

CATHAR ECCLESIOLOGY: AN EXAMPLE OF  
AN HERESIES INSTITUTIONALISATION.

" You have all come in contact with the heretic;  
You know that his followers, (God curse them)  
Held weight in the Albigeois, the Carcasses  
And most of the Lauragaises;  
From Beziers to Bordeaux, there was not a road  
Which was not travelled by the heretics, and not  
One village which had little of that evil talk."<sup>1</sup>

From its origin in the 1160s, until the fall of the last great strongholds in the 1240s, the heresy of the Cathari<sup>2</sup> enjoyed a success in being integrated within the social order of the Languedoc - that is Occitanian France - that was unprecedented amongst heretical movements. The challenge it presented to the

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<sup>1</sup> " Ben avet tug auzit coment la eretgia/ Era taut fort monteia (cui Domni Deus maldia)/ Que trastot Albiges avia en sa bailia/ Carcasses, Lauragues tot la maior partie/ De Beziers tro a Bordel; si col comis tenia/ A mots de lors crezens e de lor companhia/ Si de plus a diches ia non mentria mia..."

" La Chanson de la croisade Albibeoise ", Guillelm de Tudela, ed. George Duby, Livre de Poche des Belles Lettres, 1989 (Henceforth " chanson "); 1 . 4-10 .

<sup>2</sup> The word Cathari was a generic term first found in the "Sermones contra Catharos" of Eckbert of Schonau (M.P.L. CXCV) in 1160, and was used to apply to all dualist heretics throughout Christendom .Cathari were also referred to more specifically by names drawn from the areas in which recognisable sects were identified; hence Albigensian, from the town Albi, in the department of Tarn (a centre for Languedocian dualism) was a typical title given to an heretic of Southern France.For the purpose of this essay, 'Albigensian' shall be used to avoid confusion with the Cathar sects of Lombardy, Germany, and 'Gallia'- Northern France.

traditional authority of Roman Catholic Christianity led, in 1209, to a Papal army becoming the first crusading force ever to be raised and unleashed specifically against Christians, and Catholic poets such as Guillelm de Tudela to immortalise their fears and curses in songs throughout Western Christendom.

Following the capture of the Albigensian stronghold of Mirepoix on 22 July 1210, according to the Catholic chronicler Peter de Vaux-Cernay :

"There were 140 or more heretics. A large

fire was therefore prepared and all were thrown in.."3

At Lavaur, 80 heretical knights and 400 Cathars were executed; Casses witnessed the burning of 60 Albigensian churchmen, and massacres followed at Muret, Hautpoul, St. Antoin, Massac, Beziers - where, on the orders of the Catholic Bishop Arnaud Amaury to "kill