predecessoribus suis vel aliquo eorum concessa..."
[64] Ibid.: "Preterea, si prefatus dominus comes aliquid rancoris vel ingratidudinis gesserat vel gerebat erga consules tolosanos qui tunc erant, scilecet [48 names follow, those of the current and previous years' consuls]...occasione consulatus vel consilii iurati vel vicarii Tolose vel paxeriarum fluminum Garonne et Ariege vel leudarum vel pedagiorum, illud totum dominus ipse comes, sua libera voluntate et bono animo, absolvit in perpetuum et remisit ipsis consulibus prenominatis qui tunc erant et eorum predecessoribus...absque omni retentione, conditione seu exceptione, quam ibi non fecit nec retinuit nec servavit."
[65] The date of the act is 27 July 1247, and it was transcribed into the cartulary in January of 1248.
[66] In addition to "omnes prenominati consules qui tunc erant, excepto Stephano Signario, qui tunc erat in partibus Francie," the list names 57 others, including the notary who recorded the act.

probi homines) in the context of framing the relationship between Toulouse and its lord. It might be objected that the count's oath was the result of exceptional circumstances involving his attempt to influence municipal affairs. But if that were the case, the consular response is all the more suggestive; faced with the encroachment of seigneurial power, the consuls knew no better defense, no surer assertion of authority, than the ritual confirmation of a recited textual object, the authenticity of which relied not on comital verification (such as Raimon's seal) but on the normative practices of a locally-controlled notariate. These were the elements that made the oaths of 1247 such an effective ritual of power.

III. Town Seals: Communal Immanence and Representations of Urban Space

Five months after the oath of Raimon VII in 1247, the town received from him a grant guaranteeing the liberty of the consulate. The document is authenticated by a notary and a list of named witnesses and "very many other knights, citizens, and burghers" who were present at the town hall, which has now graduated from *domus communem* to *palacio comunitatis*.[67] This same *publicum instrumentum* was presented to their new Capetian lord, Alphonse of Poitiers over a decade later, around 1265, with a petition from the consuls seeking confirmation of the town's liberties and customs.[68] But for their new French lord, an act made at the town hall, in the presence of town leaders and notables, and with the signature of a public notary, held no legal force. He denied this article of the petition and suggested that the document had been produced without Raimon's knowledge, citing as evidence the fact that "the seal of this lord is not appended to the said document."[69] Seals—wax imprints hung by string or strips of parchment—were, functionally,

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[67] Limouzin-Lamothe, *La commune de Toulouse*, 462, no. 103: "...et quamplures alii milites, cives et burgenses Tolose, qui tunc erant ad colloquium in communitatis Tolose palacio congregati."

[68] *HGL* 8, 1552-60. Mentioned briefly by Mundy, *Society and Government at Toulouse*, 244.

[69] *HGL* 8, 1558: "Item super articulo de quo dicitur esse factum per dominum comitem bone memorie publicum instrumentum super recognicione consulatus, quem dicunt pertinere ad communitatem ville Tholose, responsio:

another way to authenticate written instruments. But as personalized identifiers of the parties to an agreement (not of the scribe), they were only very roughly analogous to notarial signatures. Strictly speaking, in southern Europe—namely, Italy and the *pays de droit écrit*—they were not required, and Alphonse (who should have known this) may have been disingenuous in denying the consuls' petition. Nevertheless, his comment serves as a neat synecdoche for the imposition of northern French legal and literate modes on southern lands after the Albigensian Crusade. When the king of France began consulting his towns on a number of topics in the fourteenth century, many Languedocian towns still lacking a seal may have felt it necessary or desirable to have one made at that time.[70]

Even before this, however, urban communities had recognized the usefulness of the seal. Lords both lay and ecclesiastical had long used them in the south as in the north, but only around the turn of the thirteenth century did towns in Occitània begin to adopt them as part of the apparatus of municipal government. Millau, which seems exceptional in this case, was granted a seal by the king of Aragon in 1187.[71] The first seal of Montpellier, another Aragonese possession, may be dated to before 1204, for the customs of that year regulated its use.[72] At Toulouse, meanwhile, the first certain signs of a consular seal come from a letter sent to Pere II of Aragon in 1211 (although a mention in 1201 of a *sigillarius* known to be a notary associated with the consulate may

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Non creditur quod dictum instrumentum de consciencia domini comitis bone memorie fuerit factum, sicut in petitione consulum continetur, nec in dicto instrumento sigillum prefati domini est appensum."

[70] Brigitte Bedos-Rezak, "Towns and Seals: Representation and Signification in Medieval France," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 72 (1990): 40. Consultations concerned such things as the trials of Boniface VIII and that of the Templars.

[71] This seal was the king's own coat of arms. See Martin de Framont, *Sceaux rouergats du Moyen Age* (Rodez: Française d'arts graphiques, 1982), 30; idem, "Aux origines du sceau de ville et de juridiction: Les premiers sceaux de la ville de Millau," *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des chartes* 147 (1989): 87-122.

[72] Giraud, *Essai sur l'histoire de droit français*, vol. 1, 68 (Customs of 1204, art. 98): "De bulla ita decretum est, ut nemo invitus cogatur bullare; et si quis bullaverit propria voluntate, non det pro bulla nisi sex denarios, et pro sigillo cereo quatuor denarios et non amplius; et quod quidam probus et legalis homo hujus ville et non alius teneat bullam et sigillum, et ille teneatur sacramento astrictus Universitati hujus ville."

indicate earlier use).[73] Extant seals appended to original documents provide a *terminus ante quem* for

adoption by many other major towns in the south, allowing us to designate this a firmly thirteenth-

century innovation in urban documentary production: Narbonne (1219), Carcassone (1228), Agen

(1244), and Cahors (1290).[74] Whether urban seals spread south from northern France, west from

Italy via Provence, or north from Catalunya, by the end of the century all major towns in the region

had a municipal or consular seal.[75] (The one exception is Perpignan, which never had a seal, perhaps

because it had recourse to the seal of the King of Majorca, who made the town one of his capitals).

As emblems of urban identity and power, seal use was regulated by consulates. At

Montpellier, for example, the 1204 customs allowed that sealing was not required when parties to an

act did not wish it. If they did, however, it was to cost no more than six deniers when cast in lead,

and no more than four deniers when cast in wax. The same article established that the seal matrices

were to be held by a *probus et legalis homo hujus ville*, who was to take an oath before the community.[76]

The customs of 1204 may therefore be said to have created a public office for the keeping of the

town seal. Seal designs were also periodically updated. Apart from the material evidence of

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[73] The letter of 1211 may be found in *HGL* 8, 612-19. The document of 1201 is published by Jouglar in his "Monographie de l'abbaye de Grandselve," *Mémoires de la Société archéologique du midi de la France* 7 (1853-1860): 240, no. 5: "...hujus rei fueruent testes...et Isarnus, sigillarius qui istam chartam scripsit..." Mundy, *Liberty and Political Power*, 121, safely assumes this Isarnus was a consular notary, because those listed as witnesses included six sometime members of the consulate. One might add that a scribe named Isarnus also drafted treaties between the consuls of Toulouse and neighboring towns and lay lords between 1202 and 1205, after a series of military campaigns against them; Limouzin-Lamothe, *La commune de Toulouse*, 337-45, nos. 38-42. The adoption of a consular seal at the precise moment when the town first sought to extend its authority into surrounding lands—and perhaps especially against lay lords whose own seals had long graced the documents given in their names—would in many ways make sense. On the other hand, the title *sigillarius* does not necessarily mean that Isarnus appended the seal of Toulouse; no specific seal is mentioned.
[74] *Corpus des sceaux français du Moyen Âge*, vol. 1, ed. Brigitte Bedos (Paris: Archives nationales, 1980), 367 and 370, 34-35, 158, and 149-150. This work will henceforth be cited as *Corpus des sceaux*, and all references are to page numbers.
[75] According to Bedos-Rezak, urban seals appeared first in the Empire and spread in two main directions—into northern France and to Italy (and from there to Provence): "Towns and Seals: 39. The Catalan route, meanwhile, is suggested by the early appearance of seals at Millau and Montpellier.
[76] Giraud, *Essai sur l'histoire de droit français*, 68 (Customs of 1204, art. 98): "De bulla ita decretum est, ut nemo invitus cogatur bullare; et si quis bullaverit propria voluntate, non det pro bulla nisi sex denarios, et pro sigillo cereo quatuor denarios et non amplius; et quod quidam probus et legalis homo hujus ville et non alius teneat bullam et sigillum, et ille teneatur sacramento astrictus Universitati hujus ville."

iconographically different seals for the same towns across time, we have a document from

Montpellier recording the manufacture of a new seal matrix at Paris in 1362.[77]

These two-sided seals combined linguistic and iconographic signs in an expression of urban

identity. Written legends identified the referent as either the consuls, citizens, or community of the

town,[78] while one common image imprinted on either the obverse or reverse was that of an enclosed

or fortified built space. The seal of Agen, for example, has a rounded, crenellated brick wall pierced

by three gates, behind which rises a central bell tower and several other, smaller towers.[79] The two

buildings on one version of the seal of Toulouse are encircled, at the inner boundary of the written

legend, by a representation of battlements.[80] Often, religious architectural elements are evident. The

reverse of the seal of Cahors depicts a rounded enceinte like that on the seal of Agen, but with seven

tall towers spaced around it, while within lies what is recognizably a church with a small apse, its

central bell tower flanked by two exterior bells.[81] In what may be a nod to ecclesiastical leadership or

authority, the section of crenellated wall that adorns the seal of Albi is surmounted by a crozier

between the sun and moon.[82] A variety of towers and structures within the city walls on

Montpellier's seal, meanwhile, are blessed from above by a hand that reaches in from outside the

frame.[83] Such a visible sign of divine protection, like the ecclesiastical architecture within

fortifications in the imprinted cityscapes, designated the town a sacred and safeguarded space.

In some cases, buildings on seals can be paired with their real-world counterparts. The

church on the seal of Agen, for example, is usually held to be the church of Saint-Caprais because of

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[77] *Inventaires et documents*, 231, no. 1229, citing *Petit thalamus*, f. 108. Presumably, this was the fourth grand city of the town, for which see *Corpus des sceaux*, 350-351.

[78] *Corpus des sceaux*, passim. Examples of formulae following the word *sigillum* include: *consulum*, *consulum ville* or *urbis*, *comuni consilio*, *consilii civitatis*, *capituli nobilium*, *civium*, *comunitatis*, *comunitatis civitatis*, etc. The seal of Montréal (in Aude, south of Carcassone) has a legend in the vernacular: "...dels prosomes cossols..." (465). So does that of Caussade (in Quercy): "...so es [lo] saiels. dels cosols de Causada" (190).

[79] Ibid., 34.

[80] Ibid., 503.

[81] Ibid., 150.

[82] Ibid., 43-44. A similar crozier, flanked by two stars and without a wall, was on the secret seal of Bélaye (99).

[83] Ibid., 347.

its rounded apse, while the three blocked arcades on a structure within the walls on the seal of

Moissac identify it as that town's famous abbey church.[84] Similarly, the two buildings side-by-side on

the seal of Toulouse are almost always labeled the chateau Narbonnais and the basilica of Saint-

Sernin. The church on the seal of Lavaur may represent that town's cathedral.[85] It is possible,

moreover, that other seals depict monuments no longer standing. The bridge on the seal of Cahors,

for example, with its six arches and five towers, may signify a medieval crossing over the Lot river.[86]

Even when ostensibly generic, however, such architectural elements were interpreted with reference

to the written legend identifying a particular community; "text and image participate in a single

discourse, the dialectic of which involves the linkage of...[an individual] identity, specified in a seal's

legend, to a more general group orientation, inherent in its iconography."[87] Walls and buildings on

seals denoted a type—the town—while legends identified the particular member. This interplay

between image and text constituted a new discourse of urban identity that documentary practices

both enabled and affirmed.

Religion comprised an important part of this identity, and the reverse of many town seals

displayed local hagiographic or Christological iconography. The image of Saint Vincent of

Sarragossa was used on the seal of Castres, where his relics lay from the mid-ninth century on. The

seals of both Pamiers and Saint-Antonin-Noble-Val, meanwhile, illustrate a scene from the life of

Antonin.[88] According to this saint's hagiographic tradition, after his martyrdom at Pamiers, angels

placed his body (along with his dismembered head and arm) in a boat that was guided by two birds

down the Garonne river and then, miraculously, up the Tarn and Averon to Noble-Val—

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[84] Bedos-Rezak, "Towns and Seals": 44.
[85] *Corpus des sceaux*, 345.
[86] Ibid., 149. The bridge is certainly not the Pont Valentré, which is still in existence. This structure was not built until the early fourteenth century, while the seal is known from at least 1290.
[87] Brigitte Miriam Bedos-Rezak, *When Ego was Imago: Signs of Identity in the Middle Ages* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 29.
[88] *Corpus des sceaux*, 167-168, 386-388, 450-451. These three seals are discussed by Bedos-Rezak, *When Ego Was Imago*, 243-246.

subsequently known as Saint-Antonin-Noble-Val—where he was interred. The reverse of the seal of Pamiers depicts the head and arm of a man in a boat. A small banner hangs from the mast in place of a sail, while a bird sits at both prow and stern. The legend reads, "SIGNUM PASSIONIS [SA]NCTE ANTONINI." A similar image adorns the reverse of the seal of Saint-Antonin-Noble-Val, but the saint is nimbed and faces a hand that reaches down from the clouds in the gesture of blessing. For Pamiers and Noble-Val—the origin and terminus of the saint's riparian journey—the cult of Antonin appears to have significantly shaped expressions of urban identity, and these seals celebrated an imagined geography that connected the two towns spiritually and historically.

Other towns relied on more common religious imagery, even when local apostolic pasts were easily at hand. Both Toulouse and Narbonne had such traditions (in the persons of Sernin and Paul of Narbonne), but neither appeared on their seals.[89] The seal of Toulouse, which has representations of the town's chateau and the basilica of Saint-Sernin on one side, has on the other the *agnus dei* bearing the Occitan cross. This particular image later appeared on many Languedocian seals, including Narbonne (both the *bourg* and the *cité*, which had separate seals), Beziers, Carcassone, Réalmont, and Rieux.[90] William Chester Jordan long ago called attention to this regional preference, which he saw as a recognition of (a temporary, or perhaps temporal) capitulation in the context of the Albigensian Crusade. The political elite, according to him, chose the Lamb of God because He had also "failed" (that is, suffered, died, and was crucified), but would emerge triumphant with the Resurrection and Second Coming: "they signalled the illusion of defeat—this was the nature of the emblem—only to affirm their faith in ultimate victory."[91] The choice was therefore a rebellious act.[92]

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[89] *Corpus des sceaux*, 367-373, 502-506. A representation of Sernin's basilica does appear on the seal of Toulouse, but this is of course architectural and not hagiagraphic in nature. An image that might have been chosen instead would be that of Sernin dragged behind a bull, an event depicted in both hagiagraphic literature and ecclesiastical sculpture.

[90] Ibid., 121, 159, 367-373, 430, 433.

[91] William Chester Jordan, "The Lamb Triumphant and the Municipal seals of Western Languedoc in the Early Thirteenth Century," *Revue belge de numismatique et de sigillographie* 123 (1977): 213-219, with quote on 219. who puts the seal and its inscription in the scriptural context of John 1:29, but not the liturgical context.

The earliest appearance of the seal in this form comes in a Toulousan letter of July 1211 to Pere II of Aragon.[93] It described negotiations with the papal legate, Arnau Amalric, who had come to Toulouse to absolve its inhabitants the previous year. The consuls, however, found him impossible to deal with and, at least at first, refused to grant that he had the authority to treat with them. In the context of such strained reconciliation, Jordan's hypothesis holds a certain amount of merit.

The legend accompanying the image on the seal of Narbonne, however, may indicate a slightly different intent. It reads, "...[Q]UI TOLLIS PECCATA MU(N)DI DONA NOB(IS) PAC(EM)" ("...you who take away the sins of the world, grant us peace").[94] For Jordan, the paraphrase of John 1:29 merely confirmed that the image was associated with the Passion. However, the final and main clause of the inscription, *dona nobis pacem*, indicates that we should look beyond the scriptural context. In fact, these words reveal that the image was chosen specifically for its liturgical connotations; they are part of the chant recited during the fraction of the Host at Mass.[95] This moment in the liturgy was tied to the doctrines of incarnation and transubstantiation, doctrines that the thirteenth-century heretics of Languedoc supposedly denied. For example, writing around the same time that Toulouse began to use this seal, Pierre des Vaux-de-Cernay tells us that the heretics claimed "that the consecrated host of the holy body of Christ was no different from common bread, instilling into the ears of simple folk the blasphemy that the body of Christ, even if it had been large enough to contain the whole Alps, would by now be wholly consumed and reduced to nothing."[96] The seal of Toulouse, then, may have been a response to accusations of heresy that

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[92] Jordan, "The Lamb Triumphant," 219: "The Lamb of God Triumphant on the municipal seals of Languedoc in the early thirteenth century was nothing less than a revolutionary challenge to the domination of (impious) northerners; and the reality of this challenge would be underscored time and time again by the rebellions against royal domination of the south which distinguished the first five decades of the thirteenth century[.]"
[93] *HGL* 8, 612-19.
[94] *Corpus des sceaux*, 370.
[95] William Durand, *Rationale divinorum officiorum* (Naples: Joseph Dura, 1859), 307-308 (book 4, chapter 52).
[96] Pierre des Vaux-de-Cernay, *Historia albigensis*, vol. 1, ed Pascal Guébin and Ernest Lyon, Sociéte de l'Histoire de France (Paris: Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion, 1926), §12, 12-13: "...sacrosancti corporis Christi hostiam a pane laico non differe, publice dogmatizarent, simplicium auribus hanc instillantes blashemiam quod Christi

ecclesiastics (including Pierre des Vaux-de Cernay) had often directed towards the town. In its new, resinous medium, the *agnus dei* reproduced and imprinted a liturgical moment as a symbol of urban identity that was patently orthodox.

The other side of the seal of Narbonne depicted the Virgin enthroned with infant Christ, another Christian image found on many seals from the *Midi*.[97] At Montpellier, this sigillographic symbol of Marian devotion was flanked by an alpha and omega and paired with an entreaty: "VIRGO. MAT(ER). NATUM. ORA. UT. NOS. JUVET. OMNI. HORA." ("Virgin Mother, beseech your Son, that He might help us at any hour").[98] The cult of Mary was particularly fervent in this town, where the church of Sainte-Marie—later to become Notre-Dame-des-Tables—enjoyed primary status until it was destroyed in the religious wars of the sixteenth century. According to William Gumppenberg's seventeenth-century *Atlas Marianus*, after the church was rebuilt around the middle of that century, the same words were inscribed on the consular shrine (*in sacello consulari*).[99] Gumppenberg also wrote that the intercession of Mary (usually at the request of the consuls) had thrice saved the city in the fourteenth century—in 1313, 1348, and 1358.[100] At some point, moreover, the words of this seal's legend were incorporated into the local liturgy on the feast of the miracles of Notre-Dame-des-Tables (31 August).[101] As with the legend on the seal of Narbonne, then, the inscription points to connections between local liturgies and material expressions of urban identity; the juxtaposition of Marian image and inscribed supplication on this municipal seal drew on

corpus, etsi magnitudinem Alpium in se contineret, jamdudum consumptum a comedentibus et adnichilatum fuisset"; W.A. and M.D. Sibly, trans., *The History of the Albigensian Crusade: Peter of les Vaux-de-Cernay's* Historia Albigensis (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1998), 12.

[97] These include Montaigut-sur-Save, Nîmes, Port-Sainte-Marie, and Réalmont, and Rocamadour; see *Corpus des sceaux*, 337, 379, 422, 429, and 434.

[98] Ibid., 348, appended to an act of 1218. Virgin and Child may be found with alpha and omega, but without the legend invoking Mary's intercession, in later seals of Montpellier (349-351).

[99] William Gumppenberg, *Atlas marianus, quo sanctae Dei genitricis Mariae imaginum miraculosarum origines duodecim historiarum centuriis explicantur* (Munich: Johan Jaecklin, 1672), 38.

[100] Ibid., 38-39. In 1313 famine and plague had followed a long drought, in 1348 the calamity was, of course, the Black Death ("pestis universum"), and in 1358 a succession of unusually heavy rains had destroyed or damaged buildings, livestock, and crops.

[101] *Offices propres pour la basilique église cathédrale et le diocèse de Montpellier* (Montpellier: J. Calais, 1899), 123-129.

local cult practice. Importantly, it also reinforced the theme of divine protection introduced on the obverse, where, as mentioned earlier, a hand reaches down from the heavens to bless the walled city of bell towers and steeple-mounted crucifixes.

Indeed, local religious symbols or ecclesiastical references uniquely identify many Languedocian and Provençal towns in a way that has no analog in contemporary personal seals.[102] Regionally, many southern city seals bear the distinctive, hollowed-out and pointed form of the Occitan cross (also called the cross of Toulouse or Raimondine cross).[103] On the reverse of the seal of Moissac, for example, this cross adorns a central escutcheon flanked by two keys, a visual reference to the famous abbey's patron saint that is confirmed by the legend: "SIGILLUM. DE. VICO. SANTI. PETRI" ("seal of the village of Saint Peter").[104] Turning the seal over, one would find the locale identified more specifically—"[SI]GILLUM. COMUNI CONSILIO. MO[ISSIA]SI" ("seal of the common council of Moissac")—while the keys and shield lie in visual apposition with a walled city, within which the abbey's unique architecture is visible.[105] Such connections required the active participation of the viewer, who needed to not only read and observe, but physically manipulate the wax impression, flipping it back and forth to activate the network of signs that gave the seal appellative and authenticating force.

Of course, municipal seals included other, non-religious and non-architectural elements. Several consulates took the opportunity to make visual puns, particularly in those towns that began with "Mont-". For example, a tree lies atop a hill on the seals of both Montauban (*aubre* is an

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[102] Bedos-Rezak, *When Ego Was Imago*, 252: "Whereas personal seals embodied and imaged the generic essence of their owners, city seals captured the distinction of their owners, insisting upon a destiny that was particular rather than ontological. Whereas identity on the personal seals of high-ranking churchmen and of nobles was founded on sameness, identity on city seals became a tool by which to establish the singularity of a subject, by which to render that subject discernable from others."
[103] Examples are too numerous to reference completely.
[104] *Corpus des sceaux*, 331.
[105] Ibid., 330.

Occitan word for "tree") and Montolieu (*oliu*: olive or olive tree).[106] In the same vein, the seal of Alès

exibits a single wing (*ala*), while the reverse of the seal of Montpezat-de-Quercy bears a scale

(*pezat*).[107] Such puns may have had the effect of making Latin literacy unnecessary for deciphering

the seal's referent. Other elements, like the fish represented beneath the arched bridge on the seal of

Cahors, may visually indicate the productive capacity of the town.[108] Representation of eagles, lions,

leopards, griffons, and mounted warriors, meanwhile, indicate that towns participated in the same

heraldric discourse as aristocrats.[109] Seals, therefore, display the imbrication of various discourses in

the materiality of medieval documentary culture.

Still, the most commonly used general templates paired religious iconography with

representations of built space, whether generically urban and defensive or explicitly ecclesiastical.

Ramparts, gates, castles, bridges, or walled cityscapes graced the seals of at least sixty-five towns in

Occitània.[110] This was often matched on the reverse by the Occitan cross.[111] In one remarkable seal,

that of Marmande (on the Garonne river, northwest of Agen), the two images mirror each other;

four towers or small castles radiate out from the center, arrayed in the shape of a cross and

connected by a round, crenelated wall. This schematic representation of urban form parallels the

shape of the cross on the reverse and recalls the ideal city, which in a Christian context was heavenly

Jerusalem. The iconographic juxtaposition of built environment with (here, regionally inflected)

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[106] Ibid., 338, 346.

[107] Ibid., 45, 354.

[108] Ibid., 149.

[109] Ibid., 328 (Millau) and 439 (Rodez), for example.

[110] They are the following: Agen, Albi, Arles, Auriac-sur-Vendinelle, Avignon, Bélaye, Belvès, Bordeaux, Brignoles, Cahors, Cajarc, Capdenac, Caraman, Carbonne, Carcassone (the second seal), Castelfranc, Castelnau-Montratier, Castelnaudary, Castelsarrasin, Castres, Caussade, Caylus, Châteauneuf-de-Randon, Condom, Cordes, Fons, Gignac, Gourdon, Lagrasse, Lalbenque, Largentière, Lauzerte, Lavardac, Lavaur, Limoges, Luzech, Marmande, Marseille, Martel, Moissac, Montcuq, Montpellier, Montpezat-de-Quercy, Montréal, Najac, Nimes, Pamiers, Penne-d'Agenais, Périgueux, Peyrusse-le-Roc, Puy-l'Évêque, Rodez (seal of the *cité*), Saint-Girons, Saissac, Saverdun, Tarascon, Toulouse, Vaison-la-Romaine, Verdun-sur-Garonne, Verfeil, Vers, Villefranche-de-Rouergue, Villemur-sur-Tarn, and Villeneuve.

[111] The Occitan cross was sometimes a minor element, as on the banner carried by the *agnus dei* in examples cited above. On the seal of Lavaur, a small version lies above representations of two buildings (273), while on that of Montesquieu-Volvestre it lies above a tree planted on a hill or mount (344).

religious symbols forms a relationship structured materially by obverse and reverse. Marmonde's seal is perhaps the only example of such close mirroring, but the same basic relationship marks many others. These seals materially connected documentary production with urban landscape and religious identity.

Since many of these images represent defensive fortifications—with crenelated walls and towers, or closed gates—was the city, as built space, a metaphor for power? Bedos-Rezak points out that the motif sometimes appears on the seals of ecclesiastical and lay lords. For example, the rather generic image of a castle, with a central tower flanked by two smaller ones, that appears to mark the Château Narbonnais on the seal of Toulouse is also found on the seal of the Counts of Toulouse, who hold it aloft with one hand. The same image adorns numerous other municipal seals in the *Midi*, again often paired with the Occitan cross on the reverse. "A sign of power," Bedos-Rezak concludes, "the city image articulates assertions of power, and its simultaneous display on competing seals testifies to the role of the city, and that of its image, as the stage for the realization, and confirmation, of power."[112] The connection between power and built space was given material form in the seals of both towns and members of the aristocratic elite.

Perhaps precisely because they materialized municipal claims to authority, seals in much of Occitània (particularly Languedoc) are first attested either in the context of the Albigensian Crusade, which threatened many towns politically and materially, or in later dealings between towns and the French monarchy. I explored above the possible, if not completely satisfactory, connection hypothesized by Jordan, between the failure of the Occitan forces and the adoption of the *agnus dei* on Languedocian municipal seals. The earliest extant seal of Toulouse hung from the letter its inhabitants sent to Pere II of Aragon complaining of their treatment at the hands of papal legates in

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[112] Bedos-Rezak, "Towns and Seals": 46. For the seal of the counts, she cites Douët d'Arcq, *Sceaux*, nos. 743, 744, and 745. Her other examples of seigneurial use of the motif are the seals of the Dauphin Humbert II and the Duke of Berry.

1211, while the seal of Narbonne is seen first from an oath of urban citizens to the leader of the crusade forces, Simon de Montfort, in 1219.[113] The seal of Carcassonne first appeared on that town's oath of loyalty to Louis IX in 1228.[114] Many other seals appear to have been first used in oaths of around 1243-1244 to observe or enforce the peace—negotiated in 1229—between Louix IX and Raimon VII of Toulouse.[115] The document displaying the earliest seal of Pamiers was a letter of procuration authorizing certain citizens to represent the town in peace negotiations with Louis IX in 1267.[116] Two other sets of seals were perhaps cast for the first time when Philip IV consulted his towns on two issues at the beginning of the fourteenth century: the pontificate of Boniface VIII and the termination of the Templars.[117] One such Occitan seal, that of Pézenas, has perhaps the most direct visual link to the French monarchy. On the right a seated king, crowned and holding a scepter topped with a fleur-de-lis, extends his right hand out over three much smaller persons. Identified in the legend as the consuls, they approach him with gestures of supplication. Two more fleurs-de-lis float in the field around the king's outstretched hand. This seal was attached to a statement of the consuls' support of the king in the matter of Boniface VIII in 1303.[118] If this is indeed the first seal used at Pézenas (which was sold to Louis IX in 1262), its iconography is a testament to the material influence of the French monarchy on Occitan documentary practices.

There are, however, reasons for doubting that southern towns originally minted seal matrices specifically in order to adapt to French models of authentication. We know of many, if not most, of these seals only because they were attached to documents destined for the French monarchy, and thus for the archives that grew out of the royal chancery. The correlation between the appearance of

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[113] *Corpus des sceaux*, 503 (with letter in *HGL* 8, 612-619) and 370 (with the oath at Paris, Arch. nat., J 310 n° 41)
[114] Ibid., 158.
[115] They are: Agen, Mézin, Millau, Moissac, Najac, Penne-d'Agenais, Port-Sainte-Marie, Puylaurens, Rabastens.
[116] *Corpus des sceaux*, 386-387 (with act at Paris, Arch. nat., J 336 n° 2).
[117] Examples include the following. For Boniface: Castres, Montréal, Pézanas, Réalmont, and Saint-Antonin-Noble-Val. For the Templars: Montpezat-de-Quercy and Rocamadour.
[118] *Corpus des sceaux*, 408 (with act at A.N.P. J 478 n° 3). The legend reads, "S. CONSULU(M). CASTRI [DE PEDEN]IACO DIO[CESIS] AGA[THENSIS]."

Occitan town seals and the French monarchy, therefore, may be an accident of survival; earlier wax seals may have rotted away in less secure collections. Whether or not these are indeed the earliest uses of municipal seals or merely those we know of because they ended up in the *archives nationales* remains an open question. Nevertheless, the appearance of town seals in southern France, whatever its impetus, coincided with the intense negotiation of urban and royal rights effected by expanding monarchical regimes; if nothing else, the seal of Pézenas should make this clear. In this charged atmosphere, the substance of the seal constituted a new material expression of urban agency, attached to the written records that validated and protected the municipal body politic. Heating the wax, imprinting it with the matrices, and appending it to documents, all in the presence of a Keeper of the Seal and many *probi homines*, defined the urban through a ritualized documentary production. The city was present in the impressed wax image of the city; this immanence gave the seal its legal force. And the city was represented as a network of symbols that highlighted, above all, religious devotion and built space.

IV. Cartularies, Customaries, and Other Municipal Codices

Seals were only one of the material and performative products of the new documentary culture that produced urban space. The written instruments recording the oaths of the consuls and the counts, which I used above to illustrate the evolution of consular documentary practices between 1189 and 1247, were increasingly indexical; their production and reproduction effected a self-referencing archive in which the town's liberties were consistently reinforced. This Toulousan archive, moreover, was the target of two systematic efforts at organization in the course of the thirteenth century—one at its opening, the other at its close—that resulted in the production of town cartularies. The second such effort also included a mandate to consistently enroll such things as lists of elected consuls in the town's annual registers, known as the *Douze Livres*. By the end of the

century, moreover, the first Toulousan customary had been redacted. Similar efforts were made in other major towns across Occitània and northern Catalunya through the fourteenth century. These manuscripts had both a legal and historiographic function; as collections of charters and customary legislation, they served as legal reference books for citizens and consulates while, taken as a whole, they documented urban history through the acquisition of liberties and privileges.[119] The organizers of such collections focused and condensed municipal authority (and the urban identity that sprang from it) in carefully composed, diligently maintained, and often beautifully illuminated codices, which were often kept either in the town hall or in other protected spaces—such as churches—by consular decree.

A chronology of cartulary and customary production in major southern towns reveals enormously prolific redaction across the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The notary Guilhem Bernard began the cartularies of the city and bourg of Toulouse in 1205, with a number of additions from 1227 to 1279. For these supplements, it is noteworthy that the former date corresponds to the consular ordinance reprimanding their notaries for professional failures.[120] Another cartulary by the notary Bernard de Sainte-Eulailie was commissioned by the consuls in 1295 and continued from 1322 into the fifteenth century.[121] Also begun in 1295 was the *Douze Livres*, a consular yearbook that included the names of those elected to the office and illuminated group portraits.[122] The town's customs, moreover, approved by the king of France in 1283, were textualized several times in the late thirteenth century, including once in 1295 with an extensive commentary by jurist Arnaud

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[119] On how eleventh- to thirteenth-century monastic cartularies allowed "monastic scribes…to create and to meditate upon a useful past for their houses," see Constance B. Bouchard, "Monastic Cartularies: Organizing Eternity," in *Charters, Cartularies, and Archvies: The Preservation and Transmission of Documents in the Medieval West*, eds. Adam J. Kosto and Anders Winroth (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2002), 22-32, with quote on 22.

[120] See above, n. 1 and 2.

[121] François Bordes, "Les cartulaires urbains de Toulouse (XIIIᵉ-XVIᵉ siècles), in *Les cartulaires méridionaux*, 217-238.

[122] Ernest Roschach, *Les Douze Livres de l'Histoire de Toulouse. Chroniques Municipales Manuscrites du Treizieme au Dix-Huitieme Siécle (1295-1787)* (Toulouse: Privat, 1879).

Arpadelle.[123] Our first evidence of written customs or cartularies at Cahors, Agen, and even the small

bastide town of Cologne, in Gers, comes from the late thirteenth century.[124]

Of course, the creation of such codices also occurred closer to the Mediterranean littoral.

Two major collections of customs, charters, and ordinances in medieval Montpellier were assembled

between 1221 and around 1315. The first, ordered by the consuls in 1221, was redacted again in

1235 and two more times between 1247 and 1251. One of these last two manuscripts would become

the *Grand thalamus*, the official municipal book of Montpellier into which notaries would inscribe

acts of importance to the town. It fulfilled this role into the seventeenth century. The other

collection, the *Petit thalamus*, was redacted as early as 1260.[125] Narbonne, meanwhile, produced twelve

medieval municipal manuscripts, also all called *thalami*. Chronologically, the first was redacted in

1249 and called a *registrum communitatis seu universitatis civitatis*. The customs of the *bourg* were then

written in 1255, according to the vernacular prologue, and again in another redaction a year later. It

was not until 1266 that the *cité* accomplished the same for their customs. Seven more *thalami* were

redacted in the course of the fourteenth century, while a final codex dates from either the late

fourteenth or early fifteenth century.[126] Perpignan was a relative latecomer to such production. Its

Liber diversorum privilegiorum may date from the thirteenth or early fourteenth century. After that came

the *Liber privilegiorum et ordinationum oppidi Perpiniani* and the *Livre vert mineur*, both at unknown times

during the fourteenth century. They were followed by the *Livre vert majeur*, written between 1392 and

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[123] Henri Gilles, ed., *Les Coutumes de Toulouse (1286) et leur premier commentaire (1296)* (Toulouse: M. Espic, 1969).
[124] Alison Stones, *Gothic Manuscripts, 1260-1320*, part 2, vol. 1 (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2014), no. VIII-8 (Cahors, which she tentatively dates to c. 1270), no. VIII-14 (Agen, between 1271-1279), and no. VIII-15 (Cologne, ultimately after 1287). See also F.R.P. Akehurst, ed. and trans., *The* Costuma d'Agen: *A Thirteenth-Century Customary Compilation in Old Occitan* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), xiii-xvi.
[125] Chastang, *La ville, le gouvernement et l'écrit à Montpellier*, 190-202.
[126] Jacqueline Caille, "Les "*Thalamus*" de Narbonne," in *Les cartulaires méridionaux*, 240-242.

1393. The cartulary of Perpignan at the Bibliothèque nationale in MS latin 9995 likely comes from

the fourteenth century at the earliest, and quite possibly much later.[127]

The collection and compilation of such records ensured that they were preserved for

posterity—they were acts of memory designed to protect important documents from "the mists of

oblivion," as the consuls of Toulouse put it when they demanded registers of ordinances in 1227.[128]

When these consuls referred to the "treasure" or "treasury" of ordinances (*thesauro stabilimentorum*),

they made use of a common term for a collection of any materials.[129] But they also spoke as

inheritors of a particular tradition of memory that had its roots in the ancient world. As described by

the first-century B.C. author of the *Rhetorica ad herennium*, memory was "the treasure-house of

inventions" (*thesaurus inventorum*).[130] The art of memory, as I explained earlier, consisted of imagining

a series of places (*loci*) within one's mind, which would then be filled with images (*imagines*)

representing the things to be remembered. The metaphor, if not the mnemonic technique, was

transmitted through the writings of Augustine, who wrote in his *Confessions*, for example, of "the

fields and spacious palaces of memory, where are the treasures (*thesauri*) of innumerable images,

brought into it from things of all sorts perceived by the senses."[131] Certainly in the eleventh and

twelfth centuries a *thesaurus* was conventionally understood as both a metaphorical and literal store-

house for memory, and particularly for those elements of memory conveyed by written instruments.

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[127] Massot-Reynier, ed., *Les coutumes de Perpignan*, xvii-xxi; Henri Stein, *Bibliographie générale des cartulaires français ou relatifs à l'histoire de France* (Paris, 1907); Daileader, *True Citizens*, 88.
[128] Above, n. 1 and 2.
[129] Charlotte Bauer, "Introduction: Collections Rediscovered and Redefined," in *Collections in Context: The Organization of Knowledge and Community in Europe*, eds. Karen Fresco and Anne D. Hedeman (Columbus: Ohio University Press, 2011), 2.
[130] Francis Yates, *The Art of Memory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966), 10, citing *Ad Herennium*, III, xxii.
[131] Augustine, *Confessions*, ed. James O'Donnel (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), X, 8 (12): Transibo ergo et istam naturae meae, gradibus ascendens ad eum qui fecit me, et venio in campos et lata praetoria memoriae, ubi sunt thesauri innumerabilium imaginum de cuiuscemodi rebus sensis invectarum; Yates, *The Art of Memory*, 46. The medieval memory, which was revived as an art around the beginning of the thirteenth century, is studied by Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), esp. 152-155 for the thirteenth-century revival (Carruthers particularly highlights the role of the Dominican order, and Janet Coleman, *Ancient and Medieval Memories: Studies in the Reconstruction of the Past* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 363-537.

Ailred of Rievaulx and John of Salisbury used the word in their descriptions of the faculty of memory, while kings as early as William Rufus (r. 1087-1100) mentioned documents kept "in my treasury," a word that by that time could denote a portable storage chest.[132] The word *arca*, which was used by the consuls of Montpellier in 1259 to describe the chest housing their customs and charters, could simply mean book-cupboard, but it was also commonly used for the faculty of memory from at least the tweflth century.[133] John of Salisbury wrote that "the memory truly is a sort of mental bookcase [*arca*], a sure and faithful custodian of perceptions."[134] As a codification of municipal legislation, the Toulousan books of ordinances enjoined in 1227 would form a more or less fluid history of the consulate and its decisions, as would cartularies and other such documentary collections in towns across the region. Thus, when the consuls spoke of a "treasury of ordinances" threatened by "the mists of oblivion," they did not merely complain of a bureaucratic annoyance, but were making a larger claim about memory, records, and civic identity.

In some towns, such as Montpellier and Narbonne, a cartulary often bore the title *thalamus*. The origin and meaning of this term, and so the consuls' decision to use it, are unfortunately lost to us. The editor of one such cartulary, that of Montpellier's *Petit thalamus*, suggested two possible etymologies. The first and, in his opinion, more likely, derived from *Talmud*. *Thalamus* was, according to this logic, "une corruption de celui que donnent les juifs au livre qui contient la collection de leur coutumes, de leurs lois, de leurs traditions, et enfin des opinions de leurs docteurs sur presque toutes les matières, depuis l'époque de la dispersion." Indeed, the production of such Jewish "Books of

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[132] Gillian R. Evans, "Two Aspects of *memoria* in Eleventh and Twelfth Century Writings," *Classica et Mediaevalia* 31 (1970): 263-278; Michael T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066-1307* (Malden: Blackwell, 1993), 162-164.
[133] Chastang, *La ville, le gouvernement et l'écrit à Montpellier*, 230, citing *Petit talamus* AA 9, f. 265-265v: "...de l'arca que es en la mayzon del espital de Sant Johan de Jerussalem, en laqual so es assaber estan e son gardadas las costumas de Montpeylier e las autras cartas al cossolat e a la universitat pertenens..."; Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, 42-45.
[134] Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, 43, citing *Metalogicon*, I, II in *PL* 199, 839A: "[M]emoria vero quasi arca, firmaque et fidelis custodia perceptorum." On the words *arca* and *thesaurus* in this context, see Joseph Morsel, "Ce qu'écrire veut dire au Moyen Âge. Observations préliminaires à une étude de la scripturalité médiévale," *Memini. Travaux et documents de la Société d'études médiévales du Québec* 4 (2000): 3-43.

Customs" (*Sifre Minhagim*) is well-documented in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, particularly at places like Lunel, Narbonne, and Perpignan.[135] The second etymology was Latin: *thalamus* as bedchamber, "dont les anciens se servaient aussi pour indiquer la partie la plus secrète et la plus sainte de leurs temples, et que plus tard on employa souvent avec la signification de palais, maison, appartements intérieurs, laboratoire, officine."[136] More recently, Jacqueline Caille has found merit in both possibilities, since both Narbonne and Montpellier had thriving Jewish communities throughout the thirteenth century, while at the same time it would make sense to place valuable written instruments in—to extend the Latin definition—a relatively secret or private, sacred, and protected codicological space.[137]

In fact, many cartularies and customaries were bound together with religious works. Gospel pericopes precede the text proper in both the *Costuma* of Agen and the cartulary of Perpignan.[138] In the former they are each accompanied by evangelist portraits of high quality. Passages from the Gospel also occur in the consular register of Cahors, the core of which is not, in fact, the municipal material, but an Evangeliary with the Gospel pericopes for the Temporal and the Sanctoral cycles. The manuscript is on this account commonly called the *Te igitur*.[139] The consular register and *Costuma* of Limoges similarly has Gospel pericopes, but this time with a Calendar, the Penitential Psalms, and Litany.[140] All of these manuscripts, excluding the cartulary of Perpignan, have illuminated swearing pages adorned with images of the Trinity, Virgin and Child, Crucifixion, or Christ in Majesty.[141] One function of such texts and images was no doubt apotropaic, but they also lent their sacred aura to the oaths taken by new municipal officials. More importantly, the sum of the contents marked the

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[135] Herman Pollack, "An Historical Explanation of the Origin and Development of Jewish Books of Customs (*Sifre Minhagim*): 1100-1300," *Jewish Social Studies* 49 (1987): 195-216.

[136] Pégat, Thomas, and Desmazes, eds., *Le Petit Thalamus de Montpellier*, v-vi.

[137] Jacqueline Caille, "Les "*Thalamus*" de Narbonne," in *Les cartulaires méridionaux*, 246-247.

[138] A.D.L.G., MS 42, ff. 10-12v; Stones, *Gothic Manuscripts*, part 2, vol. 1, no. VIII-14. BnF Latin MS 9995, ff. 1-2v.

[139] Stones, *Gothic Manuscripts*, part 2, vol. 1, no. VIII-8; Cahors, Arch.Mun. MS 1. The passages from the Gospel occur on ff. 65-74v, while the Evangeliary takes up ff. 91-200v.

[140] Stones, *Gothic Manuscripts*, part 2, vol. 1, no. VIII-9; Limoges, Arch. Mun. MS AA 1.

[141] See the descriptions in ibid.

town as a community of the faithful, bound together in time (through the calendars and salvational history related in the Gospels) and space (through the charters and customs of the communal association).

Those who commissioned these collections were thinking precisely along these lines. In the preface to the *Livre vert majeur* of Perpignan, the consuls recorded their request for "one short, well-ordered volume" to replace its unorganized precursor.[142] But they began by invoking the cities of Deuteronomy as places of refuge where, in order to attract and protect a population, privileges, liberties, and immunities had to be established.[143] The consuls also invoked the city of Rome and its "great circuit of walls."[144] The preface ends, however, with a reference to an even earlier city:

> And since customary law was introduced after natural law, after
> which men immediately began to live together (which is believed to
> have occurred from the time that Cain built the city, as it is read [in
> Genesis]) therefore the written customs—both new and ancient—of
> the town of Perpignan are published in this book.[145]

The origins of customary law thus coincided, for these consuls, with the first city of men, Enoch, built by Cain after he turned from the face of the Lord.[146] In looking to the ancient and biblical past,

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[142] Massot-Reynier, ed., *Les coutumes de Perpignan*, 58: "Honorabiles itaque viri...consules universitatis ville predicte, attendentes consuetudines et privilegia ville predicte in unum librum jam redacta incomposite, et ut in pluribus preposture fuisse collata, inter que etiam sunt plura temporalia et jam transcursu temporis finita et alia penitus inutilia et multiplicata, deliberarunt et ordinarunt, de voluntate et assensu generalis consilii dicte ville, consuetudines et privilegia, libertates ac immunitates predictas in unum breve volumen ordinatum, et superfluis resecatis, pro utlitate ipsius ville et singularium ejusdem redigi facere: Altissimi precantes auxilium, ut ipsi presenti volumini bonum initium, melius medium et finem optimum largiatur; et hec clara Perpiniani villa, sub eorum et aliorum successorum ipsorum felici ducta regimine persevereretur a noxiis, et optatis semper perficiat incrementis, ad intercessionem Marie Virginis, concedat ipse Jesus benedictus ejus filius, qui cum Patre et spiritu sancto vivit et regnat per secula omnia seculorum. Amen."

[143] Ibid., 57: "Cum ad civitatem, villam vel rempublicam augendam, amplifficandam et conservandam, nedum legibus et juribus indigeat, ymo et privilegiis, libertatibus et immunitatibus, contra jura et ad dictamen recte rationis, ut ipsius privilegiis et immunitatibus confisi ad ipsam confugiant, inibique domicilium transferentes, se collocent."

[144] Ibid., "Fertur etiam de Romulo, quod, cum magnum circuitum murorum pro civitate Romana construxisset, ut ipsa murorum constructio popularetur, domum inibi quandam construxit, que domus asili seu asilius nuncupabatur, ad quam confugientes de omnibus finitimis urbibus ex quibuscumque maleficiis vel debitis tuti erant."

[145] Ibid., 58-59: "Et quia jus consuetudinis post naturalem legem exordium habuit, ex quo homines convenientes in unum ceperunt simul habitare, quod ex eo tempore factum creditur ex quo Cahim civitatem edifficasse legitur, ideo consuetudines scripte ville Perpiniani in hoc libro, tanquam primeve et antiquiores, premitantur."

[146] Gen. 4.16-17.

the consuls of Perpignan found historical models on which to base the claims to urban freedoms that were enumerated in the following pages of the codex, a book that itself served as a material symbol of the town's place in a Christian genealogy of cities. The municipal manuscripts of Perpignan and other towns in Occitània and northern Catalunya therefore not only served as compilations of references to be consulted as needed, but also as valuable symbolic objects that codified a community's connections to a sacred past. They were regularly viewed and read by members of the community in different contexts. That is to say, they had social lives. With this general background, the claim of the consuls of Toulouse that their collected ordinances were material agents—a "treasure" or "gem"—begins to make a great deal of sense.

V. Codicological Self-Performance: Manuscript Illuminations in Municipal Books

The thirteenth century, then, saw urban communities collect charters into cartularies and customary law into customaries, approved by their lords, both of which accrued legitimacy through an increasingly indexical archive. Such documentary endeavors produced manuscript codices that served as symbolic objects. Perhaps because they mediated socio-economic relations, such manuscripts were prone to visual elaboration, decoration, and illumination. A remarkable element of these images is the presence of the written artifacts within which they are contained—illustrations of the codex itself or its earlier parchment leaf form. Such representations have often been noted by scholars of medieval art. Less often has it been asked what they tell us about the manufacture and use of textual artifacts—about how the space of the page was used to illustrate the performative spaces in which pages circulated and about the legal or civic spaces they helped produce.

The cartulary of the city of Toulouse, redacted in 1205, begins with an act of 1141 in which Count Alphons Jourdain exempts inhabitants from taxes on the importation of wine and salt.[147] The

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[147] Limouzin-Lamothe, *La commune de Toulouse*, 261, no. 1.

first initial—the "I" of "In nomine domini nostri Jesu Christi"—is historiated and descends eighteen lines (fig. 14).[148] Its vertical, rectangular form circumscribes three roundels, each containing a seated figure, separated by rinceaux. In the first (upper) roundel sits Alfons himself in majesty, his legs awkwardly splayed in order to fit within the medallion. Adorned with a comital crown, he carries a scepter in one hand while holding up a blank, unrolled scroll in the other—presumably the charter copied on the same page. The middle figure sits in three-quarter view with crossed legs, one of which extends to the right and pierces the round frame. His right hand bears a sword, but his gaze directs us to the blank parchment or codex that he raises in his left. The final figure, in the lower roundel, also sits in three-quarter view. Bearded, and draped in a long flowing mantle clasped at the shoulder, he huddles over an open book—the cartulary itself—and appears to be either pointing out or running his hand over a part of the parchment, as if in presentation or study. Laurent Macé has identified the middle figure as a representation of the *viguier*, a comital agent who provided local justice, and the lower, bearded figure as that of a judge-consul, who embodied the collective interests of the town's ruling oligarchy. According to Macé, the initial illustrates the hierarchical relationship between count and citizens, with the *viguier* as intermediary.[149]

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[148] Toulouse, AA 9, f. 1. The manuscript is digitized and available online at
http://basededonnees.archives.toulouse.fr/4DCGI/Web_VoirLaNotice/03_06/AA2/ILUMP9999.
[149] Laurent Macé, "Pouvoir comtal et autonomie consulaire à Toulouse: analyse d'une miniature du XIIIᵉ siècle," *Mémoires de la société archéologique du midi de la France* 62 (2002): 51-59.
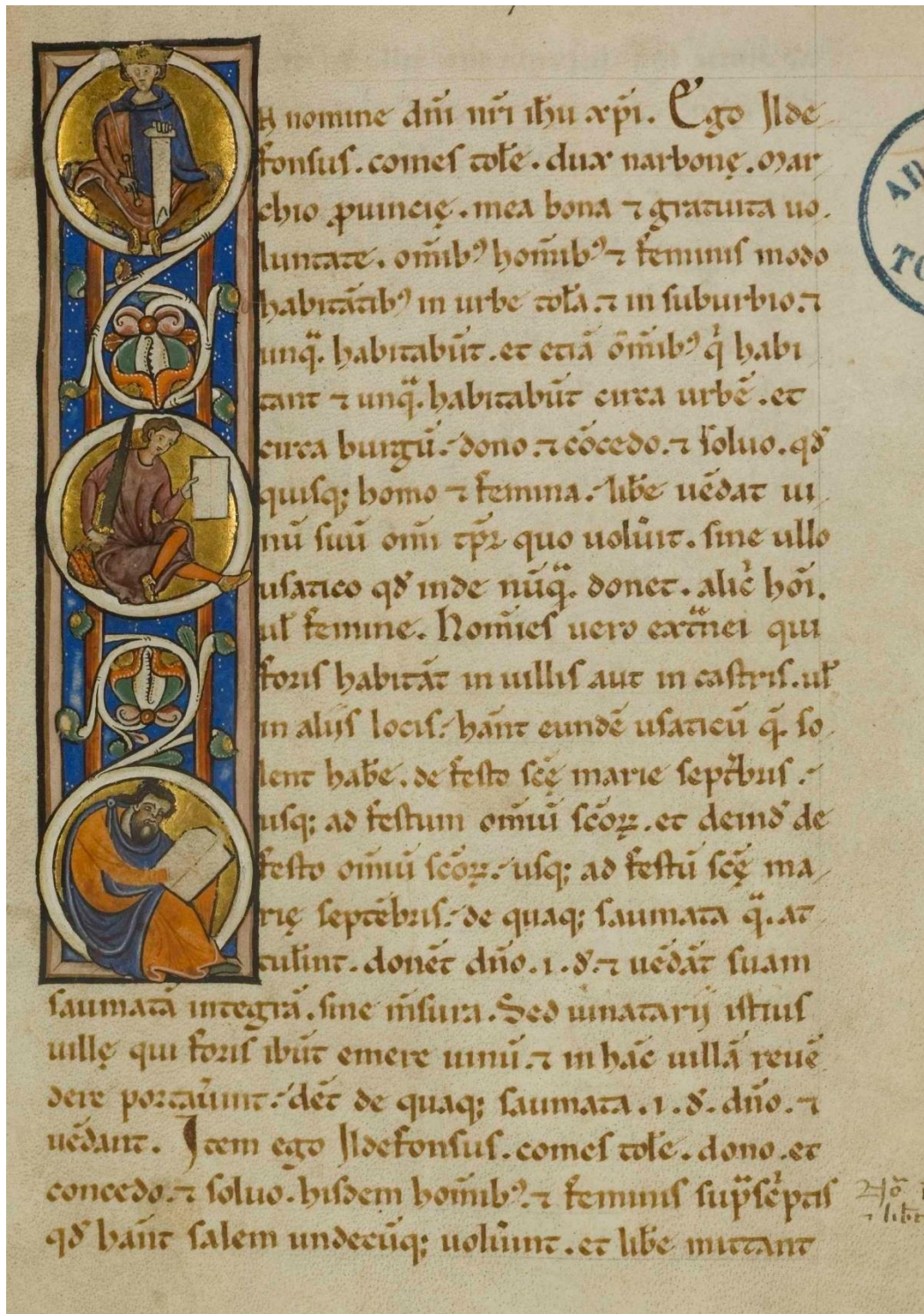
Fig. 14. Cartulary of the *cité* of Toulouse. Toulouse, 1204/05. A.M.T., AA 2, f. 1.

Alfons is here represented as dispenser not of justice but of liberties and enfranchisements.

Although circumscribed within a roundel, his depiction does not have much in common with those

on contemporary comital seals, in which the count—without crown, scepter, or mantle—holds a sword across his lap in one hand and a small castle in the other. Instead, Macé notes similarities with certain depictions of God in Romanesque tympanums, who sits in majesty holding a book of Scripture in his left hand. Such a relief may be found at Toulouse, in the ambulatory of the basilica of Saint-Sernin. Dated to c. 1096 and attributed to Bernardus Gelduinus, it is often invoked in histories of the late Romanesque revival of figurative sculpture.[150] Carved within a mandala around which lie the symbols of the Evangelists, the Lord raises his right hand in blessing while his left balances a codex on his lap bearing the words "Pax vobis." According to this schema, illuminators sought to emphasize the count as a figure of ultimate civic authority, grantor of urban liberties, and perhaps model him on the image of Christ as grantor of peace. Macé goes so far as to suggest that the apparent length of the scroll means that it represents not only the utterance recorded in the first document copied into the cartulary, but also that in the second, in which Alfons exempts Toulousans from several feudal obligations (*questa*, *tolta*, *prestum*, and *cavalcata* outside the Toulousain) and confirms any other customs and exemptions already granted them.[151] The image of the roll only partially unfurled represents, in this analysis, the magnitude of town liberties, which cannot be contained in a single parchment leaf.

Images like that of Christ in the ambulatory, however, are only distantly related to our seated count. Closer analogs—perhaps even direct models—may be found in contemporary manuscripts of Roman law, namely in illuminated copies of Gratian's *Decretum*. The first *distinctio* of this text outlines the difference between natural law (*ius naturale*), which is of divine origin, and custom or usage (*mos*), which is of human origin. In order to represent this relationship visually, illuminators often

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[150] M.F. Hearn, *Romanesque Sculpture: The Revival of Monumental Stone Sculpture in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1981), 69-80, who suggests (on p. 77) that it and the other sculpted figures now in the ambulatory were originally associated with a shrine to Sernin in the crypt.

[151] Macé, "Pouvoir comtal et autonomie consulaire": 55; Limouzin-Lamothe, *La commune de Toulouse*, 263-264, no. 2.

historiated the initial "H" with two main figures: natural law takes the form of a pope or bishop, while custom is personified as an emperor or king. Sometimes Christ sits above them, illustrating how both ecclesiastical and civil authorities are subordinate to the highest authority; other times he replaces the pontiff as representative or source of natural law.[152] One or both figures usually hold a scroll or codex, often with accompanying text identifying it as either natural law or custom. In a mid-twelfth-century Italian manuscript, for example, Christ is shown above the horizontal of the "H" handing a scroll with the words *ius naturale* to two figures, while below a king does the same with a scroll labeled *mos et ius iustinianum*.[153] Enthroned, with scroll in one hand and scepter in the other, the king bears more than a passing resemblance to our count in the Toulousan cartulary. Another manuscript of the *Decretum*, now in Siena but originating in northern France at the end of the twelfth century (and so roughly contemporary with the Toulousan cartulary), has the two figures—pontiff and king—side by side and holding unrolled, unmarked scrolls. Once again, the image of the king greatly resembles that of the Toulousan count: crowned, enthroned, and holding scepter and scroll.[154] Such legal models likely influenced the portrait of the count, who sits in the same position with the same accoutrements. His crown and scepter, which have always been difficult to explain as they are not attested by any other image or record, suggest either that the patrons or the illuminators of the manuscript sought to conflate the historical count with personified *mos* or that, when seeking models for ultimate secular authority, they naturally fell back on the iconography of legal manuscripts from the previous half century.

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[152] Anthony Melnikas, *The Corpus of Miniatures in the Manuscripts of* Decretum Gratiani, (Rome: Libreria Ateneo Salesiano, 1975), vol. 1, 29-40, who puts these images in the context of debates over ecclesiastical or papal supremacy. Certain (particularly Cistercian) illuminators often depicted the pontiff (as natural law) in the upper portion of the initial "H" and a king or emperor (as custom) in the lower, thus illustrating a hierocratic notion of ultimate authority.

[153] Ibid., 75, fig. 25; Montecassino, Biblioteca Abbaziale, Ms. 64z, f. 3.

[154] Ibiv., 77, fig. 29; Siena, Biblioteca Comunale degli Intronati, Ms. G.V. 23, f. 8

The figure, then, represents not just Count Alfons, but also the authority of custom more generally. As an image of Alfons, it "fulfill[s] one of the functions of a seal, adding the authority of an image to the authority of the text," as Adam J. Kosto has argued for illuminated portraits in the late-twelfth-century *Liber feudorum maior* of the counts of Barcelona.[155] The scroll, when held by the count in this historiated initial, denotes a speech act that is tied directly to the opening words of the first act in the cartulary, which are recorded in the first person: "In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, I, Alfons, count of Toulouse..."[156] In a legal culture that still, at the beginning of the thirteenth century, prioritized to some extent the oral over the written, the scroll here conveyed the authority of the copied document by recalling the original verbal utterance. A similar visual logic fills the pages of earlier monastic cartularies like those of Vierzon (c. 1150) and Marchiennes (c. 1195), where each charter of donation is accompanied by a portrait of the donor holding it.[157] Such portraits highlight the deictic moment signaled textually by the "ego" of the donor. They make a truth-claim about a particular moment in time.

As an image of the origin of *mos*, however, the figure in the first roundel evokes an authority that transcends individual historical figures like Alfons. In fact, according to this reading, it is even possible to view the second, middle figure as the count who, together with the judge-consul of the lower roundel, shares the responsibility of maintaining the custom that descends from an even higher, royal or imperial authority.[158] The count/*viguier* enforces; the consul studies and elucidates for others. Such a reading would approach the visual logic of another historiated initial in manuscripts of the *Decretum*, that beginning the *introductio*, which often preceded the text proper as a kind of table

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[155] Adam J. Kosto, "The *Liber feudorum maior* of the counts of Barcelona: the cartulary as an expression of power,"*Journal of Medieval History* 27 (2001): 17.

[156] Limouzin-Lamothe, *La commune de Toulouse*, 261, no. 1.

[157] Kosto, "The *Liber*": 17-18.

[158] I would certainly not insist on this identification of the middle figures as count; as Bordes points out, the *viguier* and consuls shared jurisdiction within the town, and these images could therefore show both in the exercise of justice, beneath the count from whom they derive their authority. But it is worth noting that the middle figure has much more in common with images on comital seals than the figure in the upper roundel. On the *viguier*'s role and his connection to the count, see Mundy, *Liberty and Political Power*, 33-35.

of contents or abbreviated digest for quick reference. This "I" (from "In prima parte...") , it must be pointed out, bears a striking formal resemblance in some manuscripts to the "I" of the Toulousan cartulary, supporting the notion that illuminators of the latter were familiar with and drew upon illustrations in such legal manuscripts. One example, in a manuscript produced in the fourth quarter of the twelfth century at a northern French, Cistercian workshop, is particularly similar. Descending 30 cm—the entire height of the text box and then some—the letter form contains four roundels separated by floral interlace with two interior vertical lines that connect the medallions, just as in the initial of the Toulousan cartulary. In the upper roundel is Christ, followed by personified *Ecclesia*, a king with sword and scroll, and finally, a bishop with scroll and gesture indicating instruction. These last two figures, representatives of the two arms of the Church, "indicate their coordinated functions of promulgating the teachings of Christ within the '*civitatis rex Christus*.'"[159] The initial of the Toulousan cartulary replicates this arrangement, but within the realm of human law known as custom.

These two readings of the initial are not necessarily mutually exclusive, but would have offered viewers layers of meaning. Regardless of how deeply one analyzed the individual figures, moreover, an undeniable feature of the initial is the transformation from scroll to codex—the very transformation effected by the redaction of the cartulary, in which numerous individual charters were collected and put in codex form. The scroll held by figure in the upper roundel could easily be read as Alphons' charter, and certainly the book in the bottom roundel is a representation of the cartulary itself. There is a hint here of a self-conscious awareness of the codifying process and its relationship to urban consciousness and urban identity. Even in the contemporaneous cartulary of the bourg of Toulouse, where the same initial is historiated but according to a far less ambitious iconographical schema, illuminators highlighted the connection between municipal government and

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[159] Melnikas, *The Corpus*, vol. 3, 1206, fig. 8, 1206; Douai, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 590, f. 3.

written word: a consul holds a lengthy scroll, partially unfurled, and points to a passage on it (fig. 15).

Fig. 15. Cartulary of the *bourg* of Toulouse. Toulouse, 1204/05. A.M.T. AA 1, f. 1.

But as an illustration of the making of the codex, the historiated initial of the cartulary of the *cité* omits a most important figure—the scribe, Guilhem Bernard, notary of Toulouse, who copied the

first 71 acts over the course of eight months in 1205. His exclusion bespeaks a general fear about authentic transcription. Despite the repeated assurances of faithful translation *eadem ratione et eisdem verbis*, a scribal portrait would draw attention to the act of copying and, with it, the possibility of error and forgery, calling into the question the authenticity of the cartulary as a whole. Paradoxically, only by ignoring the scribe did the illuminators come close to depicting the thirteenth-century revolution in communications, in which the written, while not entirely displacing the authority of the spoken in legal and devotional contexts, at least competed with it much more vigorously. The cartulary of the city of Toulouse, with its elaborate historiated initial, established the town as a particularly especial legal and literate space.

Toulouse was not alone in producing such illuminated artifacts for municipal purposes. The *Livre juratoire* of Agen, created sometime in the 1270s, is a beautifully illustrated manuscript copy of the town's customs.[160] These customs had existed in oral form as early as 1205, when they were accorded to another town, and scattered evidence suggests an even earlier date. The first explicit mention in charters of a *written* copy comes from 1298, but a French translation was made for the small town of Montpezat in 1279. Alison Stones, in her exhaustive catalogue of gothic manuscripts in France, has dated the *Livre juratoire* to between 1271 (when lordship of the town reverted to the French crown) and 1279 (when the town was procured by Edward I of England).[161] Remarkably, it contains two large historiated initials and thirty-four smaller ones, in addition to twenty-one miniatures and two full-page illuminations.

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[160] A.D.L.G., MS 42, digitized and made available online at http://www.cg47.org/archives/coups-de-coeur/Tresors/MS_42_001a115/index.htm. Henceforth cited as MS 42. Unless noted otherwise, translations come from F.R.P. Akehurst, ed. and trans., *The* Costuma d'Agen: *A Thirteenth-Century Customary Compilation in Old Occitan* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), who has the Occitan and modern English on facing pages. All translations are his unless otherwise noted. Dates given for the compilation of this work range from the late twelfth to the early fourteenth century, but according to Alison Stones a likely date is between 1271 and 1279; ibid., appendix C, 110. See also her extensive description in idem, *Gothic Manuscripts, 1260-1320*, part 2, vol. 1 (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2014), no. VIII-14, 269-275.
[161] Stones, *Gothic Manuscripts*, 273.

Rather than illustrate a hierarchical relationship between lord and consuls or an appeal to the authority of customary law, as we saw in the Toulousan cartulary, the illuminations of the codex in this manuscript highlight the reciprocal nature of feudal obligations and the communal nature of municipal government. The very first image in the manuscript is attached to an initial that begins the medieval table of contents (fig. 16).[162] In it, a seated scribe writes in an open codex; two lines of text are already visible on the page. He faces two standing men, one of whom gestures as if instructing or dictating. We might expect such a scribal portrait at the beginning of a manuscript, but it is significant that he is shown conveying the words of multiple municipal leaders. The authority of the manuscript copy derived not from a single scribe or author, but from communal memory. The chapter description headed by this initial underscores this point: "The first chapter contained in the prologue tells how the council of Agen, or twelve good men of the same city if there should be no council, must be believed concerning the customs of Agen."[163] The illumination therefore not only depicts the making of the manuscript, but also illustrates this particular piece of customary legislation. Unlike the cartulary of Toulouse, in which a scribal portrait might weaken its claim to authenticity, here such a portrait visually links the written codex with the communal memory of the town's *proshomes*—the good men of the town, who are represented sitting in council throughout many of the other miniatures in the manuscript.

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[162] MS 42, f. 1v.

[163] Ibid.: "Lo prumers capitols contengutz el prologue parla cum lo cosselhs d'Agen, o .xiix proshomes de bona fama de la meissa ciutat si cosselh no i avia, devo estre creut sober las costumas d'Agen." Akehurst, *The* Costuma d'Agen, 4-5.

Fig. 16. Table of Contents, *Livre juratoire*. Agen, c. 1271-1279. A.D.L.G., MS 42, f. 1v.

Other illuminations display textual artifacts in use within their social environments. The miniature that heads the first chapter, which describes the reciprocal oaths of lord and townsmen, depicts the lord swearing corporeally upon the book of customs before a congregation of townsmen

(fig. 17).[164] Seated and turned three-quarters to the right, he places his hand upon an open book held

by a kneeling citizen. Text is indicated on the leaves of the codex. To the right stand eight male

figures, some observing the oath, others engaged in conversation about it (as indicated by their

gestures). As witnesses, they remind us of the performative nature of documentary production and

consumption, of the public ritual in which a feudal relationship was manifested by the physical

contact of lord, book, and citizen. Similar public scenes greet readers twice more: first, in the middle

of the chapter on conducting inquiries into criminal behavior (*inquizicio*), and then again at the

chapter on insolvency, in which case the debtor may be required to swear upon the Gospels (*jurar

sobre ls sants evangelis*), represented there as an open codex.[165]

Fig. 17. The oath of the lord of Agen, *Livre juratoire*. Agen, c. 1271-1279. A.D.L.G., MS 42, f. 17v.

The chapter on the feudal oaths of lord and citizenry does not say on what they were sworn.

However, the manuscript as a whole constitutes material evidence for this contractual moment,

because, as the very copy used in such swearing (hence the *juratoire* of its modern title), it contains

two facing pages that are fully illuminated but heavily effaced by the physical contact of medieval

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[164] A.D.L.G., MS 42, f. 17v.
[165] Ibid., f. 40v and f. 46.

hands (fig. 18).[166] On the left is what must have been a Gnadenstuhl-type Trinity. God the Father, his right hand up in blessing and his left holding an *orbis terrarum*, sits enthroned behind a crucified Christ, who is surrounded by angels and, below them, Mary and John. Presumably there was once a dove signifying the Holy Spirit, but the illumination is too badly worn to say for certain. The figures are inscribed within a mandorla and the symbols of the Evangelists fill the spandrels. On the facing page is a Virgin and Child enthroned. Two angels hold stylized flowers on either side of her, with towers rising behind them. The amount of damage to the illuminations suggests the pages were used for more than just the accession of a new lord. We must entertain the notion that it was also opened and touched when appointing the lord's seneschal (*senescali*) or the seneschal's bailiff (*ballè*), both of whom must swear to the municipal council (*cosselh*), or even when appointing new members of that council itself.[167] The codex mediated social relations not only through its textual content, but also in its material form—as venerated object in a civic liturgy.

Fig. 18. Swearing pages, *Livre juratoire*. Agen, c. 1271-1279. A.D.L.G., MS 42, ff. 7v-8.

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[166] Ibid., ff. 7v-8.
[167] Directions for swearing in a seneschal and bailiff are included in the chapter on the accession of a new lord. The election of consuls is discussed in chapter 52, but does not mention an oath.

VI. Conclusions: Producing Documents, Producing Spaces

These manuscript illuminations visually depict the relationship that I have focused on in this chapter, that between textual artifacts and their social environments in the urban communities of Occitània and northern Catalunya in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Municipal manuscripts—including cartularies, customaries, books of ordinances, and so on—functioned as ritual objects in civic and feudal ceremonies. These manuscripts, deposited at the town hall, were not just reference compilations, but also icons of memory and status. The juxtaposition of town hall and archive of written records—that is to say, the imbrication of *locus communis* and *locus credibilis*—produced a consular space of authority and authenticity that was itself celebrated visually in the manuscripts that articulated municipal liberties and privileges. The spatial practices of documentary culture also embraced the notaries and the records they manufactured, which circulated throughout the towns and in so doing defined the urban; recall that the notaries of Agen were forbidden from leaving the town's boundaries except on consular business, while public instruments at Toulouse held more merit if they were drawn up within that town than if they came from elsewhere. Meanwhile, the representations of space imprinted on town seals iconographically linked documentary production with built space, both sacred and civic. Human and non-human actors equally, then, produced urban space through documentary culture in the towns of southern France. Sworn notaries, wax seals, parchment records, and bound codices did not merely reflect, but also actively constructed the social formations and semiotic valences of the urban. Chronologies for all of these components of documentary production reveal a sharp uptick around 1200-1250, with sustained activity (freshly-designed seal matrices, for example, or further redactions of consular cartularies) throughout the fourteenth century. The thirteenth and fourteenth centuries thus witnessed the birth of new urban spaces produced by technologies of documentary production and the social lives of their artifacts.

Chapter 3

Spaces of Lordship: Projecting and Experiencing Power

In an early fifteenth-century Catalan text known as the *Disputation of the Donkey*, Anselm

Turmeda (1355-1423), a Franciscan from Majorca who converted to Islam, recounted a dream

vision. In it, he seeks to prove to his interlocutor (an ass), before an assembly of beasts, the

superiority of man over the animals. Of the many arguments he raises, one addresses man's

prodigious building activities:

> My lord donkey, another argument and proof that we sons of Adam
> have greater dignity and nobility than you animals is that we are very
> clever at building houses, towers and palaces in which to live,
> constructing them in numerous styles: round, square and in every
> other shape and size. And this we do through the great cunning and
> practical wisdom of our minds. All of this is lacking in you animals.
> And whoever can do all those things is worthy of being lord. On the
> other hand, justice and equity demand that whoever cannot do such
> things should be a subordinate and a vassal.[1]

The donkey responds that the structures of bees, spiders, swallows, and other birds show just as

much ingenuity and precision. Indeed, most of these animals need only one material (wax or thread,

for example), whereas men require many. They also, unlike men, need no tools with which to build,

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[1] Anselm Turmeda, *Disputation of the Donkey*, trans. Neil Kenny in *Cambridge Translations of Renaissance Philosophical Texts: Volume I: Moral Philosphy*, ed. Jill Kraye (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 8. Unfortunately, there is no extant manuscript or printed book of this text, published in 1417 or 1418, in the original Catalan. It survives only in a French translation published in 1544. This version may be found in Anselm Turmeda, *Dispute de l'âne*, ed. A. Llinares (Paris: Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin, 1984), with quotation above on 80: "Seigneur Asne, l'aultre raison et preuve que entre nous filz d'Adam sommes de plus grande dignité et noblesse que vous aultres animaulx est que nous sommes très ingénieux à bastir maisons, tours et palais pour habiter, les faisans de plusieurs manières et façons, ronds, quarrez, et de toute aultres formes et tailles. Et de cela par la grand subtilité et prudence de nostre entendement. Et vous aultres estes privez de tout cela. Et qui saict faire tout cela est digne d'estre seigneur. Et au contraire, qui ne saict faire telles et semblables choses, justice et raison veullent qu'il soit subjugué et vassal."

relying only on their natural capacities.[2] According to his own logic, Anselm, who had studied law at Bologna in the fourteenth century, has demonstrated precisely the opposite of what he intended—since animals build with even greater "cunning and practical wisdom," they cannot be perceived as inferior.[3]

What do Anselm's comments tell us about building as an expression of power near the end of the Middle Ages? According to the tradition of satire and social critique in which he wrote, perhaps we should understand him to mock the words of the author-dreamer, to suggest that they do not reflect reality—in other words, that building projects bear little to no relationship to domination and subordination. Common sense, however, would argue against this. Moreover, in his rebuttal, the donkey does not dispute the underlying assumption, only that it does not in this case prove the superiority of men, since animals build better. More likely, Anselm's suggestion that the ability to build confers lordship over others betrays a fundamental truth about the experience of power in the Middle Ages—that relations of dependence were mediated by and through the built environment. To be powerful was to build; to lack that capacity—to merely be bound by the space built by others—was to be subordinate.

Anselm's argument and its logical extensions are the subject of this chapter. The building projects of counts and kings created new spaces of lordship throughout Occitània and northern Catalunya. His idea can profitably be expanded, however, to encompass more than the built spaces of houses, towers, and palaces. Medieval men and women produced and consumed representations of space and imagined geographies in which similar structures of power and their dynamics operated at a cognitive, rather than merely material, level. Seigneurial surveys, for instance, "mapped" regions

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[2] Turmeda, *Disputation of the Donkey*, 8-9; *Dispute de l'âne*, 80-81.
[3] Anselm's life and work is most recently the subject of Robert Beier, *Anselm Turmeda: Eine Studie zur interkulturellen Literatur* (Bonn: Romanisticher Verlag), 1996. For the *Disputation* and its relation to a tenth-century Arabic work, Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Safā', see Lourdes María Alvarez, "Beastly Colloquies: Of Plagiarism and Pluralism in Two Medieval Disputations between Animals and Men," *Comparative Literature Studies* 39, no. 3 (2002): 179-200.

according to systems of tenure and feudal obligations. In these endeavors, lords utilized the same technologies of documentary culture that town notaries and consulates relied on to construct the urban, as demonstrated in the previous chapter. Now, however, they were supplemented by (and indeed transported in) the regular peregrinations of seigneurial agents. Spaces of lordship were produced as much by the presence of these travelling delegations as by castles and building projects designed to project and mediate authority.

I. Construction and its Regulation as an Expression of Power

Popularly, castles are perhaps the most distinctive and enduring symbol of the Middle Ages, and their modern reputation is well-earned. These formidable structures played an integral role in the establishment of lordship in Occitània and Catalunya (but also in the north, in Anjou and Normandy, for example) between 900 and 1200, serving as bases from which armed cavalcades could impose—often violently—new obligations on an increasingly subject peastantry, as part of a phenomenon that many historians have termed a "feudal revolution."[4] By the thirteenth century, lords or their agents usually lived and held court at a local headquarters ensconced in a fortified building. The seat of the Raimondine counts of Toulouse (c. 1041-1249), the stone fortress known as the Château Narbonnais, was so named because it abutted the Narbonne gate at the southern end of the town. In the course of the Albigensian Crusade, after Simon de Montfort was awarded Toulouse and this château at the Fourth Lateran Council (1215), he made major changes, according to Guilhelm de Puylaurens, disconnecting it from the city walls, digging large ditches between it and

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[4] Thomas Bisson, "The 'Feudal Revolution,'" *Past and Present* 142 (1994): 6-42, esp. 15-18, and on 16: "The new castle on its rock became an ominous spectacle in the tenth century." The critiques and modifications that followed Bisson's article did little to challenge the fact that such fortifications served the purposes of lordship, whether or not the *violentia* that they represented was a mark of continuity or rupture with the early medieval past: Dominique Barthélemy and Stephen D. White, "Debate: the 'Feudal Revolution,'" *Past and Present* 152 (1996): 196-223; Timothy Reuter and Chist Wickham, "Debate: the 'Feudal Revolution,'" *Past and Present* 155 (1997): 177-208; Bisson, "Reply," in the same volume: 208-25.

the *cité*, surrounding it with stakes, and installing an eastern entrance that did not require him to enter the town first.[5] This had the result of breaching the town's defenses (which he in any case entirely dismantled) and transforming it "into an effective comital fortress...an independent unit."[6] It was undoubtedly next to this fortress, in a place recorded as "the count's meadow," that the bodies of heretics were dragged and burned in the course of the thirteenth century.[7] As a well-fortified place associated with justice and corporal punishment, the château projected comital power. Many such places existed across Occitània and Catalunya in 1200.

The thirteenth century, however witnessed a new wave of construction. In the north of France, the acquisition and construction of castles and the fortification of cities had become a major objective of the monarchy, particularly under Philip Augustus in the opening decades of the century.[8] Just a bit later, major building initiatives that would last through most of the fourteenth century began in Languedoc and Aquitaine. In the aftermath of the Albigensian Crusade, the ecclesiastical council of Toulouse in 1229 forbade the building or rebuilding of castles. According to the Treaty of Paris of the same year, Raimon VII had to recognize the king's rights over numerous castles and was obligated to destroy many fortifications (*diruantur muri et impleantur fossata*) within his lands. Nevertheless, the terms permitted him to construct new, unfortified towns to replace those destroyed in the course of the wars.[9] Thus began a period of prolific construction, throughout

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[5] Guilhem de Puylaurens, *Chronique. Chronica magistri Guillelmi de Podio Laurentii*, ed. and trans. (French) Jean Duvernoy (Paris: Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1976), 92: "Fecit etiam castrum Narbonense, quod tunc solidum erat usque in altum sicut et nunc est, vacuari tellure, et portam aperiri ab oriente, ut ignorantibus aut invitis civibus castrum posset ingredi quondo vellet. Iussitque fossata magna fieri inter castrum et Civitatem et cingi magnis sudibus abiegnis."

[6] John Hines Mundy, *Liberty and Political Power in Toulouse, 1050-1230* (New York: University of Columbia Press, 1954), 85.

[7] Guilhem Pelhisson, *Chronicle*, ed. and trans. (French) Jean Duvernoy (Paris: CNRS Editions, 1994), 96: "Prato Comitis sunt combusta[.]" See chapter 5, below.

[8] John W. Baldwin, *The Government of Philip Augustus: Foundations of French Royal Power in the Middle Ages* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 294-302, who emphasizes the strategic, defensive value of the cylindrical, round tower plan that typifies most of Philip's new castles.

[9] Giovanni Domenico Mansi, ed., *Sacrorum conciliorum*, vol. 23 (Venice, 1779), col. 204: "Pro pace quoque melius conservanda statuimus quod castra non aedificentur de novo occasione bovariae, vel quacumque alia ratione, nec

Languedoc, Gascony, and Aquitaine, of the new towns known as bastides.[10] These foundations were explicitly authorized by kings and counts, undoubtedly in order to gain or retain control of certain territories, but also to foster local economies.[11] The practice was continued by Raimon's successors, Alphonse of Poitiers and the kings of France (to whom Toulouse devolved in 1271) and England (as dukes of Aquitaine).

Bastides were created in a formal agreement, written up in a document called a *paréage*, between local landowners and sovereign lords.[12] Local lords ceded the land to the new settlers of these places and some of their feudal rights to the sovereign, but retained the ability to enforce local justice. For his part, the sovereign assumed responsibility for the community's security and affirmed its legal rights. Profits from the taxes on trade within the bastide were to be split (usually evenly) between the two parties. The arrangement was a popular one; nearly 700 such bastide towns were built between 1200 and 1400 in Occitània.[13] Alphonse of Poitiers founded seven almost immediately upon his accession to the county of Toulouse, between 1250 and 1256, and eight more between 1259 and 1271. When he died without issue, the Agenais was supposed to return to the English

munitiones dirutae reaedificentur." *HGL* 8, no. 270, cols. 882-883 contain preliminary promises of Raimon in January of 1228: "Item dabimus pro securitate Ecclesiae et domini regis in manibus ipsius regius…[list of castles follows, along with the king's rights over them]…Diruantur muri et impleatur fossata istorum castrorum et villarum, scilicet…[list of places follows]…et non poterunt reaedificari sine voluntate domini regis, nec alibi fient novae forteritiae.—Villas tamen non inforciatas bene facere poterimus in terra quae remanebit nobis, si voluerimus." The same promises (more or less) are in the text of the treaty proper, with the added stipulation that the fortifications of Toulouse were to be destroyed; idem, no. 271, col. 889: "Item nos faciemus dirui muros civitatis Tholose omnino et fossata repleri…Item diruentur per nos muri funditus et replebuntur fossata triginta villarum et castrorum, scilicet…[list of places follows]…Et non poterunt reedificari sine voluntate Ecclesie et domini regis, nec alibi fient nove forterice. Villas tamen non inforciatas bene poterimus facere in terra, que dimittitur nobis, si voluerimus…"

[10] The first bastide is usually considered Cordes, established by Raimon VII in 1222, but the pace of bastide building did not really quicken until after the Treaty of 1229. A list of the lords and the bastides they founded may be found in Jacques Dubourg, *Histoire des bastides: Les villes neuves du Moyen Áge* (Luçon, France: Éditions Sud Ouest, 2002), 55-70. On bastides generally, see also Maurice Beresford, *New Towns of the Middle Ages: Town Plantation in England, Wales, and Gascony* (London: Lutterworth, 1967). These works build fundamentally on A. Curie-Seimbre, *Essai sur les villes fondèes dans la Sud-ouest de la France aux XIIIe et XIVe siècles sous le nom générique de bastides* (Toulouse: Privat, 1880).

[11] Adrian Randolph, "The Bastides of Southwest France," *The Art Bulletin* 77 (1995): 303.

[12] My description is based on Randolph, "The Bastides of Southwest France": 291-292, and Dubourg, *Histoire des bastides*, 146-154.

[13] Randolph, 290.

Crown, but Philip III did not give up control. Subsequently, a large part of the political strategy of

Edward I of England to assert his rights over the territory relied on establishing bastides of his

own—seven between 1272 and 1285.[14] The founding of bastides, in other words, was largely a

power play in the increasingly hostile politics preceding the Hundred Years' War. It was also,

however, an economic policy, for the newly established towns generated revenue. Indeed, the

political and economic factors motivating bastide building were thoroughly imbricated. In the words

of Adrian Randolph,

> In the establishment of new markets and the relaxation of feudal
> control in favor of a new form of feudal capitalism, loyalties were
> traded. The broader-based markets of the monarchical state
> eventually subsumed such regional economies of allegiance. New
> relations linking producer to lord were forged, relations no longer
> characterized by personal contact or locality, but rather by documents
> and symbols of exchange (above all, money and the charter), binding
> subjects to a distant king.[15]

Bastides were thus the material manifestations of sovereign claims in contested territories. They

represented new, planned spaces where lordship was continually enacted in the economic

transactions of inhabitants and those who came to trade with them. They removed, in a sense,

inhabitants from local and regional political economies, which surely also pulled them away from

local and regional identities.

In fact, when instigated by the French crown or its agents, bastides often bear names that

transmit a distinctly northern or royal cultural outlook: Villeréal (1267), Lafrançaise (1275), Saint-

Louis (1300), Saint-Denis (before 1307), Saint-Louis-en-l'Isle (1308), La Bastide-d'Anjou (1373), and

even Beaumarchés (1288), so called after the northerner Eustache de Beaumarchés, seneschal of

Toulouse under Alphonse of Poitiers, Louis IX, and Philip III.[16] Such toponymic emblems of

French authority no doubt had an impact on the inhabitants of a now re-urbanized landscape. But

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[14] Ibid., 303-304.
[15] Ibid., 306.
[16] These names come from the lists in Dubourg, *Histoire des bastides*.

seigneurial presence was more than merely onomastic. Planned around a symbolically (if not always geographically) central market square, bastides were founded in a ceremony that involved a *pau* or *pal* (Latin: *palum*), a tall post erected in the square and, importantly, bearing the insignia of the sovereign founder, who then named the new town. A town crier read out the charter while heralds sent throughout the nearby countryside did the same.[17] As the embodiment of the charter, the *pau* physically mapped the sovereign's authority onto the economic space that now, through the terms stipulated in charter, structured his relations with subjects.

Bastides were entire new communities, sometimes, but not always, fortified. Lords, however, also built or rebuilt castles where their authority was questioned or directly challenged. At Najac, local lords had revolted against Alphonse of Poitiers when Raimon VII died in 1249. The particulars of the revolt itself, known from an *enquête* of 1251, highlight the relationship between castles and authority. The rebels claimed that the tower (*turris*) of the town did not belong to the count but to them and was only held by the count with their permission.[18] After they gained access to it when the key was given to the consuls, it became the staging ground for a full renunciation of the Alphonse's sovereignty.[19] Eventually, however, their leaders were tried and condemned as heretics and their goods and lands were seized by seneschal, Jean d'Arcis. The entire affair convinced Alphonse to build a new castle at Najac almost immediately. In a letter from the seneschal to Alphonse in 1253, he updated the count on the early stages of its construction but suggested the inhabitants of the town be pardoned because they were fleeing the town day by day for fear of the inquistion and the

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[17] On the *pau* ceremony, see Randolph, "The Bastides of Southwest France," 300.

[18] The *enquête* was published by Auguste and Émile Molinier, *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes* 42 (1881): 361-370 (as a *pièce justificative* for their article in the same volume, "Najac en Rouergue, notes historiques et archéologiques": 129-156). On 362: "...de invasione turris...et dicebant quod turris non erat domini comitis, immo eorum, et dominus comes habebat eam de comanda eorum."

[19] Ibid.:368: "Et postmodum iverunt ad turrim et invenerunt ibi plures ex consulibus et militibus et hominibus castri...Et dixit quod consules muniverunt dictam turrim et consules tenuerunt dictam clavem usque ad terciam diem Circumcisionis Domini..." A description of the entire revolt as gleaned from these testimonies is made in Ibid.: 133-136.

count's justice.[20] Alphonse agreed. The resulting castle, partially ruined but still standing today, impressively dominated the re-established community from its hilltop position.[21] Whether it was the fact that rights to the original tower had been contested and so could be again, or that the castle had fallen all too easily into the hands of hostile lords, or indeed that communal memory of the deeds done in 1249 would forever mark it as a place where his lordship was challenged, Alphonse desired a fortified edifice built *de novo*.

It was in the midst of this period of castle and bastide building as symbolic and material expressions of domination that Louis IX and his successors encouraged the urban development of two particularly important places: Carcassonne and Aigues-Mortes. In preparation for his crusade of 1248, Louis began fortifying the latter sometime in the early 1240s in order to serve as a port of departure for his forces, a project that also included a significant restructuring of trade through both coercive pressures and the elimination of tolls.[22] While still unfinished when he departed for the East, the fortifications and infrastructure that were ultimately completed under his son, Philip III, transformed Aigues-Mortes into a town of some importantce, with royal *palatium* in the Tour de Constance and impressive town walls with fortified gates; until the annexation of Montpellier in 1349, Aigues-Mortes was the only royal port on the Mediterranean.[23] The major administrative seat of royal authority in the south, however, would be at Carcassonne, the rights to which were

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[20] *Layettes*, vol. 3 (1875), 582-583: "Item, audivi quod sanum et optimum habuistis consilium ut faceretis construere castrum apud Najacum, quod facere sum paratus, sicut vobis placuerit et jam incepi, set cum castrum de Najaco, tam propter inquisitionem heresis, quam propter timorem vestrum, cum sint vobis culpabiles, cotidie destruatur, et minuitur (*sic*) hominibus et rebus, esset consilium, si vobis placeret, quod cum ipsis de conmissis fieret composicio, quia post composicionem pro majori parte, ut credo, omnia bona plurium ad vos devolventur propter hereticam pravitatem...Item, super facto novi castri faciendi de Najaco, ego jam emi calcem, collocavi cementarios, fregi facio lapidem, et plura alia neccessaria ad construendam quesivi."

[21] See Gilles Séraphin, Christian Remy, and Élodie Cassan "Najac, du castrum au château neuf," *Congrès Archéologique de France, 2009, 167ᵉ session, Monuments de l'Aveyron* (Paris: Société Française d'Archéologie, 2011), 227-246.

[22] William Chester Jordan, "Supplying Aigues-Mortes for the Crusade of 1248: The Problem of Restructuring trade," in *Order and Innovation in the Middle Ages : Essays in Honor of Joseph R. Strayer*, eds. idem, Bruce McNab, and Teofilo F. Ruiz (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976), 165- 171.

[23] J. Morize, "Aigues-Mortes au XIIIᵉ siècle," *Annales du Midi* 26 (1914): 313-348; William Chester Jordan, *Louis IX and the Challenge of the Crusade: A Study in Rulership* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979), 71-76, who described it (on 74) as "an imposing symbol of the authority of the Capetian kings."

definitively ceded to Louis by Raymond Trencavel in 1246. Louis began reorganizing the community in 1248—the same year he left for the East—when he authorized the relocation of those who had lost their homes in the destruction of the faubourgs during the Albigensian Crusade. In a *paréage* between four parties (the bishop, cathedral chapter, Templars, and king), the "lower town" bastide was established on the left bank of the Aude, opposite the existing urban community. In the latter half of the thirteenth century, meanwhile, the original *cité* was refortified with a strengthened fortress (now called the *palatium regale* in the documents) and a new, additional set of walls with grand towers and gates (particularly the Porte Narbonaise, for which see fig. 19).[24] By the opening of the fourteenth century, French power was monumentally expressed at these two primary nodes in the network of royal administration and transport, and the construction of such places imprinted local memories. In an *enquête* of 1283, for example, those interviewed structured their narratives around the coincidence of Louis' crusading voyage and the construction of Aigues-Mortes. Joan Pradier, a merchant of Mèze, when asked about the imposition of taxes there, recalled a time when "there was at Aigues-Mortes no towers, nor stones," but "when the lord King of the French crossed the sea and went to Damietta, then Aigues-Mortes was inhabited by people."[25] The construction of community was thus linked to royal agency.

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[24] The classic and comprehensive study of Carcassonne is Joseph Poux, *La cité de Carcassonne. Histoire et description*, 2 vols. (Toulouse: Privat, 1931). On the building projects of Louis IX and his successors, see vol. 1, 127-237 (chapters 4 and 5). The royal prison there housed those arrested by the inquisition as early as the late 1230s, and certainly by 1246, when Louis IX directed his seneschal to make them available to inquisitors; Walter L. Wakefield, "Friar Ferrier, Inquisition at Caunes, and Escapes from Prison at Carcassonne," *The Catholic Historical Reiew* 58 (1972): 220-237, esp. 231-232.

[25] Jules Pagezy, *Mémoires sur le port d'Aiguesmortes* (Paris: Hachette, 1879), 266-267: "Johannes Praderii de Mesoâ, homo domini episcopi Agathensis...olim marinarius, nunc mercator...item dixit requisitus quod in Aquis Mortuis non erat turris, nec lapis, nec ibidem solvebatur denarium pro libra, immo quicumque volens applicare, libere applicabat; deinde dixit se vidisse bene sunt sexaginta anni, vel circa, quando dominus rex Francorum transivit mare et ivit apud Damietam, quod locus dictus Aquarum Mortuarun fuit habitatus per gentes, et quasi per decem annis post, videlicet bene sunt quinquaginta anni, fuit impositus in portu Aquarum Mortuarum denarius pro libra et ab illo tempore citra, vidit et dicit observari et usitari solvi dictum denarium pro libra de mercibus que applicabant ibidem..."

Fig. 19. The Porte Narbonnaise along the walls of Carcassonne in 1862. Photograph of Eugène Trutat. A.M.T. 51Fi178.

The testimony of these merchants supports the notion (also apparent in the *pau* ritual and naming of bastides) that the construction of built spaces by lords was as much a matter of marking memories and spreading reputations as it was one of military and economic contingency. Indeed, much recent scholarship has questioned the idea that castles were fundamentally militaristic. For Charles Coulson, the "aesthetic of embattled comfort, a taste beloved by an aristocracy glorying in its own splendour, was not so much 'military' or 'religious' as seignorial, emblematic, and hierarchical," while "renown not defence was the prime-mover."[26] Similarly, Robert Liddiard has suggested that the castle was first and foremost a symbol: "as icons of lordship castles were redolent to all sections of medieval society" and "it is also likely that the very specific details of fortification

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[26] *Castles in Medieval Society: Fortresses in England, France, and Ireland in the Central Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 70; "Community and Fortress Politics in France in the Lull before the Hundred Years Wars in English Perspective," *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 40 (1996): 103.

were only ever intended to be understood in cultural terms."[27] It would seem that the strategic

military value of fortifications was at least equalled by their symbolic or cultural value. Even when

they served lordship in more tangible ways, it was politically and administratively rather than

militarily.[28] From this perspective, building castles and bastides might be seen as continuing an early

medieval phenomenon, in which massive building projects like the great canals and dykes of

Charlemagne and Offa of Mercia were more than anything intended as demonstrative acts of power,

moments in which sovereigns confirmed their coercive force over subjects by requiring their

participation in the endeavor.[29] The analogy can only be pushed so far, of course. For the castles of

the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, it was the end product—the space of lordship that was

produced—as much as the process of construction that mattered. Even so, the effective functions

of these spaces were more limited than is commonly thought. Historians have been quick to point

out, for example, how seldom castles were actually besieged and how quickly those inside would

surrender once they were.[30] And the *pau* ceremony marking the founding of a bastide, witnessed as it

was by bishops, counts, and other minor lords, was certainly a ritual of power.[31] Most importantly,

however, these new castles and towns offered demarcated spaces where social relations and

sovereign claims could be continually mediated and redefined.

Excellent illustrations of the ways this happened come from northern Catalunya, where the

most important edifices constructed to project royal Mallorcan authority were the palaces at

Perpignan and nearby Collioure. Fortunately, we know a great deal about these sites thanks to

detailed art historical studies and recent archaeological investigations.[32] Construction of the

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[27] *Castles in Context: Power, Symbolism and Landscape, 1066-1500* (Bollington: Windgather Press, 2005), 150.
[28] Coulson, "Community and Fortress Politics": 97.
[29] Paolo Squatriti, "Digging Ditches in Early Medieval Europe," *Past and Present* 176 (2002): 11-65.
[30] Liddiard, *Castles in Context*, 70-96.
[31] For the witnesses to the *pau* ceremony, see Dubourg, 158.
[32] Marcel Durliat, *L'art dans le royaume de Majorque: Les débuts de l'art gothique en Roussillon, en Cerdagne et aux Baléares* (Toulouse: Privat, 1962), 194-215 (Perpignan) and 247-254 (Collioure); Agnès Marin, *Palais des Rois de Majorque à*

fortifications at Collioure began in 1242 and was completed by 1280. It protected the only major

port in Roussillon, and served as one of the residences for the royal family (fig. 20). The palace-

fortress at Perpignan was built later, with construction beginning in the last quarter of the thirteenth

century, and it was inhabited by the royal family by 1285 at the latest (according to the contemporary

chronicler Bernart Desclot). It was completed in 1309. For its location, Jaume II chose a site on a

hill to the south of town—subsequently known as the *puig del rei* (fig. 21). Street level views still

impart a sense of the elevation of the edifice above the town, since the earth on the other side of the

modern walls rises to their top (fig. 22). Once atop the *puig,* across the moat rose a rectangular tower

of a sort common to the *Midi* (fig. 23), and the vestibule beyond offered access to a central

courtyard and, via a staircase to the north, the throne room.[33] The latter was open to the courtyard

via a gothic arcade (fig. 24), while the main hall—where royal councils and audiences were held—lay

in the southern wing. A western entrance allowed the two-leveled chapel tower opposite it to face

east as in most medieval church orientations. In design and decor, the palace as a whole reflected

southern French, rather than Iberian, influence.

Fig. 20. The royal fortress at Collioure. The squat, round tower and further extensions seaward, are
fifteenth-century additions. Photo: Patrick Subotkiewiez. License: Creative Commons Attribution
2.0 Generic.

Perpignan (Pyrénées-Orientales). Étude du bâti globale de l'édifice, Document final de synthèse, 9 volumes (Toulouse:
Bureau d'étude HADÈS, 2007).
[33] On the prevalence of such tower designs in the south, see Durliat, *L'art dans le royaume de Majorque*, 197.

Fig. 21. Aerial view of Perpignan. The royal palace, outlined in red, atop the hill overlooking the medieval town to the north. Google Earth image.

Fig. 22. Street view of the royal palace of Mallorca at Perpignan. The palace is visible here just above the early modern walls of the enlarged fortress complex. Photo: author.

Fig. 23. The royal palace of Mallorca at Perpignan. Western entrance and rectangular tower. Photo: author.

Fig. 24. Courtyard of the royal palace at Perpignan. Taken facing west (towards the main entrance), with a view of the vestibule and, above, the king's throne room. Photo: author.

Fig. 25. View of the courtyard at the royal palace of Perpignan from the vestibule. Taken facing east, across from the two-story chapel, at center in the background. Photo: author.

It is tempting to view such grand edifices as "antisocial," since they would appear to mark the distance, both socially and topographically, between subject and sovereign. Indeed, in the fourteenth century, the moat of the royal palace apparently housed a variety of exotic animals, and Sharon Kinoshita has argued that such menageries—like that of Frederick II—were "part of a calculated display of imperial power meant to the awe the emperor's subjects and enemies alike," part of the medieval culture of empire.[34] But spatial practices at the palace of Perpignan reveal that the relationship was structured in distinctly social ways. The two chapels at the eastern end— dedicated to Mary Magdalen and the Holy Cross—housed many relics, including a piece of the True Cross. A bull of Boniface VIII in 1300 granted indulgences to any of the faithful who visited these royal chapels on important feast days.[35] The palace, in other words, was a place of devotional practice as well as royal administration and habitation. On special occasions (and only if invited by

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[34] Sharon Kinoshita, "Animals and the Medieval Culture of Empire," in *Animal, Vegetable, Mineral: Ethics and Objects* (Washington, DC: Oliphaunt Books, 2012), ed. Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, 35-63, with quote on 51. The evidence for exotic animals in the moat of the palace at Perpignan comes from 1323 and 1337; Durliat, *L'art dans le royaume de Majorque*, 213.

[35] A.D.P.O. G 6, f. 137. The times specified were Christmas, Easter, Pentecost, the Nativity of the Virgin, and the feasts of Mary Magdalen and of the Holy Cross. Durliat, *L'art dans le royaume de Majorque*, 198, 203-204.

the royal family), royal subjects could ascend the *puig del rei*, cross the moat, enter the palace, and continue through the courtyard to the chapels (fig. 25). On their way out, they were treated to a view of the arcaded throne room, literal seat of royal authority in Perpignan and Roussillon (fig. 24). The journey facilitated an experience of royal space as mediating access to the divine. The palace was therefore not strictly "antisocial"—it did not, or not only, symbolize dominance through monumentality experienced from afar—but rather permitted socio-political relations to be experienced bodily and materially, in the movement of subjects through a built environment.[36] This, at least, was the strategy of its royal planners. In fact, these two expressions of royal authority— "antisocial" monumentality and spatial practices that relied on the intersections of subject and sovereign—should not be seen as mutually exclusive. They acted in concert to produce a particular experience of royal space.

The palace at Perpignan also structured relations between the king and the town's Jews, and it played a notable role in this history when the pogroms of the Iberian penninsula reached there in August of 1391.[37] In the kingdom of Aragon, Jews fell under the special protection of the king and were often referred to in royal charters as "serfs" or "servants of the royal chamber" (*servi camerae regis*).[38] Under the authority of the king, they had a substantial self-governing community at Perpignan—an *aljama*—which had flourished in the thirteenth century. In the first half of the following century, however, royal and consular decrees began to erode their rights, leading to

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[36] Here my research is in agreement with, and supports, the views of Coulson, *Castles in Medieval Society*, who argues against such notions of anti-sociability; see esp. 186-188.

[37] On these pogroms, see Jaume Riera i Sans, "Los tumultos contra las juderías de la Corona de Aragón en 1391," *Cuadernos de Historia: Anejos de la Revista Hispania* 8 (1977): 213-223. Philippe Wolff, "The 1391 Pogrom in Spain. Social Crisis or Not?" *Past and Present* 50 (1971): 4-18; Yitzhak Baer, *A History of the Jews in Christian Spain*, vol. 2, trans. Louis Schoffman (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of Ameria, 1951), 95-110.

[38] David Abulafia, "The Servitude of Jews and Muslims in the Medieval Mediterranean: Origins and Diffusion," *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome: Moyen Âge*, 112 (2000): 691; Philip Daileader, *True Citizens: Violence, Memory, and Identity in the Medieval Community of Perpignan, 1162-1397* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 119; Maurice Kriegel, *Juifs à la fin du Moyen Age dans l'Europe méditerranéenne* (Paris: Hachette, 1979), 14-15; Yitzhak Baer, *Studien zur Geschichte der Juden im Königreich Aragonien während des 13. und 14. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin: E. Ebering, 1913), 11-13.

juridical and physical marginalization.[39] By 1391, they lived in their own quarter—the *call*—a walled district at the northeastern end of town. But when attacked in August, they fled to the royal palace atop the *puig del rei*.[40] They were apparently too afraid to return to their homes as late as 1394, when Joan I of Aragon, who had initially thanked those responsible for providing refuge to the group, wrote to the castellan of Perpignan complaining that their habitation there had damaged the palace and ordering them removed to their quarter.[41] As a place of safe haven in times of persecution, the palace reinforced the status of the minority Jewish population as the embodiment of the sovereign exception (that is, the situation that falls outside the rule of law and that, consequently must be decided by the sovereign).[42] The king's displeasure with them, meanwhile, reveals the limits of royal patience in maintaining this relationship materially. The royal palace, then, was here a non-human actor in the network of relations that underlay sovereign claims in Aragon.

Possessing castles may seem the most obvious sign of overlordship in southern French landscapes, but just as important was the policing of those fortifications built or maintained by others. When, in 1281, the seneschal of Gascony obstructed the construction of "a house or manor" undertaken by the *donzel* Amanieu de Loubens at La Réole, southeast of Bordeaux along the Garonne, his lord the king (then Edward I of England) demanded that it be allowed to continue so long as the seneschal inquired into "what kind of fortification he wishes to make there and if and how it might affect our interests or those of others" and did not include "any other curtilage,

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[39] Daileader, *True Citizens*, 115-154.

[40] Daileader, ibid., 138-139, provides a summary of the episode.

[41] Yitzhak Baer, *Die Juden im christlichen Spanien* (Berlin: Akademie-verlag, 1929), vol. 1, 693: "En Johan etc. Als noble, amat e feels nostres lo governador de Rosello e de Cerdanya e al castella de Perpenya sal. e gr. No ha molt, que per tal cor haviem entes, quel castell de Perpenya sa affumava es destruhia per la habitacio, quey fan los juheus, revocants alguna letra graciosament sobre la dita habitacio a ells atorgada, vos haviem scrit e manat expressament..., que aquells juheus e lurs bens deguessets foragitar del dit castell e fer tornar en lur juheria ab tots lurs bens..." The letter is dated 11 April 1394. Baer cites A.C.A. Reg. 1906, f. 222v.

[42] On the sovereign exception, see Carl Schmitt, *Political Theology: Four Chapters on the Concept of Sovereignty*, trans. George Schwab (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005). On the ways Jews (and Muslims) embodied the sovereign exception in the Crown of Aragon, see Hussein Fancy, "Theologies of Violence: The Recruitment of Muslim Soldiers by the Crown of Aragon," *Past and Present* 221 (2013): 56-58.

palisades, defenses like a drawbridge, the enlargement of moats, or any other works of great

fortification."[43] Since fortification required a royal license, the politics of castle-building always

involved the mediation of royal sovereignty.[44] In a sense, because such construction was a regalian

right, any fortified built space expressed the lord's right to rule. His continued supervision of those

spaces—whether at the founding of bastides or any other time—confirmed his sovereign status. We

are a long way, here, from the unregulated encastellation of the tenth and eleventh centuries and the

ensuing *violentia* that the Peace and Truce of God movement had attempted to restrain.

Such dynamics were likely at play when Simon de Montfort destroyed the main fortifications

of Toulouse, as well as many of the privately-owned towers of the urban patriciate, during the

Albigensian Crusade. In the continuation of Guilhem de Tudela's *canso* by an anonymous troubadour

who may have been Toulousan, the destruction of the city after it was taken by de Montfort

becomes one of the most poignant episodes in the entire poem:

> But the count de Montfort sent orders to every part of the fief: let no
> man stay away or fail to bring every mattock and spade, every pick,
> fork and good splitting wedge; they must join the count and help him
> destroy Toulouse, which now had no defenders. And he ordered his
> officers to send men with picks all over the town to break it down so
> flat that a man could run straight into it without a pause. Then you
> would have seen solars and towers knocked down, ramparts, halls,
> and tall crenels overthrown. Workmen demolished roofs and
> workshops, passages and fine painted chambers, doorways, vaults
> and lofty pillars. Such was the noise, the dust and damage, the
> confusion and heat in every quarter of the town, such the mingling of
> sun, air, haze and fog, it was felt like an earthquake, like thunder or

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[43] *Rôles Gasons*, 125: "Super eo quod Amaneus de Lobeny, domicellus, dicebat quod, cum in terra sua quam tenet de nobis inmediate in feodum in prepositura et justiciatu nostro de Regula, vellet construere domum seu manerium pro sua mansione et sine magno et indebito fortalicio, et per vos, senescallum nostrum, et ex parte vestra dicebat super hoc indebite impedire, ordinavimus quod per deputandos a nobis locus adeatur in quo dictum opus incepit, et sciatur cujusmodi fortalicium vellet ibi facere, et si quod et quale prejudicium nobis vel aliis nunc aut futuris temporibus posset imminere exinde, et de aliis circumstanciis; et de hoc quod invenietur, nobis veritas referatur. Et interim concessimus eidem Amaneo quod domum ligneam erectam cum suis appendiciis, quantum pertinet ad clausuram de terra, vel de lignis et, ad cooperturam, de tegula, et ad alia oper interiora, possit perficere, sine omni clausura alia, pali[s] et ingenio et ponte levadicio et augmentacione fossatorum et aliis operibus magni fortalicii, mandantes vobis et omnibus aliis gentibus nostris per presentes quod contra ordinacionem et concessionem hujusmodi non faciatis aliquid, nec fieri permittatis contra Amaneum predictum."

[44] Coulson, "Community and Fortress-Politics," 97.

the beat of drums…Toulouse and *paratge* were in the hands of
traitors, as their deeds made plain.[45]

Pamela Sue Marquez, in her study of urban planning in Toulouse at the beginning of the thirteenth
century, concludes from the dimensions of the private towers destroyed by de Montfort that they
were unsuitable for defense and thus functioned mainly as symbols of status and prestige.[46] In this
she is no doubt correct. However, the idea that, as John Mundy put it, "the tower was so clearly a
mark of southern town life that it disturbed and angered the northern French crusaders" because
they were "accustomed to the humbler constructions of a northern urbanism long divorced from

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[45] William of Tudela and an anonymous successor, *The Song of the Cathar Wars: A History of the Albigensian Crusade*,
trans. Janet Shirley (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1996), laisse 178, 116; Eugène Martin-Chabot, ed., *La chanson de la croisade
albigeoise*, vol. 2 (Paris: Société d'édition "Les belles lettres," 1961), 246-248:

> E·l coms de Monfort manda per totas las honors
> Que nulhs om no i remanga, ni pala ni fossors
> Ni pics ni palagrilhs ni bos cuns brizadors;
> Tuit vengan enta·l comte, e que·lh fassan socors
> Per destruire Toloza qu'es ses defendedors.
> E fa monstrar e diire a sos comandadors
> Que per tota la vila anon los picadors,
> En aisi que la fondan tro c'om n'intre de cors.
> Ladoncs viratz abatre los solers e las tors
> E los murs e las salas e los dentelhs majors.
> E detrencan li ome e·ls tetz e·ls obradors.
> E·ls ambans e las cambras complidas de colors
> E·ls portals e las voutas e los pilars ausors.
> Per totas las partidas es tant grans la rumors
> La polvera e·l frans e·l trebalhs e l'ardors,
> Mescla·l soleilh e l'aire e·l temps e la brumors
> Que sembla terratremols, troneires o tambors.
> Per totas las carreiras a tans sospiradors
> Que·l sospirs e l'angoicha remembra la tremors,
> Que los cors e·ls coratges destempra la negrors.
> Car Toloza e Paratges so e ma de trachors
>   E parec ben a l'obra.

The continuator has been assumed to be a Toulousan because of his intimate knowledge the city's urban spaces;
Micheline de Combarieu, "Le nom de la ville: Toulouse dans la Chanson de la Croisade albigeoise," in *Hommage à
Jean-Charles Payen: farai chansoneta novele: Essais sur la liberté creatrice au Moyen Age* (Caen : Centre de publications de
l'Université de Caen, 1989), 138. John Mundy, "Urban Society and Culture: Toulouse and its Region," 237-238, in
Robert Benson and Giles Constable (eds.), *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century* (Toronto: University of
Toronto Press, 1991), speculates that he may have been the Toulousan troubadour Pelardit, who had a street
named after him in the *cité* (the *carraria Pilisarditis joculatoris*).
[46] Pamela Sue Marquez, "Recentering the City: Urban Planning in Medieval Toulouse in the Early Thirteenth
Century" (PhD diss., University of Colorado, 1999), 132.

rural modes and elegancies" is not to my mind verifiable.[47] Moreover, the destruction is described

significantly as lost *paratge*, a word notoriously difficult to define, but Freda White's definition is

noteworthy: "food for all, festal games and dances, fine clothes and good manners, kindness and the

sweetness of life. Above all it meant poetry."[48] White's definition is admittedly broad. In a

narrower sense, *paratge* referred to a lord's rights over land and personal honor, and so its use in the

canso evokes the destabilization of society effected by the disinheritance of the counts of Toulouse.

In other words, although de Montfort may have been thinking more strategically,[49] the destruction

of built space he effected was understood at least in part as a usurpation of Raimon's lordship. This

state of ruin, enforced by decree after the treaty of 1229, limited the count's right to police the built

environment and therefore affirm his sovereign claims over Toulousans.

Fortification as a regalian right explains why royal punishments often included the partial

demolition of fortified spaces in the fourteenth century, evidence of which has been collected by

Charles Coulson.[50] In response to various offences against royal officials, the gates of the town wall

or castle of Capdenac were removed in 1321, those of three castles in Auvergne were in 1323, and

those of two castles in Puy de Dôme in 1325. Three years later, the monks of Lagrasse had the

doors to both their castle and their prison removed. This last case illuminates how such penal

destruction intersected with the jurisdictional expansion of royal sovereignty by way of the royal

safeguard (discussed further below), for the monks were being punished for their role in the murder

of a cleric to whom a safeguard had been granted. But the destruction of certain fortifications could

also signal freedom from seigneurial domination. One of the first documents recorded in the

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[47] John Hines Mundy, *Liberty and Political Power in Toulouse, 1050-1230* (New York: University of Columbia Press, 1954), 10.

[48] Freda White, *West of the Rhone: Languedoc, Roussillon, the Massif Central* (London: Faber, 1964), 64; cited in Shirley, trans., *The Song of the Cathar Wars*, 6-7.

[49] Guilhem de Puylaurens claimed that destruction of fortifications by de Montfort was "so that the citizens would not rise against him in the future"; *Chronique*, 92: "Fecitque dirui muros Civitatis et parietes Burgi et equari fossata, et turres domorum fortium destrui infra villam, ut ultra non auderent insurgere contra ipsum et cathenas ex compitis removeri."

[50] Coulson, "Community and Fortress Politics," 80-108. For the examples cited here, see 86-88.

thireenth-century *Grand Talamus* of Montpellier was an instrument of 1207 in which Marie of Montpellier gave the inhabitants permission to destroy the towers, moats, and fortifications of the castle there, adding that in the future no lord should ever rebuild such edifices.[51] This new power over the fortified spaces of the town materially confirmed the consulate's claims to autonomy that had been asserted legally in the town customs, which had been approved just a few years prior (1204-1205).

As this last example illustrates, fortified spaces were the interface between sovereigns and their aristocratic vassals and burgher subjects. The construction, policing, managing, or destruction of such spaces transformed landscapes, but in ways that defined and redefined social relations. As noted in the previous chapter, Brigitte Bedos-Rezak has suggested that images of castles and cities on town seals associated built space with power.[52] On the seal of Raimon VII of Toulouse, the count holds aloft a castle with crenellated towers, which may refer to the Château Narbonnais, the seat of the count in Toulouse (fig. 26).

Fig. 26. Seal of Raimon VII of Toulouse.

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[51] *Inventaires et documents*, 81, no. 622; *Grand talamus*, f. 6v, art. 13.
[52] "Towns and Seals," 46.

The edifice sits where we might expect a *globus cruciger*—symbol of absolute sovereignty—in royal and imperial iconography. If the same visual logic of such images holds here (and there is no reason to think it would not), the count's claim to authority is represented by a fortified *castrum*. The gesture, of course, is also reminiscent of images of church founders or donors, in which they hold aloft an image of the cathedral or chapel they financed. Raimon could therefore have been emphasizing his role as builder, perhaps especially of bastides, where his control of social and spatial relations materially inscribed his will to rule. Such buildings, then, could indeed serve as symbols of power—or even as its agents—in the network of people and things that reflected and mediated seigneurial authority. The social and material relations they enabled facilitated the production of sovereign spaces across southern France.

II. Documentary Practices and Seigneurial Authority

In the previous chapter, I outlined how notariates and town seals—both largely developments of the thirteenth century—expressed urban identity at the same time that they defined urban space. But lords and their agents also utilized these technologies of documentary culture to produce royal or seigneurial spaces. Montpellier provides two excellent examples. This town's notariate was locally controlled from an early date, but in 1282 the seneschal of Beaucaire demanded, among other things, that notaries include in their instruments the clause, "Reigning Philip, king of France."[53] This demand was refused, leading to armed conflict as the seneschal "had his very large armies attack Montpellier, in Nîmes and in Sommières, to take away the lands of

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[53] Jeffrey S. Widmayer, ed. and trans., "The Chronicle of *Montpellier H119*: Text, Translation and Commentary," *The Medieval Chronicle* 4 (2006): 254: "En l'an de .M. e .CC.LXXXII., el mes de jun...entorn Paschas, lo senescalc de Belcaire fes ganres demandas a Montp[es]l[ie]r : demandava las segondas appelacions e que.ls notaris mezesson en lurs cartas «Renhant Phelip, rei de Fransa»." Of the large demands "ganres demandas" made, the only other specified in this chronicle is that citizens not doubt the authenticity of coins from Tours or Paris, no matter how worn down, as long as the image of the tower or the cross that marked them was legible ("sol que hi paregues lo tor[n] o la cros, ab que no[n] falhis").

Montpellier, and he placed guards along the paths and warships in the bay so that no one might bring food or other goods to Montpellier."[54] The conflict was only resolved with the mediation of king of Majorca, the town's sovereign at the time, who had his *baile* intercede on its behalf with with seneschal. By insisting on this regnal clause, the seneschal would ensure that public instruments produced at Montpellier carried with them an expression of French royal power—an expression that would be recited any time the document was presented in suits at court or at any other time requiring written verification of liberties, privileges, testaments, sales of land, and so on. Such clauses audibly inserted a royal presence in the spaces where they were uttered. To include this clause was therefore to suggest French royal sovereignty over the places of documentary production and consumption in Montpellier.

Kings and their agents had seals, too, and sometimes they were used in symbolic contexts against the towns that had only more recently acquired them. In 1325, when the consuls of Montpellier sought to honor the arrival of the archbishop of Narbonne by ringing the bells of Notre-Dame-des-Tables, they found that Guillaume Cervier, royal procurator for the *sénéchaussée* of Beaucaire and Nîmes, had sealed the cords of the bells with the royal French seal.[55] These bells were a symbol of urban pride; their installation was deemed worth recording in the late thirteenth-century Occitan chronicle of the town.[56] When they remained silent on this particular occasion, over a thousand people gathered in the town square as a result. This was part of a protest, supported by Guillaume Cervier, against a tax on the inhabitants of the town imposed by the consuls to defray a grant to the French monarchy. Cervier, allied with the *populares*, was protesting the right of the

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[54] Ibid.: "...e quar hom no[n] volc obezir ad aquelas demandas et ad autras que fazia, ell fes ajustar sas hosts mot grans contra Montp[es]l[ie]r, a Nemse et a Someir, p[er] talar las honors de Montp[es]l[ie]r, e mes gardas els camins e corsiers en l'estanh per so que no[n] pogues hom metre en Montp[es]l[ie]r viandas ni autras cauzas."

[55] Jan Rogoziński, *Power, Caste, and Law: Social Conflict in Fourteenth-Century Montpellier* (Cambridge: The Medieval Academy of America, 1982), 1-2, 11-12, citing Alexandre Germain, *Histoire de la commune de Montpellier*, vol. 1 (Montpellier, 1851), 185, n. 2, where some of the original document is published, but unfortunately not the part referring to the seal. Germain cites A.M.M., Arm. G, Cass. VII, No. 7, which I was unable to consult in person.

[56] Widmayer, ed. and trans., "The Chronicle of *Montpellier H119*, 252: "En l'an de .M. e .CC.LXIIII., lo jorn de Sant Symon e Judas, pojet hom lo sen gros sus en la glieya, e·l sen gros peza .LXX. quintals de net metalh."

consuls to levy the tax, and the event is therefore best understood as royal agents cooperating with popular factions against the oligarchy that controlled the consulate. But Cervier's actions illustrate how seals and sealing practices could be used to structure the experience (and contestation) of lordship in the towns, by disrupting their temporal and spatial rhythms.

In fact, while I suggested in chapter two that the *initial* appearance of town seals in the *Midi* in the early 1200s may or may not have been directly related to royal expansion, the *eventual* impact of French domination in the south can be materially charted in new and altered seals used in the following century. I have mentioned the case of Pézenas, where the earliest extant seal comes from 1303 and depicts a procession of men before a much larger seated figure—the king, seated, crowned, with royal scepter and right hand extended towards those approaching. Fleurs-de-lis float in the field above them.[57] Pézenas was a royal town after its acquisition by Louis IX in 1262, and so its seal reproduced the community as royal dependency, as it participated in the same documentary practices that, as I have argued, produced urban space in medieval Occitània. But Pézenas may not have had a communal seal before its purchase by the crown. Similarly, towns like Réalmont, whose seals prominently feature royal insignia, have left no evidence of seals before the incorporation of Toulouse into the Crown.[58] Najac, on the other hand, had a seal as early as 1243, when it was still attached to the county of Toulouse under Raimon VII. Its obverse showed an image of a castle in brick, with three crenellated towers (not unlike that held by the count on his seal). On the reverse was a large Occitan cross, symbol of regional identity across the *Midi*.[59] But by the time we have evidence of a new seal for the town of Najac in 1303, after the county of Toulouse had become a royal *sénéchaussée*, its iconography has evolved. This one-sided seal bore no trace of the Occitan

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[57] *Corpus des sceaux*, 408.
[58] *Corpus des sceaux*, 429-430. On the obverse is a Virgin and Child atop a hill (*mont*), flanked by two fleurs-de-lis. On the reverse, the field is divided vertically, and the entire right half is filled with the same symbols (balanced on the other side by the *agnus dei*.
[59] Ibid., 366.

cross. It still had the same generic castle, but the edifice is much smaller and, importantly, above each of the three towers is a fleur-de-lis, an image closely associated with French royalty.[60] A symbol of Occitan identity was therefore replaced with the emblem of the French monarchy. Such iconographical additions on material expressions of urban identity and urban space marked both as deriving ultimately from royal authority. The second seal of Najac, in particular, with its fleurs-de-lis floating directly above the castle's towers, reinforced the conceptual association between lordship and fortified space that I have illustrated in this chapter.

The circulation of royal documents similarly projected the king's authority across the territories of Occitània, sometimes even in material ways. This is most apparent in letters of royal safeguard emanating from the royal chancery.[61] Granted to both individuals and corporate bodies, these letters protected their bearers against violence by ensuring that transgressors would be tried before royal courts, whether or not the crimes were committed within the royal domain or were among those offenses that normally reverted to the king's justice. In other words, they were an extension of royal jurisdiction, "a sign and an act of sovereignty by which royal authority could penetrate territories and relationships not otherwise directly under its power."[62] Such letters were read out publically, and when the safeguard applied to a particular bounded space, that area was marked by posts, parchments, or boards bearing the fleur-de-lis.[63] For example, when in 1308 the consuls of the *bourg* of Narbonne received a letter of safeguard for a hospital within their town, they took it to the royal *bayle*, who went to the hospital in the company of the consuls, notaries, and witnesses, and placed what the document calls a *bacculum regis* on its walls. A notary then recorded

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[60] Ibid.
[61] For the royal safeguard, see Frederic Cheyette, "The Royal Safeguard in Medieval France," in Joseph R. Strayer and Donald E. Queller (eds.), *Post Scripta: Essays on Medieval Law and the Emergence of the European State in Honor of Gaines Post* (Rome, 1972), 631-652.
[62] Justine Firnhaber-Baker, "Seigneurial War and Royal Power in Later Medieval Southern France," *Past and Present* 208 (2010): 70.
[63] Cheyette, "The Royal Safeguard in Medieval France," 645-646.

the entire proceeding in a written instrument.[64] In such ways, royal documents travelled through Occitània, were read aloud publically, and often physically marked safeguarded spaces as places of royal authority and jurisdiction within the towns.

Technologies of record-keeping and expanding seigneurial bureaucracies also led to the regular surveilling of a lord's lands, rights, and representatives. Provincial administration in the counties and duchies of southern France was in the hands of salaried officials known as *sénéchaux*, under whom *bayles* or *viguiers* served as even more local agents.[65] These agents of counts and kings, along with others selected on an ad hoc basis, carried out various inquiries or *enquêtes* (other words used are *inquesta*, *inquisitio*, *querela*, *petitiones*, and *querimoniae*). Groups of *enquêteurs* or (when they were out to set right wrongs carried out by royal agents, as originally imagined by Louis IX) *enquêteurs-réformateurs*, regularly peregrinated Occitània. Under the aegis of Alphonse of Poitiers, they visited the Agenais, Quercy, Toulousain, and Auvergne from the opening of the 1250s, in order "to reform the state of the land for the bettering of the common good...and to preserve the inviolate rights of the lord count."[66] In Provence, Charles of Anjou had ordered an *enquête* possibly as early as 1246 (the document conveying his decree is lost), but it was not carried out until 1252.[67] A second survey, ordered by his seneschal for the *baillage* of Castelhana, was made in 1278.[68] In Catalunya, a similar survey—there called a *capbrevació*—was carried out for Jaume II between 1292 and 1294.[69]

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[64] Ibid., 645, citing A.N.P. S4858, no. 49.
[65] Jordan, *Louis IX and the Challenge of the Crusade*, 46. The distinction between a *bayle* and a *viguier* appears to be a regional one and largely meaningless in terms of function and powers. See Édouard Baratier, ed., *Enquêtes sur les droits et revenus de Charles Ier d'Anjou en Provence (1252 et 1278)* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1969), 111-116.
[66] *Layettes*, vol. 3, 240: "statum terre ad communem utilitatem in melius reformare...et jura domini comitis conservare illesa"; Their records are published in Pierre-Fr. Fournier and Pascal Guébin, *Enquêtes administratives d'Alfonse de Poitiers. Arrêts de son parlement tenu à Toulouse et textes annexes. 1249-1271* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1959).
[67] Baratier, ed., *Enquêtes sur les droits et revenus de Charles Ier d'Anjou*, 26-28.
[68] The documents relative to these surveys are published in ibid.
[69] Published in Rodrigue Tréton, ed., *Les* Capbreus *du roi Jacques II de Majorque (1292-1294)*, 2 vols. (Paris: Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques, 2011).

A fragment of the journal of an *enquêteur* of Alphonse de Poitiers relates the usual survey

process. Dated to 1253, it records a decree for a very general reformation of the secular and spiritual

administration of the Agenais, a reformation made necessary not only by the count's recent

acquisition of the county of Toulouse, but also by the region's apparent history of opposition to the

Church:

> Afterwards, we came to Agen and, having sent out public
> announcements throughout the entire diocese of Agen, we set the
> day and place of 6 March at Agen for those wishing to complain of
> the lord count or his men after he had come into possession of the
> land. Since indeed in addition to individual complaints it was pointed
> out to us by noble prelates and other honest persons that many
> things had occurred in the land that led to the disgrace of the
> Christian faith and the oppression of the Church and burdened this
> land, which is sufficiently well-known to us through the evidence, we
> made the ordinance written below, with the advice of good men, on
> account of this great scandal.[70]

The list that follows addresses the excommunications of those suspected or convicted of heresy, the

rights of Jews and lepers, the behavior of *baillis*, clerical privilege, and the building of bastides. It was

read out in the hall of the bishop by the royal *enquêteurs*, among whom numbered at least one

Franciscan.[71] In other words, gathered together in the episcopal palace, the inhabitants of Agen and

its environs heard comital authority proclaimed at the spiritual center of the diocese in the company

of the most recent advocates of the *vita apostolica*, the mendicants. The ordinance itself constrained

local spatial practices; Jews were forbidden to build more synagogues and were restricted to their

homes on Good Friday until church services were completed, while the building of bastides was

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[70] Fournier and Guébin, *Enquêtes administratives d'Alphonse*, 64: "Postea venimus Agennum et, missis
denuntiationibus publicis per totam diocesim Aginnensem, prefiximus diem jovis post Cineres conqueri volentibus
de domino comite vel suis postquam tenuerat terram istam et locum aput Agennum. Cum vero preter querimonias
singulares ostensum esset nobis in genere a prelatis et personis aliis fide dignis quod multa fiebant in terra, que
vergebant in dedecus fidei christiane et oppressionem Ecclesie necnon et ipsius terre generale gravamen, de quibus
nobis satis constitit per rei evidentiam, de bonorum virorum consilio pro tanto scandalo reprimando ordinationem
fecimus infrascriptam, salva domini nostri comitis voluntate."

[71] Ibid., 64-67, on 67: "Acta sunt hec et recitata aput Agennum, in aula domini Aginnensis episcopi..." The
enquêteurs were Jean de Maisons, Pierre Bernard, and the Franciscan Jean de Caseneuve. Also present was another
Franciscan, Phillipe (whose precise role is unclear), and a *magister* Guillaume Foucauldi (that is, a jurist).

banned without the explicit permission of count and consuls.[72] The reading of this proclamation

therefore shaped people's understanding of the way their lord regulated urban spaces. This same

group of officials was apparently tasked with carrying out all *enquêtes* for Agennais, Quercy, and

Toulousain between March and April of 1253: on 13 March, they mediated in a dispute between the

inhabitants of Puymirol, just east of Agen, and the abbey of Saint-Maurin; in either late March or

early April (the document is undated), they oversaw an *enquête* in Montauban and did the same on 16

April at Toulouse.[73] Forming an ensemble of legal and literate experts, no doubt also including

notaries, this group of comital agents defined spaces of lordship through their movements and

public pronouncements.[74]

The troubadour Bonifaci VI of Castelhana recorded the psychological impact of such

seigneurial agents in "*Gerra e trebailh e brega'm plaz*," one of his three surviving *sirventès*, written

probably sometime between 1252 and 1259. For Boniface, who had led a Provençal rebellion against

Charles of Anjou in 1248 and would again at Marseille in 1262, these men represented an

undesirable foreign presence:

> E enoia.m qar avocatz
> vei annar ab tan gran arda
> e pesa.m conseilhs de prelatz,
> qar anc home non vi jausir,
> qar qi son dreit lur aporta
> ill dion q'aiço es nientz,
> q'es del comte tot veiramenz.[75]

> [And it annoys me when I see lawyers come in such a great
> entourage. And the counsels of prelates bother me,for they have

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[72] On the rights of the inhabitants of Agen to build bastides, see the *Costuma d'Agen*, Agen MS 42, ff. 56-56v.

[73] Fournier and Guébin, *Enquêtes administratives d'Alphonse*, 67-72.

[74] Similarly, Gaël Chenard has concluded, "Les enquêteurs ne sont que la réponse pragmatique à la crise de croissance des domaines capétiens: puisque le prince est absent, il doit au moins témoigner de sa présence symbolique." See her "Les enquêtes administratives dans les domaines d'Alphonse de Poitiers," in *Quand gourverner c'est enquêter. Les pratiques politiques de l'enquête princière (occident, XIIIe-XIVe siècles)*. Actes du colloque international d'Aix-en-Provence et Marseille, 19-21 mars 2009 (Paris: De Boccard, 2010), 157-168, with quote on 168.

[75] The *sirventès* is published alongside a French translation in Martin Aurell, *La vielle et l'épee. Troubadours et politique en Provence au XIIIe siècle* (Paris: Aubier Montaigne, 1989), 271-273, but see also 195-196 for the historical context.

never pleased anyone. When one has proven his right, they say that it
means nothing, for truly everything belongs to the Count.]

Bonifaci's dislike of these legal and clerical agents stemmed from their status as extensions of the

authority of the French prince, to whom they gave legitimacy. When he spoke of their affirmation of

comital *dreit*, he was describing the suits regularly brought before the count's *enquêteurs*, seneschals,

and their retinues as they travelled throughout Provence and, in particular, their assertion of Roman

law where custom had previously held sway. These were members of a new clerical, literate elite, the

class of *literati* that R.I. Moore famously called attention to in his study of medieval persecution.[76]

Indeed, Bonifaci echoed formal complaints made by the nobility just years earlier in Aragon, where

they decried the imposition of foreign law and the multitude of Roman lawyers—legists and

decretalists—in royal courts.[77] Like the kings of Aragon, Charles invoked concepts of Roman law

such as *merum imperium* when he (or rather, his agents) pressed his rights in these proceedings.[78] They

therefore denoted spaces where new formulations of lordship and sovereignty were being made and

contested. And there is evidence that they were indeed contested. The villagers of Tautevel,

apparently wary of what Jaume II's *capbrevació* might portend when the *procuratores* visited in January

of 1293, insisted that their village's customs (*consuetudines*) be included among the testimonies,

perhaps the first time they were written down; in the final, bound form of the *capbreu*, they are the

penultimate item.[79] Interestingly, there is evidence that medieval communities far from Roussillon

reacted similarly when surveyed. The inhabitants of Chester, for example, provided their unasked for

customs, never before written down, during the Domesday survey in England.[80]

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[76] R.I. Moore, *The Formation of a Persecuting Society: Authority and Deviance in Western Europe 950-1250*, 2nd ed. (Malden: Blackwell, 2007), esp. 128-132, 144-147, and 166-169.

[77] Fancy, "Theologies of Violence": 53.

[78] Baratier, ed., *Enquêtes*, 50.

[79] Tréton, ed., *Les* Capbreus *du roi*, 96: "Hec sunt consuetudines castri de Taltavolio que sunt inter omnes homines predicti castri et domini regis Majoricarum, scilicet..."

[80] Carol Symes, "The Desire of Deeds: Sensuality, Nostalgia, and the Affective Effects of Medieval Documentation" (presentation, Eisenberg Institute for Historical Studies, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI,

In fact Édouard Baratier has identified Bonifaci's complaint as an explicit reference to the comital agents sent by Charles of Anjou throughout Provence for his surveys of 1252.[81] These mobile congregations produced and sustained spaces of comital authority at the expense, so Bonifaci believed, of the local aristocracy. Their passage symbolically marked Provence as within his jurisdictional reach. It is no coincidence, moreover, that Bonfifaci's complaint comes in a *sirventès* devoted to war, to which fortified spaces were crucial. As military outposts, castles were essential to the private warfare that characterized the chivalrous life of the nobility. They were also one of the major categories surveyed by Charles' *enquêteurs* in Provence. While no record of his mandate for the *enquêtes* of 1262 has survived, rights attached to castles are listed throughout the survey. Moreover, a letter from the seneschal of Provence to his *bayles* for the *enquête* of Castellane in 1278 explicitly orders an investigation of "how many castles are held and which are in your jurisdiction."[82] In other words, the ways Roman law impacted royal jurisdiction clustered in many ways around the *castra* that dotted the landscape.

III. The *Capbreus* of Jaume II of Majorca

In northern Catalunya, documents indicating the way such surveys were both carried out and imagined have been remarkably preserved. Between September 1292 and February 1294, a convoy of royal officials made several trips to the villages around Perpignan, where Jaume II held court as king of Majorca. As representatives of the *Procuratio regie comitatuum Rossilionis et Ceritanie* (royal administration of the counties of Roussillon and Cerdagne), an institution that had developed in the second half of the thirteenth century to manage the royal patrimony of the king of Majorca, their

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October 1, 2015). This will receive further attention in her current book project: *The Mediated Text: Documentary Initiatives and Their Agents in Medieval Europe*.

[81] Baratier, ed., *Enquêtes*, 24-25.

[82] Baratier, ed., *Enquêtes*, 417: "Item quot castra et que in juridictione vestra et que tere tenentur ad castrorum reparationem et ad quam reparationem."

goal was a systematic accounting of all royal lands and tenants. The resulting eight surveys—or

capbreus, as they are known in Catalan—were collected and copied sometime between 1296 and 1302

into two illuminated volumes, which provide a wealth of information about the social, economic,

and environmental history of Roussillon.[83] The sworn statements of 1,324 individuals reveal land use

patterns, systems of tenure, personal status, and even the ways families and communities were

organized. The *capbreu*, then, was a genre of document that facilitated seigneurial exploitation. The

capbreus of Jaume II, surveys of lands held from the king in Roussillon and the regalian rights

attached to them, might appear (following Lefebvre) to be royal representations of space conceived

in the service of the state, plotted by legal and notarial experts. Perhaps unique among thirteenth-

and fourteenth-century land surveys, however, the *capbreus* do not conceal, but rather flaunt, the

productive forces and performative elements by which they were realized. The *capbreus* display both

the scribal production of the documents collected and the social acts that those documents record.

This was accomplished, I will now argue, by the illuminated miniatures on the first page of each

capbreu, miniatures that illustrate a distinctly royal spatial imaginary.

First, however, one must recall the political background.[84] Jaume II had inherited the

Balearics, the lordship of Montpellier, and the counties of Roussillon and Cerdagne upon the death

of his father, Jaume I of Aragon, in 1276. This was to form a kingdom separate from that of his

elder brother, Pere III, who received Aragon, Valencia, and those parts of Catalunya west of the

Pyrenees. But Pere immediately sought to make his brother's realm a dependency of Aragon.

Humiliating obligations (such as having to attend parliaments of the count of Barcelona) and

restrictions (on minting his own money in Roussillon, for example) culminated in a treaty of 1279

made at Perpignan, in which Jaume was forced to acknowledge that he was vassal of the Crown of

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[83] Tréton, *Les* Capbreus *du roi.*
[84] What follows is derived largely from David Abulafia, *A Mediterranean Emporium: The Catalan kingdom of Majorca* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 9-12.

Aragon, albeit one with a regnal title and extensive jurisdictional rights. Events some years later, however, provided Jaume with an opportunity to escape Aragonese overlordship. Pere, who had a claim to the Kingdom of Sicily through his wife, was offered the island by its inhabitants after their revolt against Charles of Anjou in 1282—a rebellion known as the Sicilian Vespers. Eager to extend the reach of Aragon into the Mediterranean, he travelled to Palermo and was crowned by popular acclamation in the cathedral on 4 September. Charles, however, was at the time the papacy's strong right hand in Italy, and Pope Martin IV responded by excommunicating Pere and declaring a crusade against him. The forces of Philip the Bold of France and his son, Charles of Valois, to whom the pope had granted Aragon and Valencia, marched on Catalunya in 1284. Jaume enthusiastically gave his support and allowed them passage through Roussillon, but the Aragonese Crusade failed; military defeat and an epidemic of dysentery destroyed the French forces, and Philip himself died of the latter at Perpignan in October of 1285. Aragonese retaliation was swift. Pere attacked Perpignan and nearly managed to capture his hapless brother. His son, Alfonso III, had captured the Balearics by 1287. Jaume would not hold them again until 1295, as a result of a papally supported settlement in which he once again acknowledged the lordship of the Aragonese king.[85]

Thus, when royal administrators surveyed Roussillon lands from 1292 to 1294 Jaume II retained only Roussillon, Cerdagne, and the town of Montpellier. Deprived of the naval and economic benefits of the Balearics, he was ever more dependent on maximizing the income derived from his mainland holdings and keen to reestablish his authority there. While it is unclear if the immediate impetus for the *capbreus* came from the king himself or from his administrators, it is likely that the surveys and the manuscripts produced from them facilitated these ends. A particularly powerful visual expression of royal authority would therefore serve to re-establish the king's sovereign claims within his progressively diminished jurisdictions.

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[85] The return of the islands was one stipulation of the treaty of Anagni (12 June 1295); Joseph F. O'Callaghan, *A History of Medieval Spain* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1975), 398.

The Latin phrase *caput breve* (from which *capbreu* derives) first appears in Catalan charters of the twelfth century. By the second half of the thirteenth century, the word *capbreu* had come to denote a specific type of seigneurial inventory—that which surveyed a lord's lands and tenants, and which took the form of a book or register. The process by which these registers were achieved was termed *capbrevatio* (Catalan: *capbrevació*).[86] One such survey was carried out in Prats del Rey in 1298, and its record includes a brief summary of survey methods. Tenants were summoned to a public setting, often a church porch, where they stood before a delegation of administrators assisted by the local *batlle* (a local magistrate, akin to the French *viguier* or *bailli*) and a notary.[87] Each would present for review the written titles to any lands held from their lord. Boundary disputes would be resolved by a visual inspection and appeal to venerable local elders—the surveys thus relied on local knowledge, and inhabitants might have their claims contested by others. With their records examined, the head of each family swore on the Evangelists that he or, sometimes, she would tell the truth concerning lands held from the lord and the rents (in cash or in kind) or services (*corvées*) owed in return. These public acknowledgements were recorded by the notary.[88]

We cannot know precisely how closely this method was followed by the *Procuratio regie* in the surveys of 1292-1294, but much of it fits with evidence gleaned from the *capbreus*. After arriving in each village, we may imagine, the royal procurator, a jurist, several scribes, and the *batlle* of the vicinity would install themselves in a public place—the village square or church porch. A public crier would summon the inhabitants, and they would there go through the steps outlined above. In the *capbreu* of Prats del Rey, tenants are said to have sworn by oath (*sacramentum*) to the veracity of

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[86] Tréton, *Les* Capbreus *du roi*, vol. 1, xxxii.
[87] On the figure of the *batlle*, see Pere Benito i Monclús, "Agents du pouvoir ou entrepreneurs ruraux? Les intermédiaires de la seigneurie en Catalogne médievalé, essor et déclin," in *Les élites rurales dans l'Europe médiévale et moderne*, ed. François Menant and Jean-Pierre Jessenne (Toulouse: Presses Universitaires du Mirail, 2007), 111-127.
[88] Tréton, *Les* Capbreus *du roi*, vol. 1, xxxii-xxxiv, citing A.D.P.O., 1J156, the *capbreu* of one *Berengarius Çolivera, comendator domus Sancti Michaelis de Pratos*.

their claims.[89] The acts of the 1292-1294 surveys often begin with the formula *Noverint universi quod* [tenant's name] *dixit et confessus fuit*, usually adding *per juramentum*. Others instead read *per juramentum recognovit*. Tenants then listed the lands held and rents or services owed. Each written instrument ends with a dating clause, a list of witnesses (usually the other members of the *Procuratio* who were present), and a scribal signature.

The public and performative aspects of this process cannot be stressed enough, and are represented thoroughly in the rectangular miniatures at the head of the first page of five of the seven surviving *capbreus* (figs. 26-28).[90] Below the top margin, these miniatures extend the entire width of the space ruled for text (258-268 mm) and take up in height approximately one-fifth to one-quarter (70-86 mm) of that space. Each is divided into three roughly equal segments with backgrounds of alternating red and blue, the contents of which remain relatively static across *capbreus* and together illustrate one important step in the survey process. Reading from left to right, in the first segment the king sits in majesty, adorned with the symbols of his rule: the crown, scepter, and orb. In the second, middle segment, stand one or two men, witnesses to the act taking place to the right. A kneeling figure, the tenant, sometimes appears in this middle segment and other times is seen at the intersection with the final segment. He (or, in one case, she) is shown turned towards the *procurator regis* who will adjudicate: the suppliant is depicted on one knee, placing a hand on the Gospels held in the outstretched hand of the seated official. Within the frame created by these two figures and their outstretched arms, directly beneath the Gospels, sits a scribe bearing the instruments of his trade.

The subject of each miniature, then, is undoubtedly the ritual oath recorded in the instrument that immediately follows. In that heading the *capbreu* of Tautavel (fig. 27), which would

[89] Ibid., xxxii, n. 37.

[90] Tréton writes that the first folio of the *capbreu* of Estagel, where we would expect to find another miniature, was ripped out sometime before 1868, while a rectangular space traced in plummet at the head of the *capbreu* of Claira attests to an envisioned but unrealized illumination; Ibid., xxii, n. 11.

have originally introduced the first of two volumes, the piece of parchment held by the scribe

fittingly contains the words *Noverint universi* ("Let it be known to all"), the beginning of the opening

formula for almost all written instruments copied within.[91] Here, it serves as a visual indicator of the

beginning of the entire two-volume collection. The same pictorial type is used in the miniatures

heading the *capbreus* of Millas, Collioure, Argelès, and Saint-Laurent-de-la-Salanque. In these,

however, the piece of parchment is inscribed with the (often abbreviated) names of the first tenant

mentioned in the act copied immediately below: Joan, Porrassa, Amatus, and Guilelmus Jausberti,

respectively.[92] In the miniature for Millas, moreover, the illuminator has depicted the kneeling figure

as a woman because the first act documents the testimony of one Esclarmonde, *uxor quondam*

Johannis Segerii. Confusingly, while the decision to represent a woman keeps the image true to the act

recorded below it, it is her dead husband, Joan Seguier, who is given a kind of documentary

precedence, for his is the name written on the document held by the scribe. In fact, this detail

reveals just how accurately the illuminator tried to represent the scene, for while Esclarmonde

herself testified before the procurator, she did so concerning the holdings of her late husband and

their living son.[93] The visual narrative thus makes sense only when cross-referenced with the written

instrument below it. All of this points to the meticulous care with which the manuscripts and their

illuminations were produced.

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[91] Alternatively, an act sometimes begins with "Notum sit cunctis..."

[92] A.D.P.O. 1B34, f. 1, A.D.P.O. 1B29, f. 1, where the tenant's full name is *Raymundus Porrassa de Cauquolibero*.
A.D.P.O. 1B30, f. 1, reading *Amatus* where Tréton (*Les* Capbreus *du roi*, vol. 1, xxvii) reads *Arnaldus*, and A.D.P.O.
B33, f. 1.

[93] Tréton, *Les* Capbreus *du roi*, vol. 1, 201: "Notum sit cunctis quod Sclaramunda, uxor quondam Johannis Segerii,
jurata recognovit...quod Petrus Segerii, filius suus, et dicti mariti sui quondam tenet pro dicto domino..."

Fig. 27. *Cabreu* of Tautavel. A.D.P.O. 1B31, f. 1. Photo: author.

Such attentiveness obliges the reader to take an even closer look at the miniatures and what they do. Again, the first subject encountered is the enthroned figure of the king. The architectural framing of this segment—a trilobed arch, the uppermost arc of which is cut off in some of the miniatures—suggests that the artist imagined him on the throne at his royal palace (although the palace at Perpignan in fact has no trilobed arches). It visually distinguishes the subject of this segment as separate in space from the action to the right. In only two of the miniatures, those for Tautavel and Collioure, does the king sit full face, in majesty. These are also the only two instances in which he is shown with an ermine-lined cloak fastened by a quatrefoil brooch. They are therefore the most formal of royal images found in the miniatures, and it is worth remembering that these two *capbreus* each began one of the two original manuscript volumes. Upon opening either manuscript, the reader was presented with an image of the king at his most regal and sovereign, an image that recalls long-established types, as seen, for example, in the portrait of Otto III in the dedicatory

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miniature of his (much more sumptuously decorated) gospel book of c. 998.[94] Like Otto, Jaume here sits within an architectural framework and even wears a tunic of purple, although of a much lighter shade. Roughly the same visual formula is encountered on royal seals in the kingdom of Majorca and throughout medieval Europe.[95] Jaume's own seal, preserved on a document dated 29 June 1298, shows him seated in majesty holding an orb in his left hand and, in his right, a sword that lies across his lap.[96] In the miniatures of the *capbreus*, such depictions of the king can be said to function like a seal, in a way similar to the depiction of Count Alfons in the Toulousan cartulary discussed in chapter two.

Other slightly different visual types were used as well, and these emphasize the king's involvement with the proceedings. In the Millas and Saint-Laurent-de-la-Salanque miniatures, the king sits so that his body faces forward but his head turns three-quarters to the left, as if he has noticed the action taking place there. In the latter image (fig. 28), one of the witnesses in the central segment looks back at the king but points towards the tenant and procurator, as if drawing his attention to them. The illuminator has even rotated his left foot in that direction and the king appears about to step off the throne towards the figures. In the Argelès miniature, by contrast, the king's entire body is turned three-quarters and he sits with arms and legs crossed, clearly now an interested observer of the scene (fig. 29). Although the king was obviously separated by some distance from the *capbrevació* at the time it was carried out, the structure of the miniature allows the royal gaze to extend into the villages surveyed.

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[94] Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 4453, fol. 24.

[95] On French royal seals *de majesté* see Louis Douët-d'Arcq, *Collection des sceaux*, vol. 1, xxxviii-xliii.

[96] Ibid., vol. 3, no. 11237, also described by M. Natalis de Wailly, *Eléments de Paléographie* (Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1838), vol. 2, 141-142. An image of the seal may be found in Walter de Gray Birch, *Seals* (London: Meuthun and Co., 1907), plate LI, no. 1.

Fig. 28. *Cabreu* of Saint-Laurent-de-la-Salanque. A.D.P.O., 1B33, f. 1. Photo: author.

Fig. 29. *Capbreu* of Argelès, detail. A.D.P.O. 1B30, f. 1. Photo: author.

Tréton, in a description of these illuminations in his edition of the *capbreus*, relegates the king to an essentially non-participatory role:

> Isolée dans son compartiment, la figure hiératique du roi est là pour
> signifier une présence purement symbolique. Le roi ne prend pas part
> à l'action dont il n'est que le témoin distant, mais dans certains cas
> attentif, depuis une salle du palais royale. L'action se déroule dans les

To my mind, this unduly limits our understanding of what the manuscripts' producers wished to accomplish. Throughout the series of miniatures, a variety of visual strategies in addition to the king's posture and gaze draw the royal figure into the action of next two segments. It is true that most of the witnesses in the middle segment, dressed in a variety of clothing styles, are posed so as to lead the eye to the right. However, I have already mentioned the witness who points to the right while looking back over his shoulder at the king. Another in the Tautavel miniature observes the swearing scene but points back at the king. The royal figure is not distant and unseen, but rather noticed and acknowledged by participants in the ritual act. This effect is heightened by certain elements of the final segment. The color of the background (matching that in the first segment) and the seated figure of the *procurator* give the miniatures a certain symmetry. The *procurator* sits facing left upon a stool that is visually similar, in color or style, to the king's throne. While in one hand he holds the Gospels, his other hand always points back to the left. The eye, far from directed unilaterally to the right, is encouraged by these visual cues (subject's gaze, pointing hands) to sweep back and forth across the miniature, visually collapsing the space between ruler and ruled, between the king and the ritual acts that link his subjects to him in patterns of dependency.

The treatment of the scribe in each miniature highlights his vital authenticating role in these documentary performances. Sitting upon a smaller stool than that of the procurator, he faces left and holds a pen and sheet of parchment, as described above. In the Argelès miniature, he cuts his quill with a small knife in preparation for the work, while in that of Saint-Laurent-de-la-Salanque he points at the name on the page and glances back at the *procurator*, as if confirming its accuracy. The outstretched arms of the tenant and *procurator* frame him neatly beneath a depiction of the Gospels, shown as a parchment bearing the names of the four Evangelists. Such a framing points to an

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[97] *Les* Capbreus *du roi*, vol. 1, xxv.

importance that belies the figure's diminutive size and follows from documentary practice, in which written instruments were invalid without the signature of notary or public scribe. His presence in the miniatures is thus a visual confirmation of the authenticity of the *capbreus*.

The artist's decision to position and frame him in such a manner, however, deserves further scrutiny. In posture he generally mimics the *procurator* seated to his right, firmly associating him with the royal agent. More importantly, however, the Gospels directly above him imparts a kind of sacral quality to his labor. One recalls that medieval manuscript illuminators often represented the Evangelists themselves as scribes in similar positions (seated, with scribal implements) in portraits that preceded their texts.[98] In the *capbreus*, the illuminators may have viewed the moment of the oath as an opportunity to visually glorify the documentary process and the resulting manuscript by associating it with the work of the Evangelists. They encouraged the reader to think about the relationship between scribal production and scriptural text by putting written instrument and Gospel book (each of which is depicted as a single piece of parchment) in close juxtaposition.

Indeed, each miniature may be understood as a complex image that elaborates on the manufacture and meaning of the *capbreu* as a textual artifact. It does this even though the device is not apparent until the reader's eye has run the course of the miniature from left to right and encountered the scribe and his parchment. This may be clearer if we now follow the visual logic of a single miniature—that of Saint-Laurent-de-la-Salanque—as a reader would have encountered it (fig. 28). Jaume II in majesty glances to the right under a trilobed arch. His legs and feet position him as about to turn in that direction. This narratological metalepsis directs us beyond the architectural framework that circumscribes the king. Following his gaze, we find a witness looking back at him and pointing further to the right. Past him, the posture of another witness directs the reader to the extreme right side of the miniature, where kneeling tenant and seated procurator hold up the

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[98] See my discussion of evangelist portraits in the the *Livre juratoire* of Agen in chapter two, above.

Gospels. Under this sits a scribe with parchment bearing the name of the tenant whose testimony is recorded in the instrument reproduced directly below. The scribe points to the name and looks up at the procurator, who points back in the direction of the king. The image as a whole depicts a single, early moment in the process that would result in the manufacture of the manuscript, but it does so in a way that acknowledges multiple levels of agency: royal, administrative, scribal, and tenant. As in author portraits preceding manuscript texts, all parties involved in the production of the written word were to be represented.[99] Even the witnesses are given a full rendering, for they are required participants in the public documentary process of the *capbrevació*. The miniature might be considered an author portrait in a work for which authorship is multiple and fragmented. Hence visual strategies were employed in order to draw the reader-viewer's eye back and forth across the bounded, rectangular space. Meanwhile, the position of the scribe makes a truth-claim for the capbreus by encouraging scriptural comparisons (as the four Evangelists witnessed and recorded, so too does this scribe) and suggesting a divine assurance of accuracy and authenticity (effected by the oath upon the Gospels above his head).

These miniatures illustrate that not just urban leaders (as I have shown in the previous chapter) but princes and their agents too participated in a visual discourse of authority and authenticity in the manuscripts that reinforced their social and political claims. And the *capbreus* were not the only textual assemblages preceded by illuminations of royal authority in medieval Europe; just like the full-page miniature of king and peers prefacing the Procès de Robert d'Artois, each miniature "constructs an ideal social space that articulates royal power."[100] It visually reproduced the

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[99] Elizabeth Sears, "The Afterlife of Scribes: Swicher's Prayer in the Prüfening Isidore," in *Pen in Hand: Medieval Scribal Portraits, Colophons and Tools*, ed. Michael Gullick (London: The Red Gull Press, 2006), 84: "An illuminator creating a double author portrait—or any form of group portrait preceding a text—was faced with the delicate task of conveying the relative stature and status of all the various individuals implicated in its production: these included author, editor, secretary, continuator, translator, commentator, scribe and original and subsequent patrons and dedicatees."

[100] Anne D. Hedeman, "Performing Documents and Documenting Performance in the *Procès de Robert d'Artois* (BnF, MS fr. 18437) and Charles V's *Grandes Chroniques de France* (BnF, MS fr. 2813)," in *The Social Life of*

single moment in which sovereign and subject "met" through the mediation of royal agents, notaries, and the textual artifacts that linked them, and it authenticated the collection of documents for which it supplied a pictorial preface. It constructed a memory of the process and, importantly, the king's active role in it.

IV. Conclusions: Producing a Space of Lordship

The king's encompassing gaze in the miniatures of the *capbreus* illustrates how the spatial practices of royal *procuratores* and, elsewhere, *enqueteurs*—traversing lands sometimes quite far from the sovereign himself—manufactured his presence. In the context of spatial theory, the illuminations together with the textual assemblage might provide examples of all three elements of the production of space *à la* Lefebvre; as the movements of his agents communicated royal authority and presence (spatial practices), their surveys mapped and diagrammed the lands through which they passed (representations of space), while their dependence on local knowledge and, indeed, the insistence by at least some inhabitants to include their local customs means that their records come close to recording spaces as they were actually lived (representational spaces). But the miniatures of the *capbreus* fit more easily into the framework of space as it relates to power outlined by Said. They illustrate an imagined geography of Roussillon that produced and maintained a royal identity by insisting on the subordinate identity of his subjects, who kneel before his representative.

Across the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, then, expanding sovereign jurisdictions where imagined and created in the spaces of southern France. These new royal claims were made materially manifest both in the delegations of legal experts that surveyed rights, lands, and obligations and in the persistent building campaigns of towns and castles, which served not so much military aims as the territorialization of sovereignty—places where heraldric arms geographically

marked urban centers as seigneurial and where Jews could find the refuge that derived from and affirmed their status as embodiments of the sovereign exception. In the miniatures of his *capbreus*, Jaume II looks out from his arcaded palace-fortress at the royal agents, notaries, documents, codices, and witnesses that in combination ritually inscribed his authority in an imagined geography that acknowledged the king in his castle as its central node. And yet, while such idealized spaces may have made him (in the expresssion of Anselm Turmeda with which I began this chapter) "worthy of being a lord," they were in some ways fictions that obscured the negotiations of power characterizing these surveys, as demonstrated by the insistence of the inhabitants of Tautavel to include a transcription of their local customs. Spaces of lordship were thus characterized by the indeterminancy of social relations that resisted hegemonic attempts to fix them in time and space.

Chapter 4

Reshaping Imagined Geographies: Mendicant Landscapes in the *Midi*

For Jacques Le Goff, foremost among the defining characteristics of medieval towns in

France was the presence of one or more mendicant houses.[1] These new religious orders of the

thirteenth century included, most notably, the Franciscans and Dominicans, but also the Carmelites,

Servites, and Augustinians. Patterns of settlement show an unmistakable preference for dense urban

centers when possible, where the friars responded to new spiritual needs that resulted from

economic and demographic growth.[2] The link between urbanization and the expansion of these

mendicant orders, moreover, was for Le Goff both more pronounced in the south of France than in

the north and particularly manifest in the history of the Dominicans.[3] This Order of Preachers (*Ordo*

praedicatorum), founded by Dominic of Osma at Toulouse in the second decade of the thirteenth

century, spread quickly to towns throughout southern France and the rest of Europe. Formed

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[1] Jacques Le Goff, "Apostolat mendiant et fait urbain dans la France médiévale: L'implantation des ordres mendiants: Programme-questionnaire pour une enquête," *Annales: Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 23 (1968): 335-352; on 337: "La carte urbaine de la France médiévale et la carte des couvents mendiants coïncident, c'est-à-dire: *a)* Pas de couvent mendiant en dehors d'une agglomération urbaine; *b)* Pas de centre urbain sans un couvent mendiant." See also idem, "Apostolat mendiant et fait urbain : l'implantation géographique et sociologique des ordres mendiants (XIIIᵉ-XVᵉ siècles)," *Revue d'Histoire de l'Église de France* 54 (1968): 69-76; idem, "Enquête sur implantation des ordres mendiants et fait urbain dans la France médiévale," *Annales: Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 24 (1969): 833; idem, "Ordres mendiants et urbanisation dans la France médiévale," *Annales: Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 25 (1970): 924-946; idem, "Le dossier des mendiants," in *1274 – Année charnière. Mutations et continuités. Lyon-Paris, 30 septembre-5 octobre 1974(* Paris: Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1977), 211-222.

[2] In addition to the works of Le Goff, see Lester K. Little, *Religious Poverty and the Profit Economy in Medieval Europe* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1978), as well as C.H. Lawrence, *The Friars: The Impact of the Mendicant Orders on Medieval Society* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2013), esp. 102-126 on "The Mission to the Towns."

[3] Le Goff, "France du nord et France du midi dans l'implantation des ordres mendiants au XIIIᵉ siècle (Résumé)," *Les mendiants en pays d'Oc au XIIIe siècle, Cahiers de Fanjeaux* 8 (1973), 133-140; idem, "Apostolat mendiant et fait urbain," *Annales* 23: 341, where he asks if the Dominicans might be the only order for which the pattern holds true.

explicitly to spread the orthodox faith and combat heresy, it fostered an engagement with urban and secular communities hitherto unrealized; before the arrival of the mendicants, one historian has suggested, most people had rarely heard a sermon.[4]

The urban environments to which these orders came, however, were not spiritual vacuums; many parish churches were dependents of powerful nearby monastic houses, while well-established (if sometimes weak) cathedral and other secular clergy directed religious practice. Local apostolic traditions had long ago spawned popular cults of saints, such as those of Sernin in Toulouse, Mary Magdalene at Marseille, and John the Baptist at Perpignan. Mendicants had to incorporate urban historical traditions that often claimed an ancient and illustrious sacred past. They were entering spaces that had accrued meaning over the course of the centuries as part of dialectical relationship between material urban form and the discursive goals of urban citizens or their adversaries.[5] Focused intensely on pastoral care—preaching in town squares, for example, or administering to the dying in their homes—the mendicants had to either compete with or adapt the imagined geographies of urban inhabitants in order to create a place for themselves in these towns.

This chapter focuses on the various ways such goals were achieved by Dominicans in southern France in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The region was heavily urbanized and had a noted ancient and apostolic past. Toulouse especially, on which much of this analysis centers, offered the friars a particularly heretical (and yet spiritually promising) landscape to reshape with the cult of Saint Sernin, and they policed the boundaries of the community of the faithful in ways that had significant impact on urban spaces. Similar, if less dramatic, efforts surrounded their appropriation of the history of Mary Magdalene in Provence and the cult of John the Baptist in Perpignan. All three of the Dominican convents to be discussed—Toulouse, Saint-Maximin and its associated shrine at Sainte-Baume, and Perpignan—were originally situated in the Dominican

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[4] Lawrence, *The Friars*, 119.
[5] See above, chapter one.

province of Provence, which encompassed much of what is now southern France. In the course of establishing these convents and the networks of patronage that supported them, the friars appropriated or reoriented extant sacred landscapes, making use of the history, relics, or shrines of popular saints and creating new devotional possibilities for inhabitants. The imagined geographies they shaped—both textually and materially—generated new urban and religious identities for inhabitants, Dominicans, and royal dynasties.

I. "The mother of heresy and the head of errors": Heterodoxy in Toulouse

The Dominican order, like the Franciscan, was from the very beginning a product of the towns. Dominic himself began his evangelical career in the towns of Languedoc, where he and others preached against dualist heretics while espousing a similar ascetic lifestyle. Later friars recognized and acknowledged the importance of the towns to their pastoral and apostolic mission. According to Humbert of Romans, Master General of the Dominicans from 1254 to 1263, such places expressly benefitted from preaching, for which he cited scriptural and hagiographical precedents.[6] Cities had both more people and more sins, he claimed in his *De eruditione praedicatorum*, citing Psalms 55:9 ("I have seen iniquity and contradiction in the city."). Preaching was thus more efficacious if carried out in urban milieux because it reached more people, and more of the people who required it most—"the need is greater," as Humbert put it.[7]

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[6] *Humberti de Romanis de Eruditione Praedicatorum* II: *Maxima Biblioteca Veterum Patrum*, ed. M. de Bigne XXV (Lyons, 1677), p. 491: "Notandum, quod Dominus mittens prophetas in mundum, frequentius misit eos in ciuitatem, quam ad loca minora, ut Hierusalem: Ninive: Babiloniam, sicut patet ex scripturis. Item ipsemet veniens, frequentius praedicabat in ciuitatibus, quam alibi, sicut patet consideranti Histo. Euangelicam. Vnde Lucae 8. Et ipse iter faciebat per ciuitates & castella, praedicans, & Euangelizans regnum Dei. Item Apostoli, & discipuli frequentius praedicabant in ciuitatibus quam in aliis locis, sicut patet ex historia & ex legendis Sanctorum."

[7] Ibid.: "Rationes autem quare sic faciendum est, sunt istae: in ciuitatibus sunt plures, quam in aliis locis, & ideo melius est ibi praedicare, quam alibi, sicut melius est facere eleemosynam pluribus, quam paucioribus. Item ibi sunt plura peccata de quibus Psalm. Vidi iniquitatem, & contradictionem in ciuitate. In quo notantur sex genera peccatorum valde grauia, & ideo magis est ibi praedicandum, quia maior est necessitas: maioribus enim periculis magis est obuiandum."

This perceived need could have been no greater than in thirteenth-century Toulouse, for that

town had long been known throughout Europe (whether deservingly or not) as a den of iniquity. In

his *Historia Francorum*, Gregory of Tours had included a short account of the martyrdom of the

town's patron saint, Sernin, adding that when he was abandoned by two Toulousan priests he prayed

"that this church never to the end of time merit having a bishop chosen from its own citizens."

"And we know," Gregory interpolated, "that it has been so in this city up to the present time."[8]

Gregory, who was so instrumental in associating Saint Martin's legacy with the community of

Tours,[9] thus withheld the heritage of Saint Sernin from the inhabitants of Toulouse. In the eleventh

and twelfth centuries, moreover, the town began to develop a reputation as a hotbed of heretical

activity. Manicheans were discovered there and killed in 1022, according to Adhemar of

Chabannes.[10] In 1145, Bernard of Clairvaux visited to preach against the heresiarch Henri of Le

Mans.[11] By 1178, Henri de Marcy, another Cistercian abbot, had been sent to Toulouse to investigate

rumors that this "city of a very great multitude" was "the mother of heresy and the head of errors."[12]

In an open letter *ad omnes Christi fideles*, he said that he found a city thoroughly diseased, "from the

soles of its feet to the top of its head":

> There heretics ruled among the people and dominated among the
> clergy, because as with the people, so with the priests, and the life of
> the shepherd was shaping the ruin of the flock. Heretics were
> speaking, and all marveled. A Catholic was speaking and they said,
> "Who is this?" reduced to stupefaction and amazement if there was
> anyone among them who dared to even mutter something of the
> word of the faith. Meanwhile, the plague prevailed in the land,
> because not only did they make their own priests and pontiffs, but

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[8] Boudartchouk and Arramond, "Le souvenir du *Capitolium*," 33: "…ut nunquam haec Ecclesia de his civibus mercatur habere pontificem in sempiternum. Quod usque nunc iu ipsa civitate ita evenisse cognovimus[.]"

[9] See Sharon Farmer, *Communities of Saint Martin: Legend and Ritual in Medieval Tours*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991), 26-28.

[10] Adhemar of Chabannes, *Chronicon*, ed. Pascale Bourgain, Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio Mediaevalis 129 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999), 180.

[11] Bernard of Clairvaux, *Sancti Bernardi Opera VIII: Epistolae*, ed. Jean Leclerq and H. Rochais (Rome: Editions Cistercienses, 1977), Ep. 241, 125-127.

[12] *PL* 204, col. 236: "…urbem adire Tolosam, quae sicut erat civitas maximae multitudinis, ita etiam dicebatur mater haeresis et caput erroris."

they also had preachers, who forged new Gospels for them after corrupting and canceling evangelical truth and preached from their heart a wicked, recent doctrine to the seduced people.[13]

Throughout this epistle, Henri used a variety of animal images (snakes, foxes, fallow deer, leopards and wild beasts) commonly associated with heretics and false doctrines by biblical commentators and encyclopedists.[14] Specific characterizations of them as moles who retreated to underground lairs, where "they were gnawing and destroying holy plants," and as reptiles that persecution "had pushed to the depths of the earth" reveal the insidious nature of heresy in the minds of medieval churchmen.[15] It could be combatted, but remained hidden in the dark recesses of the land, ready to spring forth once more in the absence of constant vigilance.

Near the beginning of the thirteenth century, Pierre des Vaux-de-Cernay, Cistercian author of the *Historia Albigensis*, who accompanied Simon de Montfort on the Albigensian Crusade, left a similarly scathing critique of the town and its populace:

It is said that since its first foundation, treacherous Toulouse has rarely if ever been free of this detestable plague, this heretical depravity. The poison of superstitious unbelief was passed from father to son one after another. Indeed, there is a tradition that on a previous occasion long ago the city suffered avenging hands in expiation of this great sin, and deservedly endured the destruction of her people, to the extent that the ploughed fields extended to the

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[13] Ibid.: "Et ecce inventa est plaga ejus magna nimis, ita ut a planta pedis usque ad verticem non esset in ea sanitas. Vere enim tertia pars nobis nuntiata non fuerat de omnibus abominationibus suis malis, quas civitas illa nobilis in incredulitatis suae gremio confovebat. Locum in ea sibi abominatio desolationis invenerat, et propheticorum similitudo reptilium in latibulis ejus domicilium obtinebat. Ibi haeretici principabantur in populo, dominabantur in clero; eo quod sicut populus, sic sacerdos; et interitum gregis ipsa configurabat vita pastoris. Loquebantur haeretici, et omnes admirabantur. Loquebatur Catholicus et dicebant: Quis est hic? In stuporem et miraculum deducentes si esset aliquis inter eos qui de verbo fidei auderet aliquid vel mutire. Interim praevaluerat pestis in terra, quod illi sibi non solum sacerdotes et pontifices fecerant, sed etiam evangelistas habebant: qui corrupta et cancellata evangelica veritate, nova illis Evangelia cuderent, et de corde suo nequam recentia dogmata seducto populo praedicarent." There are many biblical allusions here. For example, cf. Ecclus. 28-29: "Dives locutus est, et omnes tacuerunt, et verbum illius usque ad nubes perducent. Pauper locutus est, et dicunt: Quis est hic? et si offenderit, subvertent illum."

[14] Beverly Mayne Kienzle, *Cistercians, Heresy, and Crusade in Occitania, 1145-1229: Preaching in the Lord's Vineyard* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2001), 122-124.

[15] *PL* 204, cols. 236-237: "Audires illico vel videres vulpes transfiguratas in talpas, ut quae prius in publico discurrebant, jam terrarum latebris, jam sese cellulis immergerent cavernosis; et plantaria sacra, quae jam non audebant in aperto commandere, infra terrae viscera corroderent et necarent." Ibid., col. 237: "...eos, quos timor et confusio tanquam ignobile reptile in ima terrae detruserant..."

very center of the city. Moreover, one of the famous kings who ruled
the city in those times, believed to be called Alaric, suffered the
supreme dishonor of being hanged from a gibbet at the city gates.[16]

Heresy in Toulouse merited an eternal, divine punishment which included not only the dishonorable

hanging of a Visigothic king, but also the destruction of the city "to the extent that the ploughed

fields extended to the very center of the city." In other words, "treacherous Toulouse" (*Tolosa, tota*

dolosa) was reduced to rusticity. [17] Moreover, by alluding to the defeat of the Arian Alaric II at the

hands of the orthodox Clovis and his Franks in the battle of Vouillé (507), Pierre reinforced

distinctions between heresy and orthodoxy and between northern and southern that French

crusaders would have likely envisioned. The model is both pathological ("plague") and genealogical

("passed from father to son"), and linked heretical depravity to urban form; the city gate—a

common site of corporal punishment, whether or not Alaric actually suffered it there—materially

and historically marked the threshold of a hopelessly heretical space. For Pierre, as for many of the

clergy, Toulouse (and the south more generally) was a landscape especially prone to spiritual

corruption.

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[16] *Historia albigensis*, vol. 1, ed. Pascal Guébin and Ernest Lyon, §8, 7-8: "Hec Tolosa, tota dolosa, a prima sui fundatione, sicut asseritur, raro vel nunquam fuit expers hujus pestis vel pestilentie detestabilis, hujus heretice pravitatis, a patribus in filios successive veneno supersticiose infidelitatis diffuso; quamobrem et ipsa in vindictam tanti sceleris tantum dicitur jamdudum sustinuisse manus ultricis et juste depopulationis excidium ut in ipso meditullio civitatis sulcata vomeribus planities pateret agrorum; unus etiam de regibus suis inclitis, qui tunc temporis in ipsa regnabant, Alaricus, ut creditor, nominee, in extremum dedecus pro foribus urbis ejusdem est suspensus in patibulo." I have consulted and used (with minor changes) the translation of W.A. and M.D. Sibly, trans., *The History of the Albigensian Crusade: Peter of les Vaux-de-Cernay's* Historia Albigensis (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1998), 9.

[17] It is likely that parts of the city, especially in the Bourg and around St.-Etienne, remained open fields even up to the middle of the fifteenth century. The town also had its share of gardens and orchards. See Jean Coppolani, *Toulouse: Étude de Géographie Urbaine* (Toulouse: Privat-Didier, 1954), 50-52 and the map between 58 and 59. According to Jacques Le Goff (*The Medieval Imagination*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 58), "[i]n the Middle Ages the greatest contrast was not, as it had been in antiquity, between the city and the country (*urbs* and *rus*, as the Romans put it) but between nature and culture, expressed in terms of the opposition between what was built, cultivated, and inhabited (city, castle, village) and what was essentially wild (the ocean and forest, the western equivalents of the eastern desert), that is, between men who lived in groups and those who lived in solitude." On the other hand, reducing the city to "ploughed fields" also has the effect of transforming the bourgeois into peasants, and Le Goff elsewhere notes (Ibid., p. 154) that the contrast between warrior and peasant often eclipsed the tension between warrior and bourgeois in medieval literature.

II. Inquisition and Urban Opposition

The history of the Dominican order in Languedoc is inextricably bound up with the history of heresy and inquisition. Dominic Guzman himself had preached against heresy in Languedoc since 1206. In April 1215, the year of the Fourth Lateran Council, he was given a house in Toulouse near the Château Narbonnais by Peter Seilanus (who later became a member of the order). A year later, the cathedral chapter of St. Etienne offered him the church of St.-Rome, allowing the preacher and his disciples to move from the outskirts to the very heart of the city, quite close to the medieval town hall. In 1229/1230, an exceptionally rich citizen named Pons de Capdenier financed the acquisition of a more spacious location to the west of the town hall along the Saracen wall (the same wall dividing the city and the bourg to which the consuls had relocated in the early 1200s), where by the end of the century the order would raise the cloister and church that remains today: the Church of the Jacobins.[18] It was while installed in this church that the order had its most tumultuous encounters with the consuls and citizens of Toulouse.

Moving progressively closer to the center of town, closer to the town hall and central markets, the Dominicans would have encountered resistance both from the municipal government and the established secular clergy. Opposition to the mendicant penetration of urban life stemmed from an established discourse on monastic life and its place in medieval society, according to which monks were to live apart from the secular world in order to fulfill their liturgical role. Instead of fleeing from the world, however, the mendicants embraced urban life; in order to preach to the masses and (especially for the Dominicans of Toulouse) to provide a visible, orthodox model of spiritual living that was superior to that of the heretics, the new orders had to move into and around urban communities. For many, this disturbed the equilibrium of medieval society. The secular clergy complained of the disruption of parish life, while the regular clergy had stiffer competition for

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[18] The Dominicans were often called "Jacobins" in France, on account of their convent at Paris, which was attached to the the church of Saint-Jacques.

patronage.[19] Resistance came just as much from municipal governments, particularly in Languedoc, where many towns had semi-independent consulates that had just begun to regulate urban life. In his *summa* on the art of preaching, Humbert of Romans noted that some cities would not wish to receive members of the order, and suggested that preachers should respond with Luke 10: "I say to you, it shall be more tolerable at that day [i.e. the arrival of the kingdom of God] for Sodom, than for that city."[20] He wrote this in the late thirteenth century, with the benefit of institutional memory; the Dominicans had a history of conflict with urban inhabitants across Languedoc that began immediately after the order's creation and would continue long after Humbert retired as its Master.

Millau, for example, a town northeast of Toulouse at the confluence of the Tarn and Dourbie rivers, offers an illustration of how city governments could clash with Dominicans as they infiltrated urban life and encroached upon consular authority, as Géraldine Paloc has shown.[21] In 1278, the consuls bought the house of one Bernard Feltrier with a view to establishing a center of government in the middle of town, just as the consuls of Toulouse had constructed a *domus comune* in the first decades of the century. Bernard, however, had earlier promised his property to the Dominicans, who had recently relocated from outside the walls to the veritable heart of the town and sought to annex his property to their nearby convent. The king ruled in favor of the consuls when they petitioned him on the matter in 1285, and this only seems to have emboldened them in their opposition to the Preachers. The next year, they complained to the king that the Dominicans, "having secretly left their first convent...came to a place located within the walls, at the center of the best spot in town, even though they had not been summoned there by the consuls nor by other

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[19] See Yves Dossat, "Opposition des anciens ordres à l'installation des mendiants," *Les mendiants en pays d'Oc au XIIIe siècle*, *Cahiers de Fanjeaux* 8 (1973), pp. 263-306.
[20] *Humberti de Romanis de Eruditione Praedicatorum* II, 491.
[21] Géraldine Paloc, "Les frères Prêcheurs et la ville: l'exemple de Millau," *L'ordre des Prêcheurs et son histoire en France méridionale*, *Cahiers de Fanjeaux* 36 (2001): 81-98.

upright men."[22] The consuls viewed the Dominican presence as an intrusion that breached not just their walls but the social norms requiring distance between religious (that is, those having taken the vows of a religious order) and lay. Their primary complaint was proximity: "The friars live among the men and women who come and go, such that they can hear and see, if they desire it, light conversations, and they can even hear and see births, because they take place at a short distance from the friars due to the thinness of the walls."[23] The documents imply, moreover, that consular authority was felt to be eroded by the installation of the Dominican convent near the town hall.[24] In 1299, when the friars sought to expand in the direction of the town hall by transforming a nearby house into a chapel and connecting it to their convent with a bridge spanning the street, the consuls arrived during the construction and claimed that it violated their right to regulate public space.[25] While the dispute was renewed several times over the next four decades, with the Dominicans claiming their rights to the property that had become the town hall and the consuls calling for their expulsion from the urban environment, ultimately the Dominicans remained at their house within the walls.

At Béziers , the town famously massacred by crusaders in 1209, similar disagreements arose. Fifteen years after the Dominicans were given the ruin of a castle there in 1247, many town citizens appealed, claiming that the land had been theirs.[26] The case was decided against them, for the

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[22] Ibid., 87. Unable to access the text in Latin, which Paloc unfortunately does not include, I have had to rely on her own French translation, which is as follows: "Les consuls de la ville de Millau, seigneurie du roi, signifient à la majesté royale (…) qu'ayant quitté clandestinement, de (…) nuit leur couvent initial, (les frères Prêcheurs) sont venus dans un lieu situé dans les remparts, au centre du meilleur endroit de la ville, alors qui'ls n'y avaient pas été appelés par les consuls, ni par les autres prud'hommes..."

[23] Ibid., 94, as quoted by Paloc: "...les frères résident au milieu des hommes et des femmes qui vont et viennent, (qu') ils peuvent entendre et voir, s'ils le veulent, des conversations légères, et (qu') ils peuvent même entendre et voir des parturientes, puisqu'elles se trouvent à faible distance des frères en raison de la faible èpaisseur des murs..."

[24] Ibid., 91, and see maps on 84 and 86.

[25] Ibid., 88, as quoted by Paloc: "Les consuls disent et proposent (…) qu'il leur revient, à eux et à leur charge, de transformer, réparer, agrandir, et rétrécir les rues, passages et balcons...".

[26] The initial grant of land is recorded in Doat 60, ff. 343-343v, dated 1247, on the feast of Matthew the Apostle (21 September): "...posuimus in possessionem plateae Castri destructi de Biterre fratrem Petrum de Arelate et

enquêteurs found that Simon de Montfort had built a castle there that was later destroyed upon his retreat from the town.[27] His documented possession of the property invalidated inhabitants' claims. Five years later, in 1267, Clement IV responded to a request from the Dominicans with a bull that gave the bishop of Béziers the power to stop citizens from building a hospital near their convent.[28] Urban inhabitants once again earned the friars' ire in 1277, when men and women apparently made a habit of entering a space near the convent's garden and acting "dishonorably." The Dominicans requested permission to enclose the space with walls.[29] The most remarkable skirmish between friars and townsmen in Béziers, however, occurred in 1347, when the latter entered the convent one night, stoned and beat many of the brothers, destroyed the garden walls and parts of other edifices, and

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fratrum Bernardum de Rococelio de ordine praedicatorum nomine totius ordinis praedicti ad faciendum ibi Ecclesiasm, seu Monasterium, et mansionem in cuius rei testimonium praesentes literas sibilli nostri...fecimus roborari."

[27] Ibid., ff. 347v-348: "Omnibus Praesentes litteras inspecturis Magistri Henricus de Versilis, Nicholaus de Cath., et P. de Vicinis Clerici inquisitores deputati ab Illustri domino Rege franciae in partibus Albigesii super iniuriis, et emendis ipsius domini Regis salutem, In petitionibus quam plurium Civium Bitterris vidimus contineri, quod ipsi petebant de domibus, et plateis quas quondam possederant ipsi, vel actores eorum infra ambitum loci fratribus praedicatoribus Bitterris a domino Rege Concess refusionem seu emendum sibi fieri competentem, et quoniam invenimus quod locum praedictum tenuerat, et in ibi Castrum aedificaverat Comes Montisfortis quod post recessum eius de terra extiti demolitum attendentes quod secundum traditam nobis formam nequa quam pertinet ad nos restitutionem aliquam facere fieri, vel mandare, de possessionibus quas tenuit Comes Montisfortis dum dominabatur in terra etiam si causa sit incognita, ex qua possessiones eaedem ad manum dicti Comitis pervenerunt, Ea propter petitiones dictorum conquerentium non duximus ad implendas: Datum anno domini millesimo ducentesimo sexagesimo secundo mense Maio."

[28] Ibid., ff. 349-350: "Ex parte dilectorum filiorum Prioris, et fratrum ordinis Praedicatorum Biterrensis fuit praepositum coram nobis, quod quidam Cives Biterrenses fundum quendam prope Locum praedictorum Prioris, et fratrum positum iam emerunt, ubi disponunt quoddam construere hospitale sane si Hopitale ipsum in loco praedicto construeretur ab eisdem Civibus contingeret quod Memorati fratres, ac praesertim infirmi qui recreationis solamine indigent potiori ex Hospitalis Vicinitates ipsius quod eorum aedificando infirmitorio propinquum esset Nimium, et Vicinum incommoditates ac Molestias plurimas, et Notumenta diversa meritabiliter sustinerent. Quare Nominati Prior, et fratres a nobis suppliciter postulabant ut idem Hospitale intanta distantia a praedicto loco ipsorum Construi mandaremus quod ex Nimia illius propinquitate ipsis scandali vel gravaminis Materia nequeat immineres detua igitur fraternitatis circumspectione, ac industria confidentes tibi qui de facto et facti circunstantiis Notitiam habere poteris pleniorem praesentium tenore committimus, et mandamus, ut super hoc aut hortate nostra provideas, prout consideratis diligenter debitis circumstantiis huiusmodi secundum Deum, et honestatis regulam Noveris faciendum. Datum Viterbii secundo Kalendas februarii Pontificatus nostri Anno tertio.

[29] Ibid., ff. 352-353, on f. 352v: "'...quod per quemdam locum situm iuxta ortum dictorum fratrum homines et mulieres intrantes per dictum locum inhoneste agebant propter aditum dicti loci, quare suplicavit idem Prior pro se et fratribus, et rogavit cum magna instantia dictum dominum senescallum, quod dictum locum claudi permiteret ad evitandum praedicta quid dictus dominus senescallus dicti Prioris suplicationi annuens voluit, et concessit, quod dictus locus claudatur iure dominis Regis in omnibus semper salvo et etiam alieno." The supplication is addressed to the seneschal of Carcassonne and Beziers.

carried off many of the building stones with them.[30] This was presumably a result of the

Dominicans' refusal to allow demolition for refortified town defenses in the context of the Hundred

Years' War.[31] In Béziers, then, as at Millau, burgher and mendicant interests often conflicted and

disputes ranged from substantial property concerns to the most mundane disagreements; in 1354,

the Dominicans of Béziers complained that the noise from a nearby forge interrupted their services

and studies.[32] Royal favor ensured that the friars usually emerged victorious.

Such conflicts were a normal part of town life even before the arrival of the mendicant

orders, but in the case of the Dominicans tensions caused by inquisitorial activity further inflamed

urban opposition. In Toulouse, home of the very first Dominican house, the chronicle of Friar

Guilhem Pelhisson has preserved a record of the years 1229-1244. His narrative reveals the order's

difficulty in establishing itself as an accepted part of the urban landscape. When one friar claimed in

a sermon that heretics inhabited and gathered within the town, the prior was summoned by the

consuls to the town hall and cautioned (or threatened, as Guilhem's language implies) that such

accusations would not be taken lightly.[33] Not long afterward, however, the Dominicans again came

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[30] Ibid., ff. 358-360v: "...quod nonnulli habitatores villae Biterris et in aliquo spiritu moti ad domum et loca dictorum conquerentium de nocte accesserunt, et plures insultus fecerunt; et cum prior praedictus et quidam alii fratres ad portam ipsius conventus venissent ad sciendum qui talia faciabant, tam cito ipsi malefactores lapides projicere contra dictos priorem et fratres multipliciter incoeperunt et aliquos de ipsis fratribus graviter percusserunt, nec his contenti multas fractiones in parietibus aedificiorum dicti conventus fecerunt, necnon omnes muros et parietes de lapidibus orti dictorum conquaerentium usque ad centum cannas vel circa in longum totaliter diruerunt, ita quod ad dictum ortum omnes publice accedant et fiant ibi multae immunditiae de vilibus personis ac etiam malefactoribus. Ipsi portas dicti orti super quas penuncelli erant erecti bis fregerunt et secum portarunt et ipsos penuncellos in terra projecerunt. Et insuper consules dictae villae Biterris aut aliqui alii eorum nomine et mandato quendam pontem per quem dicti significantes ad dictum ortum incedebant destruxerunt cum tribus domibus de lapidibus constitutis, quas dicti supplicantes juxta alias domos et infra eorum septa habebant cum quibusdam aliis parietibus eorumdem." This document is a record of the suit brought by the Dominicans against the consuls at the royal court. The king's lieutenant ultimately decided that the consuls had destroyed convent property unjustly and ordered them to make restitution; Ibid., ff. 362-363v. The consuls were once again forbidden from destroying Dominican property in 1372; Ibid., ff. 375-376.
[31] See *HGL* 4, 727.
[32] Doat 60, ff. 366-366v.
[33] Guilhem Pelhisson, *Chronicle*, ed. and trans. (French) Jean Duvernoy (Paris: CNRS Editions, 1994), 40: "Quadam autem die, cum predicaret quidam Frater noster, dixit in sermone suo quod heretici manebant in villa, et faciebant ibi sua consilia et hereses seminabant. Quod audientes homines de villa multum fuerunt inde perturbati et commoti. Unde consules ville vocaverunt priorem ad domum communem, precipientes ei quod diceret Fratribus

into conflict with the consuls. Having called another man a heretic (correctly, according to Guilhem) in some sort of vague altercation, a citizen named Bernard Peitavin was brought before the consuls, found guilty of unjust accusation, and sentenced to exile and compulsory monetary compensation. The man appealed to the Dominicans, who advised him to take the case to the bishop and assured him of their support. It is not clear what the bishop—Raimon de Fauga, who also just happened to be a Dominican—decided, but Guilhem claims that the man accused of heresy was forced to flee to Lombardy.[34] After the order further disregarded the warning of the consuls and condemned a citizen from the Bourg named Joan Teissendièr, the populace became even more agitated, threatening to stone members of the order and destroy their houses.[35] Joan's plea reads as particularly compelling. "Lords," he cried out,

> listen to me! I am not a heretic. I have a wife. I sleep with her and have sons. I eat meat. I lie and swear and I am a faithful Christian. Therefore do not allow these things to be said about me, for I very much believe in God. They can accuse you just as they have me. Watch yourselves, because these wicked men want to destroy the town and honest men and take the town from its lord.[36]

With these events, the stage was set for more serious confrontations between the order and citizens. When the Dominican inquisitor Guilhem Arnaut summoned twelve suspected heretics in 1235, the consuls expelled him from the town and declared that anyone providing the order with nourishment or assistance of any kind would be punished. Refusing to back down, however, and encouraged by letters from the exiled inquisitor, the friars went to deliver the summons in person: "not content to

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quod de cetero non attemptarent talia predicare, et valde pro malo haberent, si diceretur quod heretici essent ibi, cum nullus, ut ipsi asserebant, inter eos esset talis. Hec et similia comminantes intulerunt." An English translation by Walter L. Wakefield is available in his *Heresy, Crusade and Inquisition in Southern France 1100-1250* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd, 1974), 207-236.

[34] Pelhisson, *Chronicle*, 48-50.

[35] Ibid., 53. The Latin Johannes Textor is often rendered Jean le Tisserand in French or anglicized to John Weaver. I have rendered it in Occitan, undoubtedly the language of the man in question. It is unclear whether Joan was actually a weaver, a trade often considered particularly susceptible to heresy.

[36] Ibid., 52: "Domini, audite me. Ego non sum hereticus, quia uxorem habeo, et cum ipsa iaceo, et filios habeo, et carnes comedo, et mentior et iuro, et fidelis sum Christianus. Ideo non sustineatis ista mihi dici, quia Deum bene credo. Et ita poterunt vobis obicere sicut mihi. Cavete vobis, quia isti mali hominess villam et probos hominess volunt destruere et auferre villam domino."

search for them in the streets and at their houses, they sought them even in their inner

bedchambers."[37] The consuls, having supposedly conferred with the heretics, then gathered a group

of citizens and physically, even violently (*violenter*), expelled the entire chapter from the town.[38] They

would return the following year.

Strikingly, in Guilhem's account these expulsions were treated with the solemnity of church

processions and liturgical events, a seemingly drastic contrast with their violent reality. When the

Dominican inquisitor assigned to Toulouse, Guilhem Arnaut was forced to leave, "the entire

convent escorted him *in procession* to the head of the Daurade Bridge over the Garonne."[39] Later,

when the convent was expelled as a whole, they "began to chant loudly the symbol of faith as it is

sung at mass, then *Te Deum laudamus* and *Salve regina* when they were in front of the church of St.

Mary of La Daurade."[40] The Dominicans thus recast their expulsion in sacred and liturgical terms.

The chanting of the *Salve regina*, inspired by the presence of an important church dedicated to the

Virgin Mary, was especially meaningful in a Dominican context. Not only was Marian devotion

particularly fervent within the order (with some even crediting the Virgin with its very existence), but

also, and more specifically, the last liturgical obligation of the day in Dominican convents was the

singing, in procession, of this very hymn at compline. "In short," as a prominent historian of the

liturgy has put it, "compline came to be looked upon in the Order, not merely as a part of the

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[37] Ibid., 82: "…ita scilicet quod non sufficiebat eis querere illos per plateas et domos suas, sed usque ad interior cubicula querebant eos."

[38] Ibid., 86: "Tunc B. Signarius et R. Rotgerius et B. de Miromente et quidam alii acceperunt priorem per latera et eum violenter de claustro extraxerunt. Alii vero socii et nuncii consulum Fratres omnes similiter extraxerunt extra claustrum. Quando vero Fratres fuerunt ad portam domus, Frater Laurentius, qui venerat ad legendum, et Frater Arnaldus Cathalani prostraverunt se ad terram. Tunc Raimundus Rotgerius et quidam alii eos per caput et pedes capientes violenter extra portam portaverunt. Et sic omnes Fratres extra villam trahentes et impellentes eiecerunt, verumptamen non percuciebant eos aliter, nisi quatenus est iam dictum."

[39] Ibid., 74 (my emphasis): "Quem totus conventus associavit processionaliter usque ad caput pontis Deaurate ultra Garonam."

[40] Ibid., 86: "Prior vero incepit cantare alta voce et conventus cum eo simbolum fidei sicut cantatur in missa, quondo eum extrahere incepereunt, deinde Te Deum laudamus et Salve Regina quando fuerunt ante ecclesiam Beate Marie Deaurate."

canonical office, but rather as an intimate family colloquy with the Protectress of the Order."[41] The

chant, moreover, was accompanied by a procession of the brethren to the part of church reserved

for the laity, among whom they knelt while facing the altar; it was the one liturgical moment in

which the boundaries between religious and lay were cast off to reflect the unity of the community

of the faithful.[42] Reciting the *Salve regina* as they were expelled from the town, then, the Dominicans

of Toulouse responded to an element of the cityscape in a way that both reinforced their own

communal bond and emphasized the townspeople's extraordinary exclusion from it. They affirmed

their place in the material and spiritual topography of the town while making a powerful statement

about the consequences of its inhabitants' actions.

The Dominicans were therefore interested in shaping a community of the faithful through

processes of both inclusion and exclusion, and these processes extended also to the dead. The latter

hold special significance in both Guilhem's narrative and the broader Dominican penetration of

urban life in Toulouse. Before the expulsion of the order from the town and after their return, the

deceased suspected of heresy were tried and condemned posthumously by Dominican inquisitors,

with predictable results. The collusion of a certain converted heretic named Raimon Gros, who

came to the friars unsummoned and volunteered incriminating evidence against many former

inhabitants, was instrumental:

> At that time, many heretications of prominent men and others, now
> deceased, which had taken place in Toulouse and in other places
> outside the town, were revealed by Raymond Gros and the
> inquisition of heretics was entirely directed by him, as God disposed
> and ordered, to such an extent that prominent burghers, noble lords,
> and other persons were condemned by sentences, exhumed, and
> ignominiously were cast out of the cemeteries of the town by the
> friars in the presence of the vicar and the people. Their bones and
> stinking bodies were dragged through the town; their names were

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[41] William Bonniwell, *A History of the Dominican Liturgy, 1215-1945* (New York: Joseph F. Wagner, Inc., 1945), 155.
Early evidence for this practice comes from Jordan of Saxony, among others; see Denis Vincent Wiseman,
"Devotion to Mary among the Dominicans in the Thirteenth Century," *Marian Studies* 52 (2001): 246-263.
[42] Bonniwell, *A History of the Dominican Liturgy*, 161-164.

proclaimed through the streets by the herald, crying, 'Who behaves
thus shall perish thus,' and finally they were burned in the count's
meadow.[43]

Even a benefactor of the abbey of St. Sernin, who had been made a canon at death and buried in the

cloister of that church, was not immune to such treatment. He was similarly disinterred and dragged

to the fire.[44] The houses of the condemned were often (although not always) subject to destruction,

such as that of a Waldensian named Galvan in the bourg. Not only was he exhumed from the

cemetery of Villeneuve and dragged through the town "in a great procession," but his house was

razed and turned into a "waste pit" (*locum sterquilinii*).[45]

These performances of posthumous judgment were designed to leave a lasting impression,

both figuratively and literally, on the urban landscape. The dragging of "their bones and stinking

bodies," accompanied by the crier's "Qui aytal fara, aytal perira," matches thirteenth-century penal

practices in Toulouse as we know them from other sources. This particular vernacular cry was

prescribed for any and all public punishments.[46] Marginal drawings in a manuscript of the town's

customs dating from 1296, for example, include many representations of the town crier holding a

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[43] Pelhisson, *Chronicle*, p. 96: "In tempore illo multe hereticationes defunctorum magnorum et aliorum que fuerant
facte in Tholosa et in locis aliis extra villam per ipsum Raimundum Grossi revelati sunt, et inquisitio hereticorum
per ipsum totaliter, Deo dante et iubente, directa, in tantum quod magni burgenses et nobiles ac nobiles domine et
quidam alii per sententiam condempnati sunt, et de cimiteriis ville a dictis Fratribus, presente vicario et populo,
extumulati et ignomioniose eiecti, et ossa eorum et corpora fetentia per villam tracta, et voce tibicinatoris per vicos
proclamata et nominat, dicentis: 'Qui aytal fara, aytal perira.' Et tandem in Prato Comitis sunt combusta[.]" It is
noteworthy that the proclamation, "Who behaves thus, shall perish thus," is recorded in the vernacular. When
direct speech is recorded elsewhere (even by those who were surely speaking Occitan) it is always in Latin, as in the
claim of Joan Teissendièr cited above.
[44] Ibid., 42: "Eodem tempore est mortuus in Burgo Tholose A. Petri, donatus Sancti Saturnini et in morte
canonicatus cum superpellicio, et in claustro sepultus, qui prius hereticatus fuerat in morte, nescientibus canonicis.
Quod ut audivit magister Rotlandus, ivit cum Fratribus et clericis illuc, et eum extumulatum trahi fecerunt ad
ignem et combustus est."
[45] Ibid. 42-44: "Eodem tempore est mortuus in dicto Burgo quidam hereticus, Galvannus nomine, archimandrita
magnus Valdensium. Quod magistrum Rotlandum non latuit, et publice hoc retulit in sermone. Et convocatis
Fratribus et clero et aliquibus de populo, iverunt confidenter ad domum ubi dictus hereticus obierat, et eam
funditus destruxerunt, et fecerunt eam locum sterquilinii, et dictum Galvanum extumulaverunt, et de cimiterio
Villenove, ubi sepultus fuerat, extraxerunt. Corpus vero illius per villam cum ingenti processione traxerunt, et in
loco communi extra villam combusserunt."
[46] Jean-Marie Carbasse, *Introduction historique au droit pénal* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1990), 211, in the
form "Qui aital fara, aital pendra."

trumpet at sites of punishment.[47] In one such illustration, he leads a procession of two naked adulterers and an armed escort, in a depiction of the infamous punishment known as *la course*, in which the convicted were paraded naked through town.[48] Another marginal drawing represents the burning of a heretic, his hands bound, overseen by three armed soldiers.[49] According to Susan L'Engle, since neither the text of the customs nor its commentary addresses specific sentences, the illustrations visually indicated to the manuscript's patron—probably the consul Petrus de Solio, who is named throughout—the variety of punishments he might observe in the course of his political career.[50] That is to say, as L'Engle quotes Esther Cohn, "not how the law worked but how people saw it working." Pelhisson's description makes clear that this was the context that would have conditioned how the inhabitants of Toulouse viewed the macabre parades of "bones and stinking bodies" instigated by the Dominicans.

Certainly by the early fourteenth century, at least, the public reading of sentences and imposition of penalties had been formalized in a great *sermo generalis* that was scheduled on feast days at a large church or other space that could accommodate a considerable audience. The Dominican inquisitor Bernard Gui described the process in his inquisitorial manual, the *Practica inquisitionis heretice pravitatis*, which he wrote in Languedoc (possibly at Toulouse) around 1323.[51] The event was announced in the vernacular a day or two before, with a list of the guilty and their offenses. On the appointed day, the inquisitor first gave a brief sermon, then received the oaths of royal and municipal officials. After commuting the sentences of those previously condemned, he read out in

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[47] BnF ms Latin 9187, ff. 23, 28v, 29, 30, 30v, and 33 (a procession of police forces at night, rather than a public punishment).
[48] Ibid., f. 30v.
[49] Ibid., f. 31v.
[50] Susan L'Engle, "Justice in the Margins," *Viator* 33 (2002): 133-165.
[51] Bernard Gui, *Practica inquisitionis heretice pravitatis*, ed. Célestin Douais (Paris: Alphonse Picard, 1886). The third part (83-171) is devoted to the *sermo generalis*.

detail the offenses (*culpe*) of the newly tried—a list that must have taken some time.[52] These

individuals then swore to obey the church and their excommunications were lifted. Finally, he

imposed their sentences, first in Latin, then in the vernacular. Punishments ranged from wearing

yellow crosses and penitential pilgrimage to perpetual imprisonment and death by burning (after

relaxation to the secular arm). Included among these was the exhumation and burning of the

deceased who had been found guilty.

Such actions were designed as much or more for the benefit of the audience than for the

redemption of the condemned. In the Middle Ages, seeing and imagining tortured bodies "lay at the

centre of a constellation of religious doctrines, beliefs and devotional practices," most notably those

centered on the suffering of Christ and other Christian martyrs.[53] In this context, the burning of

impenitent heretics—whether living or dead—effected an intersubjective experience by eliciting

feelings of disgust, identification, or compassion in the audience; harnessed by the Dominican

inquisitors and other clergy, the "liturgy of execution" for those convicted of heresy was a form of

normative *communitas*.[54] As evidence collected by James Given indicates, spectators carefully

observed the entire performance, the smallest detail of which could transmit meaningful information

about the condemned. Those who showed no remorse or resisted might have their crimes

confirmed in the eyes of witnesses, as Pierre Tort of Montréal concluded in the case of some

Béguins executed at Pézenas who had rudely addressed inquisitors and bishops. Those who bore

their punishment well or whose rituals of execution seemed unfair, on the other hand, might induce

doubt concerning their guilt. The same Pierre, for example, considered heretics burned at Béziers to

be martyrs and saints because of their honorable comportment at execution. Similarly, Bernard

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[52] It included such details as how many times the condemned had seen or heard heretics, received them at their homes, eaten with or been blessed by them, etc.

[53] Mitchell B. Merback, *The Thief, the Cross and the Wheel: Pain and the Spectacle of Punishment in Medieval and Renaissance Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 19.

[54] Ibid. 19-20, 152-157, evoking anthropological *communitas* on 20.

Durban of Lodève began to wonder at the justice of his sister's execution at Lunel when her request that her confession be read out was refused, while a Waldensian named Raimond de la Côte was admired when he clasped his hands together in prayer after the flames consumed his bindings.[55] Such rituals, Given suggests, were part of a Gramscian "struggle to impose a cultural and spiritual hegemony on the masses of Languedoc, to win their active assent to the myths that justified the existing distribution of power and authority."[56] As such, they could be contested.

In order to grasp fully the force of these punishments, it is necessary to understand the importance of the body—as locus of self and memory—in thirteenth-century life generally, and in Dominican thought specifically. Caroline Walker Bynum famously called attention to the centrality of the body in medieval life and thought, first in women's spirituality, then in ideas and practices concerning the resurrection of the body.[57] In the twelfth century, these ideas were marked by what Bynum identifies as a psychosomatic unity. For writers like Hildegard of Bingen, Peter the Venerable, and especially Bernard of Clairvaux, body was integral to self; the resurrected body was the very same body inhabited on earth, reconstituted and reassembled. While there was a new emphasis on the soul in the thirteenth century, the body retained its importance, and by the fourteenth century the soul itself was somatomorphic, given all the marks of bodily experience. Indeed, in the *exempla* of Jacques de Vitry's *Sermones ad status* (also called the *Sermones vulgares*), for

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[55] These examples come from James B. Given, *Inquisition and Medieval Society: Power, Discipline, and Resistance in Languedoc* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997), 76-77, citing Bernard Gui's *sententiarum* published in Philipp van Limborch, *Historia inquisitionis, cui subjungitur Liber sententiarum inquisitionis Tholosanae ab anno Christi MCCCVII ad annum MCCCXXIII* (Amsterdam, 1692), 328, and Jean Duvernoy, ed., *Le Registre d'inquisition de Jacques Fournier (1318-1325)* (Toulouse: Privat, 1965), vol. 1, 169.

[56] Given, *Inquisition and Medieval Society*, 72.

[57] *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987); *Fragmentation and Redemption: Essays on Gender and the Human Body in Medieval Religion* (New York: Zone Books, 1991); *The Resurrection of the Body in Western Christianity, 200-1336* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995), from which the rest of this paragraph is derived.

example, living bodies carry the physical signs of the soul's condition, while the returning dead are

embodied to the point that they are confused for the living.[58]

Antiheretical preaching, in fact, focused largely on the body. Jacques de Vitry was

commissioned to preach against the Albigensians in 1213 and, as Carolyn Muessig has pointed out, it

seems likely that his sermons were written to combat a dualist heresy.[59] Sermon 25 explicitly

condemns heretics who believe in two deities—*unum bonum qui creavit inuisibilia, et aliud malum qui*

omnium uisibilium est creator—and who deny that Christ was born and suffered, that the Virgin was his

mother, and the value of redemption.[60] Muessig views the preponderance of Old Testament

citations throughout these sermons as an important, if somewhat indirect, refutation of heretics,

who reportedly rejected those books as written by the malicious god that created the physical world.

The most striking feature of Sermon 25, however, is Jacques' insistence on the psychosomatic unity

of body and soul. Both are corrupted by original sin.[61] Christ repaired the soul through his first

coming, and will repair the body in his second, a function he can only fulfill because of his human,

that is, corporeal, nature.[62] This insistence is surely a response to heresy. In her study of the

resurrection of the body, Bynum highlighted the role of heresy in twelfth- and thirteenth-century

articulations of the importance of the body, articulations that responded to what was perceived as a

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[58] Cynthia Ho, "*Corpus Delicti*: The Edifying Dead in the *exempla* of Jacques de Vitry," ed. Jacqueline Hamesse, Beverly Mayne Kienzle, Debra L. Stoudt, and Anne T. Thayer in *Medieval Sermons and Society: Cloister, City, University* (Louvain-la-Neuve: Fédération Internationale des Instituts d'Études Médiévales, 1998), 203-218.

[59] Carolyn Muessig, "Les sermons de Jacques de Vitry sur les cathares," in *La prédication en Pays d'Oc (XIIᵉ-début XVᵉ siècle)* (Fanjeaux: Privat, 1997), 69-83 (Cahiers de Fanjeaux, 32); idem, "Audience and Sources in Jacques de Vitry's *Sermones feriales et communes*," in *Medieval Sermons and Society*, 183-202.

[60] Muessig, "Les sermons de Jacques de Vitry," 82, n. 16: "Ve miseris prophanis et pestiferis hereticis et maxime nostril temporis Patarenis, hominibus mente corruptis qui dum Christum nec uere natum nec uere passum mendaciter affirmant, beatam Virginem matrem Christi et tante redemptionis pretium negant."

[61] Muessig, "Audience and Sources," 197, n. 48: "Non solum autem percussus est homo in corpora, sed et persussus est in anima et uulneratus in corde. Corrupta est igitur anima per originale, corruptum est liberum arbitrium et sub peccato captiuatum. Corrupte sunt omnes anime uires, corrupt est ratio et obscurata."

[62] Ibid., n. 49: "Et quia principio corruit homo in anima et postea in corpora, Dominus primo reparauit animam in primo aduentu, et postmodum ueniet reparare corpora in secundo"; Ibid. n. 50: "Porro contra uaria humani generis detrimenta diuersa attulit remedia. Eius conception nostram mendauit, eius uita nostram instruxit, eius mors nostram destruxit, eius resurrectio nostram precessit, eius ascensio nostram preparauit."

broad denial of that importance.[63] Heretics, it was believed, did not respect proper burial practice.

They denied Purgatory, the efficacy of prayers for the dead, the belief that Christ had a corporeal

body and that he was resurrected with that body. The Piacenzan nobleman Salvo Burci, for example,

writing in 1235, especially singled out their care of the dead and erroneous understanding of Christ's

human nature:

> You deal most slightingly with human bodies after death. You lay
> them secretly in pits here and there, as best you can. This was not
> done with Christ's body, which was composed of the four elements.
> You may say it was a spiritual body, but take note to the contrary,
> that it was buried according to the Jewish rite. Hence you may clearly
> apprehend that it was a material body, for the Jews were not spiritual
> beings, but flesh and blood, and they performed burials in the earthly
> sense, as with the body of Christ.[64]

Similarly, according to the *Summa* of Rainerius Sacconi written in 1250, heretics denied the

resurrection of the body and the existence of purgatory. They believed "that the Son God did not

acquire human nature in reality but only its semblance…Neither did He really eat, drink, or suffer,

nor was He really dead and buried, nor was His resurrection real, but all these things were in

appearance only ..."[65] Rainerius was both a converted heretic and a member of the Dominican

order.[66] His fellow friar Peter Martyr was reported to have founded the Society of the Virgin in

Florence around 1245 so that its focus on Mary as mother countered heretical rejections of Christ's

material body.[67]

Bodies and burial must have therefore been among the primary concerns of Dominicans

engaged in anti-heretical preaching and inquisitorial activity in thirteenth-century Toulouse.

Disinterring, dragging through the city, and burning "the bones and stinking bodies" of deceased

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[63] *The Resurrection of the Body*, 214-20, esp. 216-217.

[64] Walter L. Wakefield and Austin P. Evans, eds., *Heresies of the High Middle Ages: Selected Sources Translated and Annotated* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1969), 274.

[65] Ibid., 338.

[66] Ibid., 332: "But I, Brother Rainerius, formerly a heresiarch but now by the grace of God a priest in the Order of Preachers, although unworthy,…"

[67] Christine Caldwell, "Peter Martyr: the Inquisitor as Saint," *Comitatus: A Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 31 (2000), 140.

heretics not only purged the community of a harmful contagion,[68] it also reinforced orthodox

notions of the body as locus of self and identity, where signs of spiritual health were corporeally

manifest. It may be that at Toulouse such events as those described by Guilhelm Pelhisson were

acutely felt because of the history of the town's patron saint, who had been killed when dragged

along the city streets by a bull.[69] Indeed, it is difficult to imagine that dragging the dead from various

parts of the city and bourg to be burned in the count's meadow, which lay near the Chateau

Narbonnais, would not have evoked the memory of Sernin's martyrdom. This is especially true in

the case of the canon of Saint-Sernin mentioned above.[70] He was dug up from that saint's cloister

and must have been dragged along the same route as the saint himself—the old Roman *cardo*—but

in the opposite direction, in what might be interpreted as parody of a local legend that was ritually

reenacted in religious processions throughout the period.

Like the body of saint Sernin, these bodies left a kind of topographical footprint on the

town; houses were marked by their bodily presence, and thus had to be destroyed. The Statutes of

Toulouse of 1229, which dealt with the extirpation of heresy following the Albigensian Crusade,

required that any houses in which heretics had been found were to be razed and the property

confiscated.[71] We then have the testimony of Guilhelm Pelhisson that the house of a deceased

Waldensian was turned into a "waste pit."[72] Nearly a century later, Bernard Gui wrote that only

houses in which individuals had received heretical last rites (known as the *consolamentum*) were to be

destroyed.[73]According to his *Liber sententiarum*, twenty-two people had their homes destroyed

between 1308 and 1323 by his judgement; eight of these were imprisoned perpetually, while fourteen

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[68] On this point see especially R.I. Moore, "Heresy as Disease," ed. W. Lourdaux and D. Verhelst in *The Concept of Heresy in the Middle Ages (11ᵗʰ-13ᵗʰ C.): Proceedings of the International Conference, Louvain May 13-16, 1973* (The Hague: Leuven University Press-Martinus Hjoff, 1976), 1-11.

[69] See above, chapter one.

[70] See above n. 43.

[71] Giovanni Domenico Mansi, ed., *Sacrorum conciliorum*, vol. 23 (Venice, 1779), col. 195: "Illam autem domum in qua fuerit inventus haereticus, diruendam decernimus: & locus ipse sive fundus confiscetur."

[72] See above, n. 44.

[73] London, British Library, Add. MS 4697, f. 35; Given, *Inquisition and Medieval Society*, 30.

were burned postumously.[74] Ecclesiastical authorities recognized that heterodox belief and practice often spread through kin groups, and private domestic spaces were therefore suspect, particularly in the context of an anticlerical, dualist belief system; "the home could become an explicit rejection of the spaces dominated by the structure and hierarchy of the church, from bishops down to the parish priest, and could help generate autochthonous religious practices."[75] Such concerns may have been in the minds of the Dominicans who sought out accused heretics "even in their innermost bedchambers" in 1235. They certainly underlay the logic of demolishing heretical homes.

The presence of the ruins and burned out husks that this practice left behind was keenly felt. In 1236 (the same year the Dominicans returned to Toulouse after their expulsion), Count Raimon VII of Toulouse petitioned pope Gregory IX to end the practice, for it made a mess of certain forms of tenure, such as when the properties were pledged and therefore owed to creditors or when they were held in fief. "So noble a city," he claimed, "should not be deformed by ruins, especially since it is men who have sinned and not property."[76] Many citizens demanded reparations for these initial acts of the inquisition for the next forty odd years before their pleas were looked on favorably; in what may be an indication that heresy was largely wiped out, as John Mundy argued, a royal amnesty of 1279 decreed that the houses of condemned heretics in Toulouse "be remade or rebuilt" and returned to their heirs.[77] Their reassembling signaled a kind of redemption of urban topography,

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[74] Given, *Inquisition and Medieval Society*, 69.

[75] Caroline Bruzelius, *Preaching, Building, and Burying: Friars and the Medieval City* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014), 143.

[76] *Les régistres de Grégoire IX (1227-1241), Recueil des bulles de ce pape*, ed. Lucien Auvray, Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d'Athens et de Rome, 2d ser., 9 (Paris: A. Fontemoing, 1907), vol. 2, col. 1245, no. 4758 (June 1236); "Item sup[plicat] ut destructio domorum quam dominus Romanus, tunc temporis legatus, mandavit fieri in Tholosa, remittatur, ne creditores vel uxores quibus dicte domus sunt jure pignoris obligate, suis juribus defraudentur, et domini a quibus tenentur in feudum, jus suum ammittant, et sic contingat quod alter pro alio puniatur, quod fieri non debet, cum peccata suos debeant tenere actores et tam nobilem civitatem ruinis non deceat deformari, maxime cum non res sed homines peccaverunt; et ut a sententia que propter hoc contra ipsum lata est, absolvatur."

[77] John Hine Mundy, *The Repression of Catharism at Toulouse: The Royal Diploma of 1279* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1985), 79: "Rursus domos…reffici seu rehedificari et redificatas et integras remanere…";

much as reassembled parts in the resurrection of the body signaled the redemption of men and women.

In fact, while the penal destruction of homes looms large in the sources, building or rebuilding was just as much a part of the inquisition as it developed over the course of the thirteenth century. When the Dominican inquisitors Guillaume-Bernard de Dax and Rainaud de Chartres were in Najac, in Rouerge, in 1253, they inspected the parish church and "saw that its capacity could not accommodate the population of the place." They therefore demanded of the consuls and good men of the town that they build a new one—twenty-eight fathoms long and seven wide, with a roof of stone—within seven years.[78] This mandate was not an isolated incident. Inquisitors also required that new churches be built in 1254 at Lavaur and in 1271 at Gaillac.[79] Such projects appear to have been acts of penance; in return for their promise to build a church, the inhabitants of Najac had any sentences imposed for heresy commuted. But they also complemented the mendicants' pastoral mission, by providing new, enhanced church spaces for the cure of souls.

III. Burial at the Jacobin Church of Toulouse

In addition to demanding new parish churches, the Dominicans also built their own. As they reshaped the memory of the hereticated dead, they also provided new opportunities for orthodox

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another copy of the diploma has: "…domos…destructas refficere, rehedificare, vel rehedificatas et integras retinere."

[78] Published in Auguste and Émile Molinier, *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes* 42 (1881): 371-372 (as a *pièce justificative* for their article in the same volume, "Najac en Rouergue, notes historiques et archéologiques": 129-156): "Cum Dei providentia fratres ordinis Predicatorum, Guillelmus Bernardi Aquensis et Reginaldus de Carnoto, inquisitores heretice pravitatis in comitatibus et terris nobilis viri comitis Tholosani auctoritate apostolica deputati, ad castrum Najaci inquisitionis causa declinassent, anno Domini 1258, nonis aprilis, et ipsi ecclesie parrochialis quantitate inspecta, vidissent ejus capacitatem non sufficere ad recipiendum populum dicti loci, rogaverunt…nos consules dicti castri…et alios probos homines de Najaco, ut nos…ibidem de novo construeremus ecclesiam que capax esse posset populi supradicti. Nos igitur prefati consules et populus dicti castri…promisimus et obligavimus nos spontanee…pro nobis et toto populo dicti loci, prefatis inquisitoribus et successoribus eorumdem…quod nos, infra septem annos continuos a presenti pascali tempore numerandos, divino suffragante nobis auxilio, dictam in dicto castro de bonis nostris construemus ecclesiam, que in longum viginti et octo et in latum septem brachia continebit, testudine lapidea supertecta." While in Najac, the inquisitors commuted the sentences imposed on inhabitants for heresy.

[79] Ibid.: 139.

interment, and in so doing inserted themselves ever more strongly into the material and spiritual topography of the town. From the beginning they were supported in Toulouse by its bishop, Folc of Marseille (c. 1150-1231), and the cathedral clergy.[80] This alliance was fully realized with the election of the Dominican Raimon de Fauga to the episcopate in 1232, after Folc's death. Serving for nearly forty years, Raimon was the first bishop of Toulouse since the early days of Christianity whom we know to have been buried within the town itself (perhaps even the very first, if we consider that in those early days the bishops were interred at the basilica of St.-Sernin and thus outside the boundaries of the Roman city).[81] Raimon was interred at the Dominican church in 1270, where he had served as provincial prior and where his epitaph celebrated him as an eloquent preacher.[82] Tradition held that the bishops of Toulouse had always been buried at the basilica of St.-Sernin in the bourg, and so Raimon's burial seems to have both broken with tradition and served as a precedent for the next two bishops. His immediate successor, Bertrand de L'Isle-Jourdain (d. 1286), was interred at the cathedral of St.-Etienne (apparently the first bishop buried there), while the next, Hugues Mascaron (d. 1296), followed Raimon's example and was buried at the Dominican church, even though he was not a member of the order. Both stipulated their place of burial in their wills.[83] By the end of the century, then, episcopal burials had moved away from Saint-Sernin in the bourg and towards the Dominican church and the cathedral to the south.

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[80] For a history of the period that takes the fascinating career of Folc as its focus, see N.M. Schulman, *Where Troubadours were Bishops: The Occitania of Folc of Marseille (1150-1231)* (New York: Routledge, 2001).

[81] See the chart in Patrice Cabau, "Les évêques de Toulouse (IIIe-XIVe siècles) et les lieux de leur sépulture: seconde partie," *Mémoires de la Société archéologique du Midi de la France* 60 (2000), 117.

[82] *Corpus des inscriptions de la France médiévale*, vol. 7: Ville de Toulouse, ed. Edmond-René Labande (Paris: Editions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1982), 24: "PRAESUL RAIMUNDUS JACET HIC QUEM FLET MODO MUNDUS / CUJUS ERAT FUNDUS MIRUS MONS HINC ORIUNDUS / VERBIS FACUNDUS PAUCIS PROBITATE SECUNDUS / FACTIS SECUNDUS MAGNIS SENSUQUE PROFUNDUS / ORDO FACIT FRATREM FRATRUM PROVINCIA PATREM / MONS PESSULANUS IPSUM DE FRATRE PRIORAT / SEDE TOLOSANUS CATHEDRALI CLERUS HONORAT / VIRGO MARIA DEI PRAESENTET HUNC FACIEI / UT SIC FIAT EI DIC MISERERE MEI". The inscription is unfortunately no longer extant.

[83] Cabau, "Les évêques de Toulouse," 117. Both Bertrand and Hugues had been Augustinian canons.

The century also saw a reorientation of lay devotion, as the Dominicans, along with the Franciscans and other new orders, gradually displaced the parish clergy as witnesses to testaments and as beneficiaries of charity. This is recorded as early as 1234, when two Dominicans alongside a chaplain of Saint-Sernin witnessed the testament of Hugh Willelmus. In another testament of the same year the Dominican church was listed along with the parish churches, hospitals, and leprosaria of the town as recipients of the deceased's charity.[84] By 1275 Dominicans were among the primary beneficiaries (second only to the Daurade church) in the testament of one Bernard Bruno, a wealthy merchant and citizen of Toulouse, who stipulated that his donation was to finance the construction and maintenance of a chapel and altar dedicated to Christ and Saint James in the Dominican church. Importantly, Bernard also specified that he was to be buried behind the altar in this chapel and that within eight days his executors were to hold a kind of funerary feast (*prandium*) during which the friars of the convent would pray for his soul (*teneantur celebrare pro anima eius et celebrent*).[85]

This notable shift in testamentary and burial practices seems have coincided with a reaction against ecclesiastical regulation of such practices. Municipal legislation attests a certain anxiety about funerary practices as early as 1205, when the consuls limited the number of people visiting the body of the deceased and prohibited gratuitous displays of grief that included scratching one's face, pulling hair, tearing clothing, and throwing oneself on the ground.[86] Regulation by the Church, however, intensified only after the defeat of the *Midi* in the Albigensian crusade. One of the express intentions of the Council of Toulouse in 1229, led by the papal legate cardinal Romanus Frangipani, was to reform testamentary (though not burial) practice. From then on, any testament made without

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[84] Mundy, *Society and Government in Toulouse*, 453.

[85] The testament is published in Célestin Douais, "Des fortunes commerciales à Toulouse et de la topographie des églises et maisons religieuses de Toulouse d'après deux testaments (XIIIᵉ-XVᵉ siècle)," *Mémoires de la Société Archéologique du Midi de la France* 15 (1894), 39-45, with the passages concerning the Dominicans on 40.

[86] R. Limouzin-Lamothe, ed., *La Commune de Toulouse et les Sources de son Histoire (1220-1249), Étude historique et critique suivie de l'édition du cartulaire du consultat* (Toulouse: Édouard Privat, 1932), no. 52, 360: "…quod aliquis vel aliqua non faciat se ducere vel tenere alicui ad corpus mortuum alicuius propinqui vel propinque vel ad aliud corpus mortuum…Et quod aliquis vel aliqua non ingratunet se in facie cum unguibus, nec capillos dilaniet cum minibus, nec scindat vestes, nec in terra se prosternat."

clerical witnesses, and preferably the appropriate parish priest, would be considered invalid. Public

notaries were no longer allowed to draft wills without consulting the clergy.[87] Sometime between

1251 and 1255, however, a petition submitted to the count, Alphonse of Poitiers, protested

excessive burial expenses, the clergy's taxation of those who desired burial outside their parish, and

the stipulation that all men and women regardless of economic status were required to leave a will.

The count responded favorably in 1255, repealing the conciliar canon on testamentary practice and

confirming that Toulousan testaments could be made without the participation of parish clergy (who

nevertheless appear fairly consistently in surviving documents).[88] The Dominicans and other

mendicant orders offered the laity an alternative to the parish clergy, multiplying the possible outlets

for lay devotion and charitable giving. By the last quarter of the thirteenth century, as the testament

of Bernard Bruno demonstrates, they had become a major part of the spiritual topography of the

town.

Bernard's desire to be buried in the Jacobin church of Toulouse, moreover, reveals how

initial restrictions on burial in Dominican churches had been relaxed by the last quarter of the

thirteenth century. Aside from the fact that most townspeople of lesser means were probably

satisfied with parish burials, burial in Dominican churches was nominally restricted by the order's

restrictions on ostentatious decoration in architecture. According to the testimony of a certain

brother Etienne of Lombardy in 1233 at the canonization process of Dominic, when the latter saw

that the friars of Bologna were in the process of raising the ceiling of their cells, he cried out

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[87] Mundy, "The Town's Parishes from 1150-1250," in his *Studies in the Ecclesiastical and Social History of Toulouse in the Age of the Cathars* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 25, citing the resulting consitution published by Giovanni Mansi, ed., *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio* (Florence, Venice, and Paris, 1759-1927) vol. 23, col. 198: "Cum vero aliquis voluerit condere testamentum, hoc faciat sub testimonio sui presbyteri, vel alteris ecclesiasticae personae, si proprius non possit haberi sacerdos adhibitis bonae opinionis viris, quos ad haec voluerit accersiri. Et testamenta aliter facta vigorem non habeant, nec alicujus sint momenti."

[88] Pierre-Fr. Fournier and Pascal Guébin, *Enquêtes administratives d'Alfonse de Poitiers. Arrêts de son parlement tenu à Toulouse et textes annexes. 1249-1271* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1959), 77: "Item super testamentis condendis serventur jura et consuetudo Tholosana, que a jure non discrepat hac parte, non obstante constitutione domini Romani, cardinalis, legati condam in partibus Tholosanis, que erat quod non valerent testamenta condita sine presentia capellani parochialis." Mundy, "The Town's Parishes," 28.

tearfully, "Are you willing to abandon poverty so easily and build great palaces?"[89] To the general

architectural restrictions in the constitutions of 1220 and 1228 were added, by the middle of the

century, restrictions on burial practice. In 1245, for example, the general chapter of the order

decreed that no tomb*s cum sculpturis prominentibus* be put in its churches. In 1250, this was amended to

simply that *in nostris ecclesiis sepulture non fiant*. Provincial chapters had their own legislation on the

issue, such as that of the provincial chapter of Provence in 1251, which ordered priors to avoid

placing tombs in church walls.[90] And yet Bernard's testament of 1275 conveys no sense that he was

asking for anything unusual when he requested that his executors construct a funerary *monumentum*

behind the altar of St. James in the chapel he himself was financing. Of course, the gap between

legislation and practice in Dominican architecture and decoration seems to have been especially

great at the Jacobin church of Toulouse, which had numerous vaults that towered a full eighteen

meters above the level stipulated in the statutes, as well as many late thirteenth-century wall

paintings (a form of decoration usually forbidden).[91] In fact, although the provincial chapter of

Provence attempted to enforce legislation concerning mosaics and paintings in 1279 and 1298, these

are the only known attempts by Dominicans to enforce any kind of architectural austerity after

1276.[92]

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[89] *Acta canonisationis S. Dominici*, MOPH XVI, 157: "Cum haberent fratres apud sanctum Nicolaum cellas villissimas et parvas, frater Rodulphus, qui erat procurator fratrum, in absentia eiusdem fratris Dominici quasdam cellas cepit per brachium elevare. Sed revertens dictus frater Dominicus, cum videret cellulas elevatas, cepit cum fletu pluries predictum fratrem Rodulphum et fratres alios reprehendere, dicendo et aliis fratribus: Vulis tam cito paupertatem relinquere et magna palatia edificare? Unde iniunxit eis, quod predictum opus dimitterent et sic stetit imperfectum donec vixit." See G. Meersseman, "L'architecture dominicaine au XIIIᵉ siècle. Législation et pratique," *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 16 (1946): 144.

[90] These and other decrees of the general and provincial chapters concerning decoration, tombs, and furnishings are collected in Richard A. Sundt, "*Mediocres domos et humiles habeant fratres nostri*: Dominican Legislation on Architecture and Architectural Decoration in the 13ᵗʰ century," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 46 (1987), Appendix C, 406: (general chapter, 1245) "Item. Non fiant in ecclesiis nostris cum sculpturis prominentibus sepulture. Et que facte sunt auferantur."; (general chapter, 1250) "Item. Quod in nostris ecclesiis sepulture non fiant."; (provincial chapter of Provence, 1251) "Item, quod priores caveant fabricas notabiles et sumptuosas et superfluas, et sepulcra inserta parieti ecclesie sicut in Podio; et omnes fratres devitent notabilem habitum." See Sundt's comment on tombs in Dominican churches on 401, n. 55.

[91] Ibid., 402-404.

[92] Ibid., 404 and Appendix C, 406, *sub annis*.

In any case, burial in the Jacobin church was nothing new, for some inquisitors of the order martyred at Avignonet in 1243 had been interred there. According to the *Vitae fratrum ordinis Praedicatorum*, compiled by Géraud de Frachet in 1250, the future place of their tomb within the church was foretold on the night of their martyrdom to a woman attending mass there, who later recounted her vision to the prior of the convent. The right arm of a crucifix that stood in the middle of the church fell away, blood poured out, and the cross spoke to the woman, instructing her to tell the prior that their bodies were to be placed to its right side.[93] The crucifix in question was likely that placed above the median portal of the choir screen, and so along the same axis as the celebrant during the elevation of the host, an arrangement that Panayota Volti has suggested closely associated it with the body and blood of Christ.[94] For the Dominicans, the vision was unambigiously a divine mandate. Moreover, the fact that the writing of Frachet's *Vitae fratrum* coincides so neatly with the mid-century period of increased regulation on church tombs is highly suggestive of a reaction against such regulation. That is to say, the woman's story not only authenticated the status of Domincan remains as sacred relics, but also rationalized burial *intra ecclesiam*. By that time, however, the church already housed the bodies of at least some who had not been martyred inquisitors; surviving epitaphs indicate that, in addition to the prior of Toulouse, two men (one a jurist, the other a merchant) were interred there in the 1250s (fig. 30).[95] And as we have seen, the Dominican bishop Raimon de Fauga was buried there in 1270—five years before Bernard Bruno's death— possibly with a highly decorated tomb.[96] By the late thirteenth century, a notable local knight (who

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[93] Bernard Montagnes and Maurice Prin, "Le tombeau des martyrs d'Avignonet aux Jacobins de Toulouse," *Mémoires de la Société archéologique du Midi de la France* 64 (2004), 156.

[94] "Décor et architecture dans les églises dominicaines du Moyen Âge: une mise en perspective, *Mémoire dominicaine* 7 (2006): 80.

[95] Toulouse, Musée des Augustins, Inventory nos. Ra 542 (prior), Ra 543 (merchant) and Ra 544 (jurist); the order of the last two is reversed in some catalogues (and on the display at the museum in fall of 2012). The prior and jurist were buried in 1258. The epitaph for the merchant is partially effaced, but may bear a date of 1252.

[96] In the seventeenth century, Guillaume de Catel wrote that his sepulcher could be found "au mitan du chœr de ladite église, où l'on voit encore son tombeau sur lequel il est relevé de bronze doré et émaillé"; *Mémoires de l'histoire de Languedoc* (Toulouse: Arnaud Colomiez, 1633), 905.

may have been a consul) could find interrment there in a sculpted marble sarcophagus bearing his family's arms, with the *agnus dei* carved onto the lid (fig. 31).[97] The remains of Thomas Aquinas were translated there from Bologna in 1369.[98]
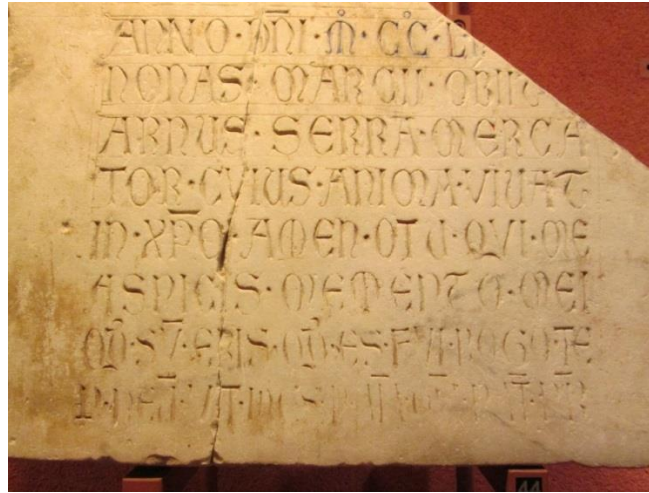
Fig. 30. Epitaph of Isarnus Serra, "mercator," 1251(?). Toulouse, Musée des Augustins, Ra 543. Photo: author.

Fig. 31. Thirteenth-century sarcophagus from the Dominican church of Toulouse. Of a knight of Palays, possibly Hugues de Palays, who served as consul in 1284. Toulouse, Musée des Augustins, Ra 541 and 5951. Photo: author.

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[97] Musée des Augustines, Inventory nos. Ra 541 and (the lid) 5951.
[98] Many documents concerning this translation are preserved in A.D.H.G. 112 H 29, available on microfilm under 2 Mi 618.

In the fourteenth century, burial possibilities at the Jacobin church multiplied. In 1335, Dominique Grima, the Dominican bishop of Pamiers and notable exegete, commissioned a new chapel at his order's church in Toulouse.[99] Finished six years later, the chamber served as a place of burial for local Dominicans as well as the bishop himself and members of his cathedral chapter. It was dedicated to that cathedral's patron, Antonin of Pamiers, and its walls were lavishly decorated with scenes from that saint's life. Antonin was known as the Apostle of Rouergue, an early Christian missionary to the region around Rodez. This put him alongside several other third-century "apostles to the Gauls," including Sernin of Toulouse, Paul of Narbonne, and Saint Denis of Paris. Medieval hagiographic lore consistently moved these saints back in time, so that by the fourteenth century they were believed contemporaneous with the original apostolic generation. Moreover, many of the original apostolic generation were also believed to have come to southern France after the death of Christ, such that Sernin and Antonin now preached in Languedoc while Mary Magdalene and Lazarus converted Marseille and much of Provence. This is all to say that when the Dominicans expanded across the region in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, they were relative newcomers to a spiritual landscape already saturated with the memories and relics of ancient apostles. The chapel of Saint Antonin at Toulouse is one very real, very material way in which Dominicans tapped that ancient reservoir of holiness.

It seems pertinent to start with a disclaimer: there was no historical figure named Antoninus of Pamiers. He is a medieval creation whose hagiography combined elements from the lives of other saints, most notably Antoninus of Appamea, in Syria. In fact, it is possible that when Roger II, the count of Foix, returned from the First Crusade, he brought some relics of this saint back with him and named one of his castles Appamea after the location of his crusading exploits. The nearby town of Fredelas eventually took the name as well, which became Pamiers in the vernacular. But the story

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[99] On Grima, see Martin Morard, "Dominique Grima, o.p., un exégète thomiste à Toulouse au début du XIVᵉ siècle," *Cahiers de Fanjeaux: Église et culture en France méridionale (XIIᵉ-XIVᵉ siècle)* 35 (2000): 325-374.

of a local Antoninus was at that time already supported by local cult practice and several hagiographical texts. Then, at the beginning of the twelfth century, Pope Pascal II wrote a version of his life that was widely popular even into the sixteenth century.[100]

According to this tradition, Antonin was born at Pamiers. He lived for nineteen years as a hermit. Then, turning down the episcopate of Toulouse, he journeyed to Noble-Val, where he established up a base of operations for converting the surrounding region. Pagan kings vexed him throughout his life. One tied a millstone to his neck and dumped him in the Garonne river at Toulouse. He floated for four days, and his divine buoyancy encouraged many of his persecutors to join him in the water, where he baptized them. After his return to Pamiers, he was tracked down, beheaded, and dismembered when he refused to worship idols. His body was thrown into the Ariege river. But angels collected it and placed it in a boat. Guided by two birds, the boat carried him downriver, northward past Toulouse, then, miraculously, upriver along the Tarn and the Aveyron to Noble-Val. A local king whom Antonin had converted then found and buried him. By the ninth century, there are references to an abbey there that housed his remains, the monks of which were no doubt responsible for the legend of his miraculous translation. Another abbey dedicated to him popped up in Pamiers a century later.

These abbeys were not the only groups to claim the saint as patron. As described above in chapter two, the consuls of Pamiers also invoked his memory when in the middle of the thirteenth century they established an urban government and a city seal. This seal depicted the saint's watery transit: Antonin lies in a boat, his arm raised, while two birds grace the prow and stern. When the bishopric of Pamiers was created in 1275, the cathedral was also dedicated to him. Sixty years later,

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[100] Jean-Luc Bourdartchouk, Patrice Cabau, Laurent Claeys, and Marc Comelongue, "L'invention de saint Antonin de Pamiers," *Mémoires de la Société Archéologique du Midi de la France* 63 (2003): 14–57. *De S. Antonino Martyre Apameae in Syria*, in *Acta Sanctorum Septembris*, ed. Joannes Pinius, Joannes Stiltingus, Joanees Limpenus, and joannes Veldius (Antwerp, 1746), 340-356. Antonin's legend is also described by Brigitte Miriam Bedos-Rezak, *When Ego Was Imago: Signs of Identity in the Middle Ages* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 244-246, who analyzes the seals of Saint-Antonin and Pamiers, both of which incorporated hagiographical elements.

Dominique Grima, the Dominican bishop of Pamiers, incorporated the same imagery into his personal seal. The iconography of the saint was similar in all these cases: Antonin's body lies in a boat guided by birds, sometimes floating past (or perhaps towards?) a fortification on a rocky outcrop. The dominant motif is one of movement, transit, or physical translation.

The financier of the new burial chapel at the Jacobin church was this very Dominique Grima. Originally from the region of Toulouse, he had studied philosophy and theology at a number of Dominican *studia* both in the *Midi* and at Paris. He then taught at Toulouse between 1311 and 1321, where he began to compose an ambitious but never finished biblical commentary. In 1320, he assisted Bernard Gui at Toulouse in the inquisition against heresy. After serving Pope John XXII in Avignon as Master of the Sacred Palace, he replaced another inquisitor, Jacques Fournier, as bishop of Pamiers in 1326, a position he held until his death in 1348.

The burial chapel that he had built at the Dominican convent in Toulouse is entered from the cloister and lies between the chapter hall and the refectory. Carved above the arched entryway is Grima's personal seal. The only natural light enters from two windows flanking the entry and a further three in the apse. Despite ongoing efforts at restoration, the interior is heavily damaged. While the bottom register has been entirely destroyed, the paintings are better preserved as one looks higher. The best-preserved part is the rib vault ceiling, which depicts the second vision of the Apocalypse. Christ sits enthroned, one hand on a lamb lying across his knees, the other raised in blessing. To his right sits a book sealed with seven seals. The other roundels contain the twenty-four elders.

What would have been the most visible section of the paintings in the Middle Ages is today the most damaged. These are the two rows of scenes from the life of Saint Antonin along the walls,

each with an accompanying inscription.[101] Only fourteen of the original forty are still in any way

visible. They depict the saint's peregrinations, miracles, and ultimately his martyrdom. By

circumambulating the chapel, fourteenth-century Dominicans walked with Antonin as he traveled

twice (once while alive and again after death) from Pamiers to Noble-Val, contemplating his trials

and tribulations at the hands of persecutors as he, for example, "converted a multitude of pagans to

the faith by preaching at the palace in Toulouse."[102] This embodied experience allowed them to

relive a very mobile history to which they, as itinerant preachers and inquistors, could relate. A

reading of this chapel and its iconographical program reveals how such hagiographic narratives were

redeployed and contributed to the communal identity of friars, who saw themselves as modern-day

apostles: they preached to the masses, they confounded modern-day pagans (now heretics), and they

sometimes, like their apostolic predecessors, even achieved martyrdom. Three figures were painted

above the chapel's exit. As the friars left the chapel they would have looked up to see Antonin above

the portal, flanked on the left by Peter of Verona—the Dominican inquisitor killed in 1252 by an

assassin allegedly in the employ of heretics—and on the right by Dominic himself.[103] Peter and

Antonin both hold a book in one hand and the palm branch of the martyr in the other. The spatial

imaginary of fourteenth-century Dominicans thus engaged with an extant, sacred local landscape in

which early apostles were typological reflections of the friars themselves. This imaginary took

material form in the burial chapel, structuring the experiences of friars as they celebrated their dead.

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[101] The fragmentary images and inscriptions have been reconstructed, as far as possible, by Marcel Rouillard, "Les peintures de la chapelle Saint-Antonin dans l'ancien couvent des Jacobins de Toulouse," *Notes d'art et d'archéologie* 1 (1889): 209-219.

[102] Ibid., 217: "...predicando Thol(os)e in palatio ad fidem convertit mul(ti)tud(in)em pag(a)norum." This is the partial inscription beneath one of the effaced wall paintings.

[103] Ibid., 219.

IV. The Dominicans and Saint Sernin

In the second half of the thirteenth century, the cult of Saint Sernin seems to have been reinvigorated largely under the aegis of the Dominicans. On 6 September 1258, the Dominican bishop Raimon de Fauga supervised the elevation of saint Sernin's tomb at the basilica and the construction, between 1259 and 1265, of a two-tiered baldaquin to surround it. This hexagonal baldaquin had openwork sides, each one surmounted by a gable with trilobed openings. The six statues that adorned the pillars supporting these gables were identified as saints Sernin, Hilary, Silvius, Exuperius and Erembert (that is, the sainted bishops of late antique and early medieval Toulouse). Decorative heads protruded from the top of the pillars. In 1283 or 1284, a silver-worked reliquary in the form of a church was placed on the upper level of the baldaquin to house Sernin's remains, and its bell tower appears to have been modeled after the basilica's own.[104] This reliquary emphasized the role of the basilica as the possessor of the saint's body, reinforcing the link between physical and spiritual topographies—between holy bodies and holy places—in Toulouse.

The most striking illustration of the way in which Saint Sernin took on new significance for Dominicans in Toulouse can be found in the writings of Bernard Gui.[105] Gui, who served as an inquisitor in the town between 1307 and 1323, recorded versions of the saint's life no less than four times. Three of these texts date from 1313: a treatise on the seventy-two disciples of Christ; a collection devoted to the saints of the diocese of Toulouse; and an episcopal list, the *Nomina episcoparum Tholose*. The fourth text is the *vita* of the saint that Gui included in his massive *Speculum sanctorale* in 1318, which he elaborated upon sometime between then and 1324. In the latter three works he also recorded both the elevation of the saint's tomb in 1258 and the translation of his body

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[104] Henri Pradalier, "Saint-Sernin Gothique," *Mémoires de la Société Archéologique du Midi de la France* 63 (2003): 92-93, 97.

[105] The ways in which Gui synthesized local saints' cults with universal ideals of sanctity are the subject of an extensive study, Agnès Dubreil-Arcin, *Vies de saints, légendes de soi. L'écriture hagiographique dominicaine jusqu'au* Speculum sanctorale *de Bernard Gui (†1331)* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011). Sernin receives very little attention here, however.

to a new reliquary in the 1280s, all of which, it has been noted, attests to his active participation in the renewal of the saint's cult in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries.[106]

In these writings on Sernin, Gui compiled information from the *passio antiqua*, oral tradition, and what seems to have been some rather more fanciful legends concerning the saint, in the process creating and disseminating a new synthesis of hagiographic material. First, while as early as the sixth century Caesarius of Arles and Gregory of Tours had considered Saturninus a disciple of the apostles, Gui transformed him into one of the original seventy-two disciples of Christ sent out in pairs in the Gospel of Luke.[107] In this he followed the hagiographic trend of many other late-antique saints, who also became members of this select group. It may be unsurprising that the Dominicans saw these disciples as precursors. After all, Humbert of Romans had used Christ's words to them, as reported by Luke, to encourage his friars to endure the defiance of urban populations.[108] But by making him one of those whom the Lord himself appointed to preach, Gui collapsed the time between biblical and late-antique Toulouse, reinforcing spiritual and historical connections.

Conflating him with an unnamed follower of John the Baptist, Gui emphasized the saint's commitment to the apostolic life: "Having heard about his reputation, and considering his austerity—since John was dressed in a camel skin and ate locusts and honey—Saturnin left his father and mother and all the glories of the world in order to follow him."[109] The Dominican also stressed the saint's efforts at preaching and conversion: *evangelium dei predicans, et multos ad fidei veritatem ab errore*

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[106] Agnès Dubreil-Arcin, "Saint Sernin et saint Jacques dans le légendier de Bernard Gui," *Toulouse sur les chemins de Saint-Jacques: De saint Saturnin au Tour des Corps Saints* (Milan: Skira, 1999), 127-135, esp. 134. On Gui generally see the contributions in *Cahiers de Fanjeaux: Bernard Gui et son monde* 16 (1981) and, more usefully for his writings, Anne-Marie Lamarrigue, *Bernard Gui (1261-1331): un historien et sa méthode* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2000).

[107] B.M.T. MS 480 (*Speculum sanctorale*) , second part, f. 249: "Postmodum vero designavit et alios septuaginta duos discipulos, quorum unus fuit Sanctus Saterninus." In B.M.T. MS 450 (which includes Gui's catalogue on the seventy-two disciples of Christ), the entry for Sernin begins on f. 220.

[108] *Humberti de Romanis de eruditione Praedicatorum* II, 491.

[109] B.M.T. MS 480, second part, f. 248v: "Audita eius fama Sanctus Saturninus relinquens patrem et matrem, et omnem terrenam gloriam, sequetus fuit Iohannem considerans vite eius austeritatem, quia indutus erat pilis cameli, et zona pellicea circa lumbos eius, et locustas et mel silvestre etebat."

revocans et committens.[110] Indeed, his vision of Sernin's life was fundamentally shaped by the experience

of heresy and crusade in Languedoc. The saint became a *miles Christi*,[111] who confounded the

enemies of the faith in a debate similar to those commonly reported between orthodox preachers

and heretics in the region.[112] This interpretation was facilitated by the already extant hagiographic

tradition, in which his mere presence was enough to frighten and silence the pagan oracles at the

Capitoline temple.[113] In other words, the hagiography of saint Sernin allowed Bernard Gui the

opportunity to develop a model of apostolic poverty and preaching ability, a model, that is, of

Dominican religiosity. As a result, he and his fellow friars could envision themselves as the apostolic

successors of the patron saint of Toulouse.

In Gui's version, moreover, Sernin's refutation of the pagans is accompanied by a

transformation of the urban topography not recorded in previous versions of the saint's life. "I will

not sacrifice to idols," he has Sernin declare, "but only to all-knowing God."[114] While this is taken

nearly verbatim from the *passio antiqua*, what follows is unique to the *vita* by Gui. The pagan idols

collapse immediately at his feet and are reduced to ashes – *sicut nihil errant in nihilum redierunt*:

> Consequently, when the entire city saw that the shrines of their idols
> were destroyed, they cried out in rage with tearful complaints saying,
> "How do we now live? Why do we not die? Oh! Alas! For what have
> we led that wicked Saturninus to this place? Why don't we kill him
> immediately so that we may avenge the injury to ourselves and to our

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[110] Ibid., f. 249v.

[111] Ibid., f. 252: "O miles Christi fortissimo Saturnine,…"

[112] See, for example, the debates in Wakefield and Evans, *Heresies of the High Middle Ages*, 189-94, 210-213, and 289-96. Gui himself attests to a certain anxiety about such debates when he noted the risk, especially for those inadequately prepared, of entering into such debates when laymen were present in his *Practica inquisitionis heretice pravitatis*; Ibid., 377-78.

[113] See, for example, the *Passio antiqua* (Bourdartchouk and Arramond, "Le souvenir du *Capitolium*," 31: "ante annos satis plurimos, id est Decio & Grato consulibus, sicut fideli recordatione retinetur, primum et summum Christi Tolosa civitas sanctum Saturninum habere coeperat sacerdotem, cujus fide atque virtute eorum, qui in urbe eadem colebantur, daemonum coeperunt cessare vaticinia, commenta nudari, artes detegi, omnisque illorum apud gentiles potentia, omnisque fallatia, christianorum fide crescente, descrescere. Cumque supradicto Episcopo ad ecclesiam id temporis parvulam juxta Capitolium, quod inter domum suam & domum Dei erat, frequens itus esset ac reditus, sancti viri praesentiam sustinere fallax daemonum turba non potuit; & ut erant muta simulacra nonnuliis adumbrata phantasiis, ad sacrilega obsequia & sollicita consulentium vota coeperunt in silentio permanere."

[114] Toulouse, B.M. 480, second part, f. 252: "Ego ydolis non immolabo, sed soli omnipotenti deo in ara cordis mei iocundus laudum hostias sacrificabo. Ipsum mente confiteor, ore collaudo."

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gods? For sin! We mocked, now we are conquered, we are deceived.
How will our now desolate city endure?[115]

Sernin's words thus cause nothing less than the physical and spiritual collapse of the urban community, throwing the populace into confusion and existential fear. Moreover, the reversion of the pagan idols into ashes (*favilla*) is reminiscent of how the houses and towers of condemned heretics were razed in the previous century to cleanse the city of heresy.

It is important to place Gui's revisions of Sernin's *vita* within the context of his larger ideological project. Fundamentally, he was concerned with textualizing the Dominican tradition. In 1304 he wrote a chronicle of the Masters of the order—the *Catalogus magistrorum*—at the request of the current Master Aymeric of Piacenza. His successor Bérenger of Landorre was similarly impressed with Gui's abilities and demanded more, after which Gui sent him a new edition with documents concerning Saint Dominic appended. Not long afterward, probably around 1315, Gui offered him his *Flores chronicorum*, an historical compilation that described the lives of popes, emperors, and French kings. Bérenger then commissioned Gui to produce a collection of saint's lives—the *Speculum sanctorale*, with which I have been concerned—to supersede the Dominican Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda Aurea*.[116] Like all his historical works, the *Speculum* involved synthesizing and harmonizing various sources. What I want to suggest is that, in his revision of the life of Sernin, Gui either consciously or subconsciously reconciled the spiritual history of Toulouse with the thirteenth-century arrival of the Dominicans. In another work, his *De fundatione et prioribus conventum provinciarum tolosanae et provinciae ordinis praedicatorum*, he included the entirety of Guilhem Pelhisson's chronicle of inquisitorial activity in the town, a strong indication of the importance of

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[115] Ibid.: "Cumque beatus Saturninus hiis dictis iterum atque iterum nocentium manibus innocens dilamaretur, et undique p...omnia ydola corruendo ante pedes eius confracta sunt, et ilico redacta sunt in favillam. Et sicut erant nichil. in nichilum redierunt...Cum igitur universa civitas comperisset diruta esse delubra idolorum, flebili querimonia insana proclamabat dicens: Ut quid iam vivimus? Cur non morimur? Heu heu! Ut quid maleficum istum huc adduximus Saturninum? Quare sub momento illum non perimus, ut nostram deorumque iniuriam ulcisceremur? Pronephas illusimus, victi sumus, decepti sumus. Quomodo iam nostra desolata permanebit civitas?"
[116] All this is very nicely elucidated in Simon Tugwell's introduction to his *Bernardi Guidonis Scripta de Sancto Dominico* (*Monumenta Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum Historica* XXVII, Rome, 1998), 17-23.

those events to Dominican identity.[117] By copying it into a general history of the order in Toulouse

and Provence, Gui thereby enshrined in Dominican historiography the memory of disinterring and

dragging unholy bodies through the streets. Meanwhile, in his life of Sernin, he did the same for a

very different memory, that of Sernin, whose holy body had similarly been inscribed on the streets

and minds of medieval Toulousans, and whose form of life—preaching to and confounding the

pagans—now looked distinctly Dominican.

V. A Mendicant Magdalene in Provence

While the Dominican appropriation of Sernin and his apostolic alterations of the landscape

might seem exceptional because of the historical significance of Toulouse to the order, similar

patterns are discernable elsewhere in Occitània. The history of Mary Magdalen in Provence, for

example, provided an opportunity to tap into the cult of a saint with considerably greater cachet. In

December of 1279, Charles II, Prince of Salerno, future count of Provence and king of Naples

(upon the death of his father, Charles of Anjou, six years later), discovered the remains of Mary

Magdalene at the church of Saint-Maximin in Provence. Pope Boniface VIII, on 6 April 1295,

commended the prince for his

> exceptional devotion to this saint widely known by the facts, chiefly
> through the evidence of service you deigned to show, in that once
> while there was uncertainty about the place where her body had been
> buried you devoted your efficacious zeal to inquiring about it and
> discovering it, and at last, having found it, you had her buried in the
> above-cited church, with great devotion and reverence, in the
> presence of the clergy and the people convened from those parts.[118]

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[117] Bernardus Guidonis, *De fundatione et prioribus conventuum provinciarum tolosanae et provinciae ordinis praedicatorum*, ed. P.A. Amargier, *Monumenta Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum Historica* 24 (1961), 32-42.

[118] E.-M. Faillon, *Monuments inedits sur l'apostolat de Sainte Marie-Madeleine en Provence: et sur les autres apôtres de cette contrée: saint Lazare, saint Maximin, sainte Marthe et les saintes Maries Jacobé et Salomé*, vol. 2 (Paris: Migne, 1859), 819: "Nos igitur attendentes, quod tu eximiam devotionem a te habitam ad praefatam sanctam, ex eo praecipue per operis evidentiam ostendisse dignosceris, quod olim, dum incertus existeret locus, ubi sepultum fuerat corpus ipsum, ad illud inquirendum, et inveniendum, efficax studium impendisti, e! tandem eodem invento ipsum in dicta ecclesia fecisti cum debita devotione ac reverentia, conveniente ad hoc cleri et populi partium illarum copiosa multitudine, tumulari ..." The bull is also published in *Bullarium Ordinis FF. Praedicatorum*, ed. Thomas Ripoll, 8 vols.

This *inventio* of the saint's body took place in a context of monastic competition and political ambition. The Benedictine abbey of Vézelay, in Burgundy, had claimed to hold her relics since the middle of the eleventh century. Not long before Charles's discovery in Provence, these monks took action between 1265 and 1267, perhaps on account of flagging faith among pilgrims. They raised and transferred her relics, and produced a dossier of texts and charters attesting to their authenticity.[119] But the Angevins, as newly installed kings in their own right (having conquered Sicily in 1266 and Albania in 1272, and having purchased the kingdom of Jerusalem in 1277), no doubt saw the appeal of a dynastic patron saint, and Mary Magdalen was remarkably at hand.

Around the time the monks of Vézelay claimed to have gotten hold of Mary Magdalen's body, a legend began to circulate in which, after the Crucifixion, she was banished from Palestine and put to sea in a rudderless boat. Along with her sister Martha, her brother Lazarus, their servant Marcella, Cedonius (cured of blindness by Christ in the Bible), and Maximin (one of the seventy-two disciples of Christ, as Sernin of Toulouse was believed to be), she was carried miraculously across the Mediterranean to the the shores of Provence. There, this coterie of biblical figures had remarkable success in preaching and converting the locals: Lazarus became the first bishop of Marseille, Maximin and Mary Magdalen moved on to evangelize Aix-en-Province, and Martha went to Tarascon.[120] In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, this history would have been common knowledge, disseminated in popular saints' tales like Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda Aurea*.[121]

(Rome: Hieronymus Mainardus, 1729-40), vol. 2 (1730), 40. I have here used, with minor changes, the translation of Katherine Ludwig Jansen, *The Making of the Magdalen: Preaching and Popular Devotion in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), 313.

[119] The dossier was studied extensively by Victor Saxer, *Le dossier vézelien de Marie Madeleine. Invention et translation des reliques en 1265-1267* (Brussels: Sociéte des Bollandistes, 1975). Saxer postulates two redactions of the dossier, one around 1267 and the other in 1297 or shortly thereafter.

[120] The legend has been much studied. Most accessible is Helen Meredith Garth, *Saint Mary Magdalene in Mediaeval Literature* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1950) and Susan Haskins, *Mary Magdalen: Myth and Metaphor* (London: HarperCollins, 1993). For the beginnings of the Magdalen's cult in western Europe, see Victor Saxer, "Les origines du Culte de Marie-Madeleine en Occident," in *Marie Madeleine dans la mystique, les arts et les lettres: actes du colloque international Avignon 20-21-22 juillet 1988*, ed. Eve Duperray (Paris: Beauchesne, 1989), 33-47. The classic work on

To get a sense of how a friar might incorporate this apostolic landscape into his imagined geography of Provence, we can look to the Italian Franciscan, Salimbene di Adam. His chronicle, written in the mid-1280s, is roughly contemporaneous with Charles II's invention of Mary Magdalene's relics at Saint-Maximin and his subsequent propagation of her cult. This may be one reason why, when recounting events in the region, he devotes quite a bit of space to the Magdalene's history there.[122] In fact, the history of the saint and her companions combined with the secular political networks of his own time to form the structural logic for Salimbene's textual mapping of Provence. For example, when writing of his meeting with the Minister of Provence at Tarascon, he is keen to point out that place as "where the body of St. Martha lies, and where the countess, mother of the queens of both France and England, lived for a long time."[123] Later, when recounting the discovery of the body of the Magdalene, he again has reason to bring up Maximin, in whose church the remains were found: "Saint Maximin was one of the seventy-two disciples of the Lord, as recorded in the tenth chapter of Luke. And he was the archbishop of Aix, the city where lies buried the count whose daughter was the wife of the king of France, that is, of St. Louis, who went on Crusade to the Holy Land in 1248."[124] In each description, Salimbene moves from the early Christian history of the region to the royal lineages of his own day. His "mapping" of Provence could be described as a superimposition of royal and saintly topographies.

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the subject is idem, *Le culte de Marie Madeleine en Occident des origines à la fin du moyen âge*, 2 vols. (Paris: Librarie Clavreuil, 1959).

[121] Jacobus de Voragine, *Legenda Aurea*, ed. Giovanni Paolo Maggioni (Florence: SISMEL Edizioni del Galluzo, 1998), vol. 1., 628-642.

[122] Salimbene de Adam, *Cronica*, vol. 1, ed. Guiseppe Scalia (Turnhourt: Brepols, 1998), 451-452.

[123] Ibid., 453: "Et invenimus eum Trasconi, ubi est corpus sancte Marthe, et ubi comitissa, mater regine Francie et regine Anglie, plus habitare solebat." The mother in question was Beatrice of Savoy, husband to Raimon Berenguar IV. Their daughter Margaret married Louix IX, while their daughter Eleanor of Provence married Henry III of England. Another daughter, Beatrice was married to Charles of Anjou, who thereby inherited the county of Provence.

[124] Ibid., vol. 2, 788: "Fuit autem sanctus Maximinus unus de LXXII discipulis Domini, de quibus habetur Luc. X. Et fuit archiepiscopus Aquensis, que est civitas in qua sepultus est comes cuius filiam uxorem rex Francie habuit, scilicet santus Lodoycus, qui transfretavit in subsidium Terre Sancte anno Domini MCCXLVIII." The count referenced is Raimon Berenguar, the last Count of Provence from the House of Barcelona

As to the Magdalene's tomb, curiously, Salimbene did not record that Charles played an important role in the discovery, merely that it was his will that the body be placed on public display and highly honored. He even indicates, initially, what might be called skepticism about the accuracy of attributing the remains to Mary, pointing out that "one could hardly read the epitaph even with a magnifying glass because of the antiquity of the writing," and mentioning that the people of both Senigallia and, more seriously, those of Vézelay, claimed to have the saint's body.[125] However, he then assured his readers of its authenticity by pointing out the proximity of those places associated with her siblings. "The body of St. Mary Magdalene," he wrote, "is truly in the castle of St. Maximin, just as the body of her sister St. Martha is in Tarascon. Their brother Lazarus was bishop of Marseille."[126] This is a geographical and material claim to authenticity based on the local apostolic landscape and the remains of the holy dead interred within it. For Salimbene, this was enough to prove that the claim of Vézelay, up in Burgundy, had no merit.

Salimbene also provided the first eyewitness account of the shrine at Sainte-Baume, known as *la Baume* in the vernacular, established at the cave where Mary Magdalene was believed to have lived in solitude and penance for a time. As a Franciscan perspective on a relatively rustic place of pilgrimage—Bertrand de la Tour later placed it *in deserto marsiliense*— the chronicler's passage is noteworthy for its distinctly urban analogies:

> The cave in which St. Mary Magdalene did penance for thirty years is
> fifteen miles from Marseille. And I myself slept there one night
> immediately after her feast. It is on a very high stone mountain, and it
> is large enough, I believe (if I remember well), to hold a thousand
> men. There are three altars there and a spring like the fountain of
> Siloah. The route up the mountain is very beautiful, and outside near
> the cave is a church in which a priest lives. The height of the
> mountain above the cave is as great as the height of the baptistery in

[125] Ibid.: "Item quando repertum est corpus beate Marie Magdalene, vix potuit legi epytaphium cum cristallo, propter scripture antiquitatem...Nam illi de Senogallia dicebant se illud habere, et illi de Verçeliaco, quod est castrum in Burgundia populosum, habebant illud similiter, ut dicebant, et inde etiam habebant legendam."
[126] Ibid.: "Igitur corpus sancte Marie Magdalene veraciter est in castro Sancti Maximini, sicut corpus sancte Marthe, sororis sue, est Tarasconi. Frater vero istarum Laçarus Massiliensis episcopus fuit."

Parma, and the cave is so high upon the side of the mountain that the three Asinelli towers of Bologna placed one on top of the other would not, I believe (if I remember well), reach it, so that large trees below look like nettles or clumps of sage. And because that region is totally uninhabited, the women and the noble ladies of Marseille travelling there for devotional purposes take with them asses loaded with bread, wine, cakes, fish, and other provisions.[127]

Relying on his memory, which he admitted was fallible, Salimbene wrote of the site in a language that an urban audience would understand. The baptistery at Parma, commissioned late in the twelfth century, was six stories high, while the Asinelli towers in Bologna, only two of which survive today, would have measured probably around 160 meters stacked one atop the other.[128] The author is clearly trying to give a sense of great height. While the region is described as "totally uninhabited" (*tota inhabitabilis et deserta*), it is envisioned in terms of the most inhabited and artificial of spaces—the medieval city. The Franciscan chronicler was heir to a religious landscape that centered on the Magdalene and her companions and that was already well-established in the region, but he then invoked this landscape as evidence in support of the reorientation of cultic practice that occurred after Charles II discovered the saint's tomb: "all of the quarrels, abuses, and false representations concerning the body of St. Mary Magdalene should cease," he stated authoritatively.[129] The abbey of Vézelay, in Burgundy, could no longer claim to have the saint's holy remains. Salimbene's account

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[127] Ibid., 789: "Spelunca vero sancte Marie Magdalene, in qua XXX annis penitentiam fecit, per XV miliaria a Massilia distat. Et in illa una nocte dormivi immediate post festum ipsius. Et est in altissimo monte saxoso, adeo grandis secundum meum iuditium, si bene recordor, quod mille homines caperet; et sunt ibi altaria tria et stillicidium aque ad modum fontis Siloe et via pulcherrima ad eundum, et exterius quedam ecclesia prope speluncam, ubi quidam sacerdos inhabitat; et supra speluncam tanta adhuc est altitudo montis, quanta baptisterii Parmensis altitudo conspicitur. Et spelunca in illo monte ita elevata est a planitie terre, quod tres turres Asinellorum de Bononia secundum meum iuditium, si bene recordor, illuc attingere non possent, ita quod arbores grandes que inferius sunt apparent urtice seu salvie caspi. Et quia regio illa sive contrata adhuc est tota inhabitabilis et deserta, ideo mulieres et nobiles domine de Massilia, cum illuc causa devotionis vadunt, ducunt secum asinos oneratos pane et vino et turtis et piscibus et comestibilibus aliis, quibus volunt." For Bertrand de la Tour's desciption, see Jansen, *The Making of the Magdalen,* 128, citing *Sermo* 217, in *Sermones Bertrandi de tempore et de sanctis. Una cum quadragesimali epistolari* (Strasbourg: Georg Husner, [ca. 1500], unpaginated.

[128] Possibly of note here is Salimbene's personal history with the baptistry of Parma, for which see his *Cronica*, vol. 2, 786.

[129] Ibid., 788: "Et ideo amodo cessant contentiones et contrarietates et cavillationes et abusiones et falsitates que de corpore beate Marie Magdalene dicebantur."

reveals both the vigor of the local cult of Mary Magdalen and the way her legendary apostolate could shape and reshape the imagined geographies of medieval Provence.

The Dominicans found this situation extraordinarily receptive to their participation. The order had, of course, allied with powerful secular lords soon after its inception. Foremost among these were the Capetian kings of France and the Angevin cadet branch. Charles of Anjou was brother to Louis IX, whose patronage and employment of the mendicants is well attested.[130] Charles of Anjou himself was on cordial terms with the majority of the order, despite a few vocal Dominican critics. He had supported Thomas Aquinas at the Neapolitan *studium* in the early 1270s and, later, ordered a number of the master theologian's works for the Dominicans of Provence. He also established a Dominican church dedicated to Mary Magdalen in Naples in 1283.[131] Nevertheless, he was less enthusiastic than his elder brother, and one historian has described his relations with the mendicants as "correct rather than warm."[132] His son, Charles II, who would seek out Mary Magdalene's remains in 1279, may have envisioned Dominican stewardship at Saint-Maximin from the beginning, but the events of the Aragonese-Angevin conflict in the Mediterranean put any plans on hold, and Charles was imprisoned for a time by Pere III. While incarcerated, he had for company the Dominican friar Pierre de Lamanon, whom he later supported for the bishopric of Sisteron, and the friars had taken an active part in the negotiations for his release.[133] After Boniface VIII was elected pope at Naples with the king's support, arrangements were quickly made to bring the Dominicans into the project.

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[130] C.H. Lawrence, *The Friars: The Impact of the Early Mendicant Movement on Western Society* (New York: I.B. Tauris, 2013), 166-178 . Lester K. Little, "St Louis' involvement with the friars," *Church History* 33 (1964): 125-148. For the active role played by the Dominicans, particularly as allies of Philip IV, in the cult of Saint Louis, see M. Cecilia Gaposchkin, *The Making of Saint Louis: Kingship, Sanctity, and Crusade in the Later Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008), 77-82, 101-102, and 119-123.

[131] Bernard Montagnes, "La basilique de la Madeleine a Saint-Maximin," in *Congrès archéologique de France* 146: 239.

[132] Jean Dubabin, *Charles I of Anjou: Power, Kingship and State-Making in Thirteenth-Century Europe* (London: Longman, 1998), 147-148, 216-217, with quote on 230.

[133] Montagnes, "La basilique," 239.

The purpose of the papal bull of 1295 quoted at the beginning of this section was not (or not only) to shower praise on Charles, but explicitly to approve the installation of the Dominican order at the church of Saint-Maximin where the Magdalen's body had been discovered and was kept. Boniface declared the new convent free from the jurisdiction of both the archbishop of Aix and the Benedictine monastery of Saint-Victor at Marseille (of which Saint-Maximin had been a priory) and answerable only to the Holy See.[134] Charles was given exceptional authority over the process, with one clause granting him the ability to decide the size of the new community of friars.[135] A second bull issued the next day specified that the shrine at *la Baume* (described in the previous decade by Salimbene) was included among the appurtenances granted in the previous bull. Boniface also named Friar Guilhem de Tonens—a native of Agenais—prior of Saint-Maximin, and gave him the power to assemble a community (again, of a number pleasing to Charles).[136] Moreover, in a remarkable setback for conventual autonomy, he stated that all future priors had to be approved by the king.[137] The task of populating the new priory was eventually given to Pierre de Lamanon, the

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[134] E.-M. Faillon, ed., *Monuments inedits*, 815-820. That Charles feared some resistence to the eviction of the Benedictines is attested by letters to his seneschal, the bailiff, and the inhabitants of the town ordering them to support it; ibid., 835-841. For at least one conflict resulting from these events occurred between the two orders, over the rights to a forest at *la Baume*, see ibid., 845-848. The Dominicans apparently shared space at *la Baume* with some nuns of Saint Zachary, who had been allowed to retire there from time out of mind; Charles ordered in 1311 that they continue to be supported, according to a document in ibid., 847-848.

[135] Ibid., 820: "...ut licentiam habeas prioratum inibi de ordine Fratrum Praedicatorum, sub ipsius ordinis approbata observantia regulari, cum illo fratrum numero, qui tibi expedire videbitur ordinandi." The bull is dated 7 April 1295.

[136] Ibid., The venerable Guillaume appears to have died before he could take up his new post; see his entry in Camille Rivain, ed., *Histoire littéraire de la France, ouvrage commencé par des religieux bénédictins de la congrégation de Saint-Maur, et continué*, vol. 21 (Paris: Firmin Didot and Treuttel et Wurtz, 1847), 90-92.

[137] Faillon, ed., *Monuments inedits*, 821-824. On 822: "Nunc autem ad praesentationem tuam de dilecto filio fratre Guillelmo de Tonex praedicti ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum professore praesentialiter nobis factam, eumdem fratrem Guillelmum in priorem instituimus dicti loci auctoritate apostolica, statuentes ut idem prior pro conventu inibi ordinando, illum numerum fratrum professorum dicti ordinis, qui tibi expedire videbitur assumere valeat, et illos in loco collocare praedicto, iidemque fratres qui sic assumpti fuerint, teneantur praedicto fratri Guillelmo et successoribus suis tanquem prioribus suis in omnibus obedire, nec iidem prior aut successores ejus qui pro tempore in eodem loco fuerint assignati, sine tuo consensu ab officio administrationis ejusdem loci absolvi valeant. Quodque locus qui nunc prioratus existit, ubi poenitentiam dicta sancta egisse dicitur, et qui Balma vulgariter nuncupatur, in concessione tibi facta per alias praedictas nostras litteras sit inclusus, et pari cum caeteris in ipsa concessione contentis, exemptionis privilegio gaudeat, et iisdem conditionibus censeatur. Electio vero prioris ipsius loci, quotiens opus erit, ad dictos conventum. ac eius confirmatio ad provincialem priorem, vel ad magistrum dicti ordinis Praedicatorum pertineant: eo modo videlicet, quod post electionem celebratam ab ipsis de priore, iidem

Dominican bishop of Sisteron (and companion of Charles II while imprisoned), who was to take possession of the two places in the name of the king and gather friars from the surrounding Dominican houses: twenty for the church of Saint-Maximin and four at the shrine of *la Baume*—two priests and two lay brothers.[138] Two more papal bulls of 14 July granted benefits to those pilgrims who visited Saint-Maximin: each year, a visit on the saint's feast day, day of translation, or on their octaves exempted them from three years and 120 days of penance; a visit on any other day would grant inhabitants of Provence forty days of indulgence and foreigners an even hundred.[139]

Charles began building immediately, sending master Pierre le Français to oversee construction in December, while still in Rome.[140] His crowned bust adorns the keystone of the apsidal vault as a material testament to his patronage.[141] But the building took some time to construct. The first phase of the project lasted from 1296 to 1316 and a second from 1330 to 1344. A jube allowed pilgrims to file past relics, and those of the Magdalen herself lay on the high altar by at least 1310. By 1316, twenty Dominicans were in residence. The proximity of Avignon, home to the papacy between 1309 and 1377, ensured the patronage of many a pope, cardinal, and bishop, who established anniversary masses and founded chapels along the nave dedicated to saints Maximin, Thomas Becket, and Blaise.[142] By the middle of the fourteenth century, therefore, the Dominican church and convent of Saint-Maximin was a busy center of devotional activity.

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conventus tuum assensum requirere teneantur, et si illum super hoc praestare nolueris, possint procedere ad electionem aliam faciendam; nec aliqua electio quam de priore in loco ipso celebrari continget, praesentari superiori, seu confirmari valeat, nisi tuus assensus primo super hoc requisitus fuerit et obtentus."

[138] Ibid., 827-828. Dated 8 April 1295.

[139] Ibid., 827-830. These two bulls do not mention *la Baume*.

[140] The relevant letters, including those to master Pierre and to the bishop of Sisteron (instucting him to put master Pierre in charge) are published in Victor Mortet and Paul Deschamps, eds., *Recueil de textes relatifs à l'histoire de l'architecture et à la condition des architectes en France, au moyen-âge, XIᵉ-XIIIᵉ siècles* (Paris: Éditions du Comité des Travaux historiques et scientifiques, 1995, 961-963. According to the editors (962, n. 1), master Pierre never made it to Saint-Maximin, and the architect eventually responsible for the church was one Jean Baudici.

[141] Montagnes, "La basilique," 240, with photo on 247.

[142] Ibid., 234-245.

To ensure their continued possession of the site and its incomes, the Dominicans sought

and received a *vidimus* in 1311 (from the royal judge of the town of Saint-Maximin) of Boniface's

original bull and the two concerning pilgrims' indulgences. They now counted among those holy

sites they administered two of the greatest pilgrimage destinations in Europe for the cult of Mary

Magdalen. And pilgrimage was certainly forthcoming. The evidence suggests a large number of

pilgrims across the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Louis IX had visited *la Baume* long before

Charles II and the Dominican intervention.[143] As discussed above, Salimbene recorded that "the

women and noble ladies of Marseille" traveled there "for devotional purposes." Moreover, a *Liber

miraculorum b. Marie Magdlene* first redacted in 1315 by Jean Gobi, prior of the royal convent of

Dominicans at Saint-Maximin, recorded 85 stories supposedly told by pilgrims at the Magdalene's

tomb. Only four of these pilgrims (and an unnumbered group accompanying one of them, a

merchant from Marseille) went on to her sanctuary at *la Baume*. The merchant did so while

flagellating himself, as he had promised the saint if she effected his rescue from captivity. Two

others hailed from Millau and Valence, while another was a leper from Amalfi who had been living

in Sicily.[144] Visitors to Saint-Maximin and the sanctuary at *la Baume* were mainly drawn from across

Languedoc and Provence (particularly Marseille), with the occasional Italian; Petrarch visited *la

Baume* three times between 1338 and 1353, and left there a poem in praise of the saint, the *Carmen de

Beata Maria Magdalena*.[145] Still, the miracles of the register claim a local favoratism shown by the

saint—"the special patron of all who come from the county of Provence, because her body lies

[143] Jean de Joinville, *Histoire de Saint Louis*, ed. Natalis de Wailly (Paris: Hachette, 1890), 279-280: Joinville calls it "une voute de roche mout haute. là où l'on disoit que la Magdeleinne avoit estei en hermitaige dix-sept ans."
[144] Jean Gobi, *Miracles de Sainte Marie-Madeleine*, ed. and trans. Jacqueline Sclafer (Paris: CNRS Éditions, 1996). For the pilgrims who also visited *la Baume*, see 50-54, 62-66, 135-137, 174-176. The stories have been studied by Bernard Montagnes, "Saint-Maximin, foyer d'une création hagiographique. Le *Liber miraculorum beate Marie Magdalene* (1315)," in *Marie-Madeleine dans la mystique*, 49-69. Aspects of these stories are used to elucidate popular devotion by Jansen, *The Making of the Magdalen*, *passim* but see esp. 247-249.
[145] Jansen, *The Making of the Magdalen*, 283-284. For an analysis of this poem and other works of Petrarch on the same subject, see Eve Duperray, "*Le Carmen de Beata Maria Magdalena*. Marie-Madeleine dans l'œvre de François Pétrarque: image emblématique de la Belle Laure," in *Marie Madeleine dans la mystique*, 273-288.

there at Saint-Maximin."[146] In 1321, Amauri Auger of Béziers claimed that the relics "were daily visited by the Christian faithful from diverse parts of world with their offerings," and "were revealed and made clear by many diverse miracles both day and night."[147]

The Dominicans were quick to report their role in this new propagation of the Magdalen's cult. Ptolemy of Lucca, in his *Historia ecclesiastica nova*, noted that the order's community there tended the relics.[148] Bernard Gui, meanwhile, devoted a rather long section of his *Flores chronicorum seu catalogus pontificum Romanorum* (c. 1311-1331) to the the discovery, translation, and Dominican care of the saint, subjects he revisited in his *Speculum sanctorale*.[149] Importantly, in both texts he linked the body of the Magdalen with those of her apostolic companions, for he claimed the church possessed the remains of "Saint Maximin, Cedonius, born blind and given sight by Christ, and Marcella, the servant of Saint Martha, who said to the Lord Christ, 'Blessed is the womb that bore thee, and the paps that gave thee suck.'"[150] Gui would specify further in his *Speculum sanctorale* that Maxmin was one of the disciples of Christ and that Cedonius was the blind man of the Gospels (*evangelici caeci nati*).[151] All of these saints were thought to have travelled with Mary Magdalen to Provence, and so the historical and apostolic landscape of early Christianization was enshrined at the Dominican

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[146] Gobi, *Miracles*, 44: "...specialem patronam omnium qui sunt de comitatu Provincie supradicto, eo quod corpus ejus habeatur ibidem, videlicet in Sancto Maximino[.]" These were the thoughts of Provençals captured by the Genoese. For two other Provençals directed their prayers to her specifically because of the proximity of her relics, see 48 and 93.

[147] Faillon, ed., *Monuments inédits*, 789-790: "In quibus quidem capsis, ipsius caput et sacrosanctum corpus, cum magna dictorum Fratrum Praedicatorum veneratione conservantur; et quotidie a Christi fidelibus, et diversis mundi partibus cum suis oblationibus visitantur; et a Christo hospite suo, pluribus et diversis miraculis evidentissimis die nocteque, suffragium ipsius hospitae suae implorantibus, aperte fiunt atque demonstrantur."

[148] Ibid., 775-776.

[149] Ibid., 777-784; on 780-781: "Quo in loco postmodum, tempore succedente, memoratus Carolus rex Siciliae jam effectus, conventum fratrum Praedicatorum poni, et institui procuravit, translatis inde monachis Sancti Victoris Massiliensis, per Bonifacium papam octavum, anno Domini M. CC. CV°, ubi ecclesiam in honore sanctae Mariae Magdalenes et multorum aliorum sanctorum in dicto oratorio quiescentium, S. Maximini, Sedonii ceci nati, et a Christo illuminati, et Marcellae ancillae sanctae Marthae, quae dixit Christo Domino: Beatus venter qui te portavit, et ubera quae suxisti. Item rex pulcram et magnam fecit fieri sumptibus regiis, locumque dotavit, tam in libris quam jocalibus, ac pretiosissimis ornamentis, ad Dei cultum celebrandum maxima magnificentia principalem."

[150] See n. 148 above.

[151] Ibid., 849: "...Sancti Maximini, discipuli Domini nostri Jesu Christi et Cedonii evangelici caeci nati..."

church of Saint-Maximin, and could be experienced by pilgrims as they walked its chapels and

travelled on to *la Baume*.

Mary Magdalen resonated with the Dominicans because she was believed to have embodied

the form of life undertaken by the mendicants themselves, the *vita mixta*. Katherine Ludwig Jansen

has masterfully elucidated how the friars, in their hagiographies, liturgies, ceremonial objects, and

sermons, created a mendicant Magdalen—as *apostolorum apostola*, as a model of sin, penance, and

obedience, and as a spiritual intimate of the Lord—that "doubled back to become a paradigm for

fashioning mendicant identity in the late medieval period."[152] Her penitence at *la Baume*, for example,

during which she lived "naked, solitary, and famished,"[153] was instrumental in this context, and

Jansen has pointed to similarities with Dominic and the founding of his order:

> Dominic and his preachers would be humble, poor, and obedient, a
> feminine anti-type to the masculanized Church. Through the
> language and process of symbolic inversion, Dominic found a system
> to renounce power, prestige, and authority, but at the same time
> articulate the virtues of poverty, humility, and inspiration. Symbolic
> disempowerment allowed the mendicants to construct an identity,
> gendered female, which was in and of itself a powerful critique of the
> wealthy and masculinzed institutional Church represented by Saint
> Peter.[154]

The Dominicans held her in such esteem that the 1279 general chapter of the order claimed Mary

Magdalen as its patron.[155] This was the same year Charles II discovered her relics at Saint-Maximin,

as he sought a sacral aura for Neapolitan kingship. The serendipitous confluence of mendicant

spirituality and Angevin political theology proved fertile, for as Jansen shows, the Dominicans

continued to espouse the Magdalen as model, while Charles II and his heirs fostered her cult both in

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[152] Jansen, *The Making of the Magdalen*, 49-142, with quote on 50.
[153] Ibid., 82, citing MS BAV Borgh. 138, f. 145v: "Nuda, solitaria et famelica."
[154] Ibid., 85.
[155] Ibid., 76; citing William R. Bonniwell, *A History of The Dominican Liturgy 1215-1945*, 220 and Daniel-Antonin Mortier, *Histoire des maîtres généraux de l'ordre des frères prêcheurs*, vol. 2 (1904), 345.

Provence and in Italy as an expression of dynastic devotion and sanctity.[156] In 1337, for example, Robert the Wise of Naples reserved the first chapel in a new phase of construction at Saint-Maximin for his brother, Saint Louis of Toulouse, whose embroidered cope the Dominicans there already possessed.[157]

VI. John the Baptist at Perpignan

Sernin and Antonin were saints with particularly local relevance, while Mary Magdalen numbered among those universal saints whose cults became greatly popular across Christendom in the later Middle Ages. She just happens to have had an especially vibrant cultic life in Provence that the Dominicans could tap into. At Perpignan, however, another universal saint would come to have both great local significance and Dominican patronage—John the Baptist. Unlike Mary Magdalene, John had no history of local evangelizing, but he was the patron of the most important church in the town, which royal and ecclesiastical ambitions would turn into a great cathedral. Thus, as in Provence, the friars collaborated in the propagation of his cult with a cadet branch of an established royal house that was setting up its own monarchical state, the kingdom of Mallorca.

Much of the history of the Dominican convent in Perpignan was lost in a fire that destroyed its archives in 1553, but some of it is preserved in the works of early modern scholars, while archaeological efforts have unearthed the church and convent's material history.[158] A Dominican presence may go back to the order's founder, for one tradition has it that Dominic and Francis of

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[156] For the Dominicans' continued interest in Mary Magdalene into later centuries, see Bernard Montagnes, "Marie-Madeleine et l'Ordre des Prêcheurs," *Mémoire dominicaine* 8 (1996): 87-100.

[157] Faillon, ed., *Monuments inédits*, 927-928. For Louis' cope, see Montagnes, "La basilique," 244.

[158] The material has now been collected and studied extensively in André Escarra, "Le couvent des Frères Prêcheurs de Perpignan," in *L'Ordre des Prêcheurs et son histoire en France méridionale*, Cahiers de Fanjeaux 36 (Toulouse: Privat, 2001), 99-122, itself mostly abridged from his unpublished dissertation, "Le couvent des Dominicains de Perpignan" (mémoire de maîtrise, Université de Toulouse-Le Mirail, 1981).

Assisi met there in 1211, according to a now-effaced inscription.[159] The Aragonese kings, rulers of

Perpignan until 1276, worked quite closely with members of the order. Friar Ramon de Penyafort,

for example, served as adviser and confessor to Jaume I (1208-1276).[160] That king's son, Jaume II

(1243-1311), apparently lodged at the convent in Perpignan while administering the counties of

Roussillon and Cerdagne on behalf of his father.[161] When he then inherited those counties and the

Balearic islands, thus forming the separate kingdom of Mallorca, we recall, he made Perpignan a

kind of royal capital. His material patronage of the Dominicans began in 1242, when he purchased

property to found a convent near the church of Joan el Vell—the same church supposedly once

bearing the inscription of Dominic's meeting with Francis. The convent—like Saint-Maximin, one

of the few thirteenth-century Dominican houses established as a royal initiative—was not officially

established until some time after 1245.[162] Until at least 1280, the king had his charters drawn up

there, and it was there that he was forced to swear fealty to his brother, Pere II of Aragon, in

1279.[163] Documents in the royal archives suggest the king continued to look after his friars

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[159] Ibid., 99, citing P. Ponsich, "Saint-Jean-le-Vieux," *Etudes rousillonnaises* 3, 2-3-4 (1953): 127, n. 35. An interesting miracle connecting Dominic, Francis, and John the Baptist is recorded by Miquel Llot, *Libre Primer dels Miracles que lo Senyor ha obrats per medi dela Sanctissima Reliquia del glorios Sanct Ioan Baptista* (Perpignan: Sampso Arbui, 1590), 125-126: "Perque en ella arribaren aquestes dues marauelloses antorxes, anant illuminant tot lo mon, ab la diuina predicacio, que fonch en lo any de 1219. puix que conforme les histories partiren los dos fundadors de Roma, per hauer de venir a Espanya, ab intent de fundar en elle cadahu sa religio. En confirmacio de aço fa lo que comunment se diu en aquesta vila, que en lo plomo del campanar de la Iglesia major, sobre de la qual esta la ymatge de Sanct Joan Baptista, dintre della y ha vna carta, en la qual esta escrit, que en lo dia que muntaren la ymatge de Sanct Joan (entenent la primera vegada) passaren per asi Domingo y Frances." I have consulted the digitized edition of Llot's *Libre* supplied by the Biblioteca Valenciana and made availabe in 2011.
[160] Thomas N. Bisson, *The Medieval Crown of Aragon: a short history* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), 73.
[161] Escarra, "Le couvent des Frères," 101.
[162] The other royal convents were Béziers, Carcassonne, and Saint-Maximin. See Marie-Humbert Vicaire, "Le développement de la province dominicaine de Provence (1215-1295)," *Cahiers de Fanjeaux: Les mendiants en pays d'Oc au XIIIᵉ siècle* 8 (1973): 42.
[163] Escarra, "Le couvent des Frères," 101, citing Pierre Vidal, *Histoire de la ville de Perpignan* (Paris: H. Welter, 1897), 54. The document itself can be found in "Proceso del rey de Mallorca," *Memorial Histórico Español* 3 (1852): 169-174. On 173: "Acta sunt haec omnia suprascripta in claustro domus fratrum Praedicatorum Perpiniani XIII Kalendas Februarii Anno Domini M.CC.LXXVIII. in praesentia Consulum, et majoris partis Universitatis Perpiniani, et testium infrascriptorum."

throughout the thirteenth century.[164] Perharps more importantly, the church served as a place of burial for members of the royal family in the early fourteenth century. Both a sixteenth-century Dominican historian and a funerary inscription of unknown date claim that two of Jaume II's children, Ferran (d. 1316) and Isabel (d. 1303), were interred there, in front of the main altar, alongside Ferran's wife, also named Isabel (d. 1315).[165] King Sanç (1274-1324), who would eventually succeed his father in 1311, had spent a part of his youth at Paris, where he may have gained familiarity with the Dominicans and been influenced by Capetian patronage of the order.[166]

The most important church at Perpignan during this period was that dedicated to John the Baptist—locally known as Sant Joan el Vell—built near the count's hall and consecrated in 1025.[167] It was amplified early in the twelfth century, when a collegiate chapter of Augustinian monks was established there. Sant Joan el Vell then served as a parish church for the next two-hundred years. In 1230, the main chapel was annexed to the episcopal mense of Elne, and acts of the bishops of Elne from the early fourteenth century indicate that as early as 1318 they may have been considering transfering the episcopal seat there.[168] In 1321, King Sanç and the consuls of the town apparently

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[164] For example, A.D.P.O., 1B 192, f. 66v: authorising Pere Missa, prior of the convent, to take action concerning the community's water supply in 1288.

[165] Escarra, "Le couvent des Frères," 101, citing F. Diago, *Historia de la provincia de Aragon de la Orden de Predicadores* (Barcelona, 1648), 225 and Llot, *Libre Primer*, 132. The latter wrote (at 131-132): "En la qual se troban enterrats, en vna sepultura de altar major los seguents. Primo lo molt alt monsenyor el infant en Ferrando Duc de Clarensa, fill del molt alt princep en Xanxo Rey de Mallorca, e pare del molt alt Rey en Iaume de Mallorcha lo darrer Rey. Item hi Iau Madona Constansa Duquesa de Clarensa, muller del dit en Ferrando e mare del molt alt Rey en Iaume, dar rer Rey de Mallorcha. Item Iau madona Isabel sor del dit mossen Ferrando e filla del molt alt princep en Joan, lo bon Rey primer de Mallorcha e muller de mossen Manuel frare del Rey de Castela. De aquesta manera esta escrita la sobredita memoria en vna taula de fusta en lo altar major de aquesta Iglesia." The extant inscription on the floor in front of where the altar would have stood reads, "Aqui Foren Les Sepultures de / Ferran Infant de Mallorca Fill Germa I Pare de Reis 1316 / Isabel de Sabran La Seua Esposa 1315 / Isabel de Mallorca La Seua Germana 1303." I can find no information on the date of inscription.

[166] J. Ernesto Martínez Ferrando, *La Tràgica Història dels Reis de Mallorca* (Barcelona: Editorial Aedos, 1960), 132.

[167] Marcel Durliat, *L'art dans le royaume de Majorque: Les débuts de l'art gothique en Roussillon, en Cerdagne et aux Baléares* (Toulouse: Privat, 1962), 42. Much of the information about this early church used in this paragraph may be found in Albert Mayeux, *Saint-Jean-Le-Vieux à Perpignan* (Caen: Henri Delesques, 1913).

[168] Durliat, *L'art dans le royaume de Majorque*, 144, with descriptions of the documents.

made plans to enlarge it by adding chapels and connecting it to the nearby hospital.[169] On 27 April

1324, Sanç and Bishop Bérenger Battle ceremoniously laid the first stones of this newly-planned,

grand church.[170] Owing to the devastation of the Black Death, the episcopal seat was not tranferred

until 1602, but the fourteenth-century church is a testament to the political, economic, and spiritual

development of Perpignan, perhaps indicative of royal aspirations for one of the kingdom's premier

towns.

It was in this very context—royal, episcopal, and consular interest in a church dedicated to

John the Baptist—that the Dominicans of Perpignan came into possession of the saint's left arm. In

1323, according to witnesses of a much later date, a young pilgrim came through the town on his

way to Compostela.[171] He had in his possession a painted box with Greek inscriptions and an image

of John the Baptist, which he secretly left with the prior of the Dominican convent, Pere d'Alenia,

for safekeeping. The pilgrim never returned and the friar, nearing death, presented the container to

his convent. Inside was a left hand and part of a forearm, presumed to be that of John because of

his image on the box. All thought the pilgrim, who was extremely pleasing in appearance and

disposition, to have been an angel, sent to bring a relic of the saint to the town that had celebrated

him especially for around 300 years, ever since the early church of Sant Joan el Vell. Many miracles

seemed to confirm the relic's authenticity. The entire affair, we are told, was reported in an act of

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[169] I have not been able to locate this document, which was reported by Mayeux, *Saint-Jean-Le-Vieux à Perpignan*, 37, as preseved at the departmental archives: "Quod ipsi cupiunt et intendunt ampliare et crescere ecclesiam Sancti Joannis villae Perpiniani, sic quod intendunt caput illius facere et crescere eum capellis usque et versus palatium venerabilis episcopi Elnensis et in longitunem et augmentum ipsius ecclesiae intendunt ab altare capite ipsius accrescere et unire eidem cellarium hospitalis pauperum Perpiniani."

[170] Durliat, *L'art dans le royaume de Majorque*, 144.

[171] The following story is attested earliest only in sixteenth century by the Dominican Miquel Llot, *Libre Primer*, 81-94. There are scattered references to an earlier work of his on the same subject that I have been unable to locate, the *Historia de la sanctissima reliquia del bras y mà esquerra de Sant Joan Baptista*, published in Perpignan in 1570. Llot was more or less copied and translated for the edition published in Petrus de Marca, *Opuscula Petri de Marca Archiepiscopi Parisiensis, nunc primum in lucem edita* (Paris, François Muguet, 1681), 403-413, and an abridged version of Marca's text, translated into French, may be found in J.H. Fortaner, "Dissertation sur M. de Marca," in his *Notice ecclésiastique sur le Roussillon* (Perpignan: Tastu, 1824), 55-61. Much of the information can also be found in *Acta Sanctorum* 32, 663-666.

1377, with the witness of three friars, Jaume Ramon, Januari, and Barthomeu Rollan, undersigned by Jaume, prior of Espira, and drawn up by Pons Duran, public notary of Perpignan. As early as 1381, translations of the Greek inscriptions were sought via parchment copies sent to Athens; they indicated that the relic was indeed that of John the Baptist.[172] It is unfortunate that the collection of Dominican documents at the Archives départementales des Pyrénées-Orientales only begins in the early fifteenth century, and so no independent, contemporary accounts can support the tales of these later historians. Nevertheless, with such attention to signitaries and the notary in the account of the 1377 written instrument, we may safely assume that at least the Dominican Miquel Llot—the earliest witness—had access to documents once in the archives of the his convent. Certainly the painted box in which the arm arrived in Perpignan still exists (as the property of the town's cathedral) and numerous studies have been devoted to its iconography and restoration.[173]

The arrival of this relic at the precise moment that king, bishop, and consuls were attempting to elevate the ecclesiastical status of the town, by upgrading the church of Sant Joan el Vell, points to Dominican efforts to participate in the renewal of a local cult and its material expressions. Its presence certainly must have attested to the convent's worthiness when the general chapter of the order met there, just four years later, in 1327.[174] By 1375, the relic and reliquary lay in a chapel in the second bay on the northern side of the nave, where they stayed until the Revolution as objects of veneration.[175] Its possession was contested throughout many years by the bishop and the consuls.[176]

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[172] Copies of these transcriptions and translations, and most of the material related to the entire affaire, are conserved in A.D.P.O. Hp 16, particularly in a folder labelled "H non classé." As a warning to future scholars, all of this material is also fully conveyed in the studies cited in the previous note.

[173] Yvette Carbonell-Lamothe, "Le coffret reliquaire byzantin du couvent des dominicains de Perpignan," in *Les Dominicains de Perpignan* (Perpignan: Musés numismatique Joseph Puig, 1995), 48-52; Séverine Françoise, "Pérégrinations d'un miraculé: étude et restauration du coffret-reliquaire byzantin du bras de Saint-Jean-Baptiste de la cathédrale de Perpignan," in *Perpignan: L'histoire des catholiques dans la ville du Moyan Âge à nos jours*, Actes du colloque des 10, 11 et 12 mai 2007, ancienne église des Dominicains, Perpignan (Perpignan: Archives communales de Perpignan, 2008), 191-225.

[174] G.R. Galbraith, *The Constitution of the Dominican Order, 1216-1360* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1925), 254.

[175] Escarra, "Le couvent des Frères," 109, citing Llot, *Libre*, 172.

[176] Escarra, "Le couvent des Dominicains," 17-19.

Indeed, the appeal of the saint's aura may have influenced many patrons of the Dominicans among the citizens of Perpignan, for bequests to the order in wills were numerous.[177] Often, citizens desired burial at the convent, such as one Boneta in 1360, who wanted to be interred there next to her son, but suggested the cemetery of Saint-Jean if the friars refused her this request.[178]

The relic constituted material evidence of an imagined landscape linking biblical Palestine, the contemporary Greek-speaking world (attested in the writing and painting of the box), the town of Perpignan, and the western extremity of Latin Christendom at Santiago de Compostela where the young pilgrim was headed. Holding the arm of the man known as the Precursor of the Lord—and so of Christ, whom they sought to emulate—the Dominicans in Perpignan acted as the local gatekeepers of this spiritual and historical network. A network not unlike that including Antonin and Sernin in Toulouse, or that clustered around the sacred spaces and material remains of Mary Magdalen and her companions in Provence.

VII. Southern France as Holy Land

The Dominicans, then, saw the Occitan and Catalan histories of John the Baptist, Mary Magdalene, Sernin, and others as prefigurations of their own apostolic mission, and so as opportunities to penetrate the spiritual landscapes of southern France. By fostering this connection, they reinforced native traditions that established the region's historical connection to the Holy Land. The *Midi* entered biblical history not just typologically, but also literally; apostles and disciples of Christ had arrived as part of a post-crucifiction diaspora of believers, while relics of such figures as

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[177] Carole Puig, "Le couvent des dominicains à Perpignan au Moyen Age," in *Les Dominicains de Perpignan, Xe journées d'études numismatiques de Perpignan* (Perpignan: Musée numismatique Joseph Puig, 1995), 9.

[178] A.D.P.O. G334: "In primis quidem eligo corpori meo sepulturam intus capitulum domus fratrum predicatorum conventus Perpiniani si me ibi fratres dicti conventus volverint sepellire videlicet in loco ubi jacet magister Petrus ville [illegible word] filius meus. Et si dicti fratres nollent me sepellire in dicto loco eo casu eligo corpori meo sepulturam in cimiterio ecclesie Sancti Johannis Perpiniani."

John the Baptist traversed the Mediterranean to land at a Dominican convent in Perpignan. The analogies of mendicant writers, moreover, regularly conflated biblical and local landscapes in less dramatic ways.[179] Salimbene wrote that Mary Magdalen's grotto near Marseille had "a spring like the fountain of Siloah," the waters where Christ had cured a blind man.[180] Similarly, in his commentary on the book of Genesis, Dominique Grima explained the etymology of Mesopotamia ("between rivers") with reference to the land *inter ambos aquas* of the Ariege and Garonne rivers—that is to say, the boundaries of his bishopric, with its seat at Pamiers in the county of Foix.[181] Such examples reveal how mendicants engaged local natural environments in their theological and historical projects. They also thought with the managed or built environment. Recall that Salimbene described La Sainte-Baume, which was ostensibly *in deserto marsiliense*, in terms of the most inhabited and artificial of spaces. As products of and spiritual emissaries to the towns, the mendicants thought and spoke in the idiom of urban space.

One remarkable example from Toulouse illustrates how Dominicans shaped the imagined geographies of the urban communities to which they catered. As I described above in chapter one, there was in this town a tradition that only two other cities had a *capitolium* in ancient times. Arnaud Arpadelle thought them to be Rome and Constantinople.[182] The same tradition of three ancient *capitolia* was alive nearly a century later, in 1388, when a Dominican friar in Toulouse noted it on the final page of a manuscript that served as both a Dominican cartulary and a collection of texts used in

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[179] Cf. Joseph Strayer, "France: The Holy Land, the Chosen People, and the Most Christian King," in *Action and Conviction in Early Modern Europ: Essays in Memory of E.H. Harbison*, eds., Theodore K. Rabb and Jerrold E. Seigel (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969), 3-16, whose argument has more to do with the supposed devotion of king and people than with local geographical, historical, or spiritual landscapes.

[180] See above, n. 117. In the Gospel of John, chapter 9, Jesus heals a blind man whom he sends to wash in the pool of Siloah. Note that Salimbene identifies this man as the Cedonius that had accompanied the Magdalene and others to Provence; *Cronica*, vol. 1, 452.

[181] "Tigris et Eufrates uno se fonte reuoluunt...qui diuisi ab inuicem Mesopotamiam cingunt. Unde *meso potamia* dicitur a *mesos* quod est medium et *pthanos*...aqua: "quasi terra inter aquas" sicut terra que est in Tholosano inter fluvium Aregiam et fluvium Garonam uocatur "inter ambas aquas." Cited in Morard, "Dominique Grima," 365, n. 195, with manuscript references given there.

[182] See above, chapter one.

composing sermons, containing such works as Etienne of Besançon's *Alphabetum narrationum*, a popular compendium of exempla.[183] According to the rubric, the historical note ultimately derives from a work of Jerome (this is not true), but the immediate source is "a certain little book" owned by a canon of Saint-Sernin.[184] Its codicological context indicates that the tale was meant to serve as material in sermons preached to townspeople.

The Dominican described three signs or marvels that occurred in the time of Julius Caesar. In Rome, a fountain or spring appeared, out of which oil flowed into the Tiber, symbolizing the sacrament of baptism. In Jerusalem, for three days it rained blood and water, signifying the mystery of the passion and the crucifixion. The third sign appeared in Toulouse where a pagan king had two daughters that gave birth, one to a lion, the other to a lamb, illustrating how on the day of judgment the Lord will appear to the wicked as a terrible lion, but to the just as a tame lamb. "This last figure," he added, "is represented by two images in marble in the entrance to the Church of Saint-Sernin, one of whom holds a lamb, the other a lion." [185] "From these things," the author concludes,

> it is deduced that these three cities, namely Rome, Jerusalem, and
> Toulouse, are considered famous and outstanding above all others,
> and in each of them there is on account of a certain prerogative a
> *capitolium*, a *locus communis*, where the leaders of the cities convene to
> decide cases...and when the [other] two cities, either on account of
> war and rebellion or on their own, endured ruin and destruction, only

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[183] B.M.T. MS 874, f. 149v. Other works within the manuscript include proverbs and extracts of Seneca and aphorisms drawn from the Bible.

[184] Ibid.: "Ex dictis beati Ieronimi...[text of note follows, discussed below]...Et istam scripturam reportavi de quodam libro parvo domini Arnaldi Agini, canonici Beati Saturnini Tholosani, die XVI mensis maii, qui fuit vespere Penthecostes, anno Domini Mᵐᵒ CCCᵐᵒ LXXX ᵒVIIIᵒ ."

[185] Ibid.: "Invenitur quod tempore Julii Cesaris, in diversis mundi partibus apparuerunt manifeste tria signa. Primum quod in urbe Roma ortus fuit fons de quo oleum defluens in fluminem thiberis emanavit. figurans ut creditur sacramentum sollempnis baptismatis. In quo cum oleo in aqua perficitur In quo baptismo humanum genus Regeneratur contra vetustantem peccati originalis. Secundum signum quod in civitate Ierusalem per tres dies pluit aqua et sanguis. significans misterium passionis et crucis in qua aqua et sanguis in redemptionem humani generis effluxit de latere salvatoris. Tertium signum fuit in civitate Tholose, in qua rex gentilis dicte civitatis generavit duas filias, quarum Iᵃ peperit leonem, altera genuit agnum; figurans quod in die judicii Dominus apparebit ut leo terribilis contra reprobos, et justis mansuetus ut agnus. Quam ultimam figuram representant due ymagines in marmore, in introitu ecclesie Sancti Saturnini Tholose, quarum altera ante se leonem et altera gestat agnum."

> Toulouse...has survived up to the present date in a prosperous state.[186]

In this short passage, Toulouse is given a prominent place in the universal history of salvation. It is the only city deserving a spot next to not the ancient capitals of Roman government, as Arpadelle envisioned, but the spiritual capitals of Christendom. What linked these cities was the presence of a *capitolium*. And here the contemporary, medieval town hall or communal palace, the *locus* or *domus communis*, has been entirely conflated with an ancient *capitolium* that has itself lost any semblance of pagan temple. The effect is to imbue Toulouse—and perhaps especially the municipal government of the consulate—with the spiritual authority of Rome and Jerusalem, drawing on the material remains of the past sculpted into a centuries-old basilica dedicated to Sernin, who had (it was believed) been sent by Christ to evangelize the Gauls. A kind of *translatio fidei*, effected by those like Sernin, whom the Dominicans claimed as apostolic predecessor, and substantiated by the remains of ancient buildings and scultpures, shaped the imagined geography of this anonymous Dominican. We must assume, moreover, that such elements were transmitted to those who heard the sermons for which this historical note was made.

The bas-relief described by this anonymous Dominican has survived (fig. 32). A beautiful romanesque sculpture of two young women, one of whom holds a lion, the other not a lamb but a ram (*aries*), originally graced the Miègeville portal of Saint-Sernin and now sits in the Musée des Augustins in Toulouse. An inscription reads, "This occurred [at Toulouse] in the time of Julius

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[186] Ibid.: "Ex quibus colligitur, quod dicte tres civitates, scilicet Roma, Jerusalem et Tholosa, super alias famose et nobiles reputantur, in quarum singulis ex quadam prerogativa est Capitolium, locus communis, ubi rectores dictarum civitatum ad decisiones causarum conveniunt, et inde rectores Tholosani capitularii nominantur in laudem dicte civitatis Tholose. Singulare donum Dei ostenditur, quia cum due civitates vel propter bella et seditiones vel in se ruinam et destructionem passe fuerint, sola Tholosa, propter merita beati Exuperi, dicte civitatis episcopi, qui ibi una cum multis aliis sanctis gloriose requiesscit, usque in hodiernum diem in statu prospero militavit."

Caesar."[187] The original circumstances of its production are unknown. Nor is its precise original location, but the friar likewise removed it (figuratively) from its architectural and sculptural context when he used it to elevate Toulouse as a spiritual center on par with Rome and Jerusalem. In their attempts to reconstruct a sacred landscape after the extirpation of heresy, the Dominicans engaged the built spaces of the town. The strategies of original ecclesiastical architects could be completely disregarded; the friars could take elements of spatial imaginations or arrangements and combine them in new, creative ways in order to allow Toulousans, now redeemed of their heretical past, to participate in salvational history and the spiritual networks that underlay it.[188]
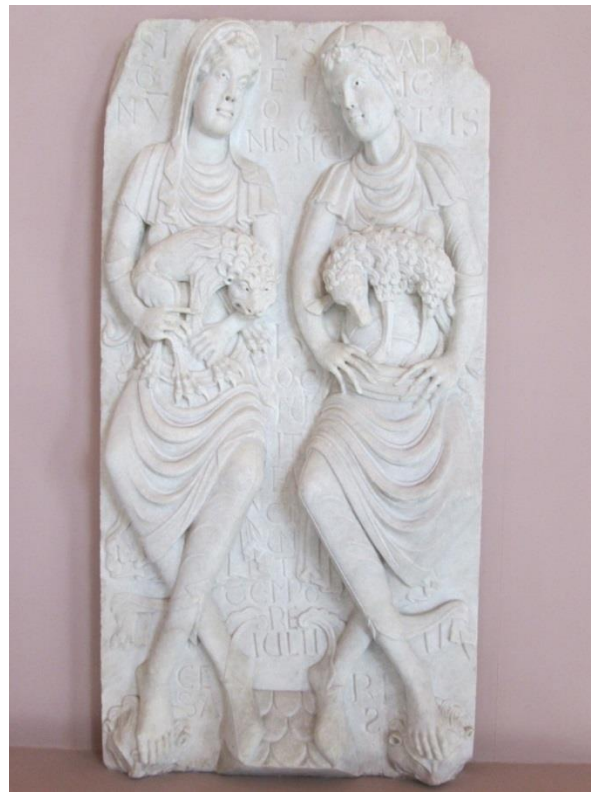

Fig. 32. The two virgins of Toulouse, with lion and lamb. Toulosue, Musée des Augustins. Photo: author.

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[187] Toulouse, Musée des Augustins, Inventory no. 502. HOC FUIT FACTUM T TEMPORE JULII CESARIS. The "T" is usually taken as an abbreviation for Toulouse in the locative case, although this is disputed. **See** Fernand de Mély, "Les deux vierges de Toulouse et leur legende," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 64 (1922): 88-96.
[188] Here I am contrasting Michel de Certeau's *strategies* of institutions or structures of power and *tactics* of individuals, whose experience of space is never fully determined by hegemonic cultural forces; *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984).

VIII. Conclusions: Transforming Imagined Geographies and Spiritual Networks

Over the course of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the Dominicans—formed explicitly to combat heresy through preaching and apostolic poverty—profoundly reshaped the spaces of the *Midi*. In their early days in Toulouse, responding to a heretical landscape and substantial urban resistence, they forged an identity as both persecutors and persecuted, preachers and martyrs. As such, they could look to their apostolic predecessors, many of whom had even walked the same streets in the same towns, for typological parallels. When they found them in the evangelizing of Sernin, Antonin, Mary Magdalen, and John the Baptist, the Dominicans made conscious efforts to adapt their histories and elevate their cults. They created texts glorifying the saints' preaching, penance, and poverty, while incorporating material expressions of devotion into their churches and liturgies. At Toulouse, Saint-Maximin and Sainte-Baume, and Perpignan, they modified spiritual landscapes in order to create, reinforce, and maintain imagined geographies that linked the present with the sacred past. Such networks fostered new religious identities, both for the Dominicans themselves and for any—including princes and kings—who would patronize these saints in the sanctified landscape that they reproduced in southern France.

Conclusion

Navigating the spaces of Occitània and northern Catalunya in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, medieval men and women encountered the material infrastructures that created and supported particular discourses of power, religion, and social order. Urban and regional landscapes—town halls, streets, and squares, the castles of great lords, mendicant and parish churches, and the networks of roads and rivers that linked them all together—were not the empty backdrops or settings within which historical actors operated, but were themselves social and cultural products. That is to say, they were *produced* and *imagined*, and the process of their manufacture has been the subject of this dissertation.

A major component of this process was, in the towns, the negotiation of a problematic past. As relatively new social and economic configurations—indeed, ones that many ecclesiastical authorities thought dangerous and transgressive—urban communities required legitimation. In Occitània, they found this (at least in part) in the legacy of antiquity and the apostolic past. As Roman foundations, towns like Toulouse and Narbonne retained the memory of their ancient prominence. Narbonne's access to the Iberian peninsula along the Via Domitia was celebrated in the thirteenth century formulation of the town as "the key to Spain" (*clau d'Espanha*). Its ancient *Capdeul*, the Roman *capitolium*, suggested that consular jurisdiction should extend further into both Spain and Gaul. The problem of a pagan, "Saracen" past was elided by the Carolingian conquest of the town, commemorated in *chansons de geste*, which also sanctioned an urban social order that embraced a substantial Jewish community. At Toulouse, meanwhile, the memory of an ancient *capitolium* similarly legitimated the rule of the consuls, whom contemporaries called *le capitol*. Here, however, it

was not Charlemagne who redeemed the pagan building, but Saint Sernin. Dragged from the height

of the temple, his bloody viscera scraped along the city streets, Sernin's body reinscribed the town as

a Christian space. At Narbonne and Toulouse, the ancient past was experienced materially, in the

roads, walls, and monuments of their urban topographies. But when a town had no material

remnant of antiquity—no building that any armchair archaeology might excavate for the discursive

purposes of municipal leaders—ancient connections were still much desired. And at Perpignan,

whose history began in the tenth century, the consuls turned to the gendered social practices of their

town to make them. Yet these practices were still material, still embodied. The consuls perceived

ancient Rome in the bodies of their wives and the textiles they produced.

The region's Roman history also inflected its mode of documentary production. The notarial

office was an ancient one, and whether or not it had a continuous history linking to the medieval

scribes of the thirteenth century, in both cultural perception and elements of practice (the use of the

Latin language, for example) the notaries of Toulouse, Agen, or Montpellier had Roman

antecedents. My analysis of documentary culture in these towns has revealed it to be an important

but overlooked element in the production of urban space. Emanating from the assemblage of the

notary, his parchment and quill, the parties and witnesses to the manufacture of the written

instrument, and the oral articulations of oaths and testimony was a space of authenticity and

authority that eventually became coterminous with that of municipal government. Consuls took

charge of the notariate and collected the muniments of urban rights and privileges into manuscripts

that materially manifested their claims to authority. These codicological "treasures" or "gems,"

celebrated visually in manuscript illuminations, both contained and produced the urban; for the

consuls of Perpignan at the end of the fourteenth century, a newly commissioned cartulary provided

the opportunity to reconstitute a community recently shattered by the violence of pogrom. At the

same time, the new phenomenon of town seals allowed communal immanence to take material form

in wax impressions that often depicted urban space. Circulating both within the town and among those who had relations with it, the town seal articulated urban identity.

The same network of people and objects in documentary production also facilitated the centralizing ambitions of lords and kings. Lordship was experienced in the mobile congregations of legal and literate experts that surveyed their domains in *enquêtes* and *capbreus*. The illuminated *capbreus* of Jaume II brilliantly illustrate how royal authority radiated out from the king in his castle, through his appointed representatives and their scribes, to be felt by even the humblest royal tenant in the villages of Roussillon. Authority was projected also at castles and bastides, where the navigation of seigneurial, sacred, and economic spaces mediated relations between sovereign and subject. Above the market square of a newly established bastide town rose the *pau* depicting the arms of the sovereign; the *pau* manifested the lord's rights over the financial transactions of the economic space. Letters of safeguard, meanwhile, could be used to extend royal jurisdiction at the expense of other lay and ecclesiastical lords. In so many ways, the production of spaces of lordship in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries territorialized sovereignty in Occitània and northern Catalunya.

It is no coincidence that many of the royal agents participating in these practices of lordship were Dominicans and Franciscans, for these mendicant orders too were reshaping the landscapes of southern France. I have focused here solely on the Dominicans, for they were native to Languedoc, originating at Toulouse in the context of heresy and crusade. Heirs to an imagined geography that vilified that town and the surrounding region, they created new ones that articulated Dominican identity and reconstructed urban spaces as communities of the faithful. Laying claim to the apostolic past of local saints and martyrs, whether Sernin in Toulouse or Mary Magdalen in Provence, they cast themselves—in rewritten hagiographies, for example, or the paintings on the walls of a burial chapel—as the logical inheritors of the *vita apostolica*, and they provided medieval men and women

with new opportunities for orthodox devotion while pursuing their pastoral and anti-heretical mission.

Yet, in penetrating the urban and spiritual landscapes of the *Midi*, the Dominicans adapted to a broadly shared set of cultural assumptions. Occitània and northern Catalunya were linked not just geographically—as the crossroads that connected the Mediterranean with the Atlantic and the Iberian peninsula with the rest of the continent—but also by memory and by means of social and cultural production. Roman and Carolingian pasts loomed large in the imaginations of urban and ecclesiastical elites, and vestiges of this history remained in the region's topographical, municipal, and record-keeping vocabulary: hilltop *castra*, urban *consules*, and the always active *notarii*. Different communities produced unique identities, but worked with parallel and overlapping social memories in order to do so. The Dominicans of Toulouse, the Jews of Narbonne, and the consuls of Perpignan may not have always gotten along, but they all engaged with a common history that encompassed Rome, Saracens, and Charlemagne. Similarly, a set of common documentary practices bridged the political divide between great lords and the aspiring urban oligarchies increasingly dominated by them. These practices, in slightly different arrangements, allowed both to produce spaces that articulated their authority and identities. My investigations have shown that it may be more productive to think of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century southern France not as divided politically or religiously (although to some extent it was), but as united by these shared social, cultural, and, indeed, *spatial* practices. This was a unity not imposed by the eventual annexation of the region by France, but present both in the opening decades of the thirteenth century and at the closing of the fourteenth.

Several other themes have emerged across these chapters of spatially-informed historical analysis. The first has to do with language—particularly the relationship between Latin and the vernacular—as well as orality and aurality. While historians are predisposed to favor the textual, we

might further consider the oral and aural as elements in the production of space. In the *Midi*, notaries translated spoken Occitan or Catalan into Latin, both in the town hall of the consulates and for seigneurial *enquêteurs*. The 1247 oaths of Toulousans and Raimon VII presumably involved many moments of code-switching as the consuls negotiated with their lord in Occitan, read out former charters in Latin, and then swore their oaths in the vernacular while the notary drew them up in the *lingua latina* of his legal formulae. Similarly, when Guihelm Pelhisson wrote his history, in Latin, of the early Dominicans of Toulouse, he left the town crier's proclamation of the consequences of heresy in the vernacular: "Qui aytal fara, aytal perira." The iconography of some town seals, moreover, made easily recognizable puns; one would not need to be able to read the Latin inscription in order to understand that the tree (*aubre*) on a hill (*mont*) identified the town of Montauban. The soundscapes of urban space would also include the periodic ringing of church bells, and the importance of such aural experience to town life is attested by the near riot in Montpellier when a French royal procurator sealed the cords to the bells of Notre-Dame-des-Tables in 1325. Urban space was defined as much by its sounds as by the documents that often obscure or silence them.

Another theme might fall under Henri Lefebvre's "spatial practices," which above all encompass the movement of individuals and groups. Written instruments both notarized and sealed, as well as letters of royal safeguard, held no value until circulated, while the crowds of *enquêteurs* who carried Charles of Anjou's authority into contested jurisdictions made a lasting impression on Bonifaci VI of Castelhana when he saw them travel through Provence in such great numbers ("qar avocatz vei annar ab tan gran arda"). In a more macabre example, a major part of the Dominican reshaping of urban space in Toulouse was the dragging of the "bones and stinking bodies" of heretics through the streets to the count's meadow. At the same time, in their fourteenth-century burial chapel financed by Dominic Grima, the friars could follow the peregrinations of Saint

Antonin by walking along the walls and looking up at the images painted on them. Here, movement and memory were intimately bound together, which only reinforced the identity of Dominicans as itinerant (that is, traveling) preachers.

Indeed, a major conclusion of these studies is that the imagined geographies generating identities in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century southern France were always and everywhere tied up with not only memory but also materiality. They emerged from reflections on communities' material pasts, whether in the region's "Saracen" walls, the *Capdeul* of Narbonne, the sculptures of Saint-Sernin, or the remains of martyred inquisitors at the Dominican church of Toulouse. Imagined geographies in Occitània and northern Catalunya relied fundamentally on the material remnants of the past. Texts mattered too, of course. But they were inaccessible to the majority of medieval men and women (although certainly they could be transmitted orally). To reflect on one's place in the world was to think about one's location—one's embodiment—in both time and space. Memory was always embodied, as Aquinas and Albertus Magnus understood. In light of this, my analyses support the conclusions of other scholars who are expanding on our notions of social memory to include not just texts, oral transmission, habits, and rituals, but also the material and the visual. The useful past lay scattered across the landscapes of southern France. While for Bill Brown a concern for and with material things was decidedly modern, evolving from an era of overproduction and commodification, I have shown that the same concern characterized many medieval texts, particularly those of an historical bent.

Refocusing on the material elements of spatial practices and imagined geographies allows us insights into medieval conceptualizations of authority and identity. There could be no better medieval illustration of actor-network theory—with its location of the social in webs of relations between people and things—than the illuminated miniatures of the *capbreus* of Jaume II, where palace, parchment, and codex link king, notary, *procurator*, and tenant. The Romanness of late

fourteenth-century Perpignan, meanwhile, rested at least in part in the woolen textiles produced by its women, while a contemporary friar at Toulouse understood his Dominican identity by circumambulating the chapel of Saint-Antonin. The near riot that followed the royal sealing of the cords of the church bells in Montpellier, moreover, indicates how entangled urban inhabitants were with both these sonorous cultural artifacts and the documentary technologies that communicated authority and authenticity. We do not have to believe, with our medieval subjects, in the fiery powers of the carbuncle or the shining crosses battling a monstrous figure outside Toulouse to recognize that both agency and identity could be manifold, fragmented, and shared among humans and the material spaces and objects they produced.

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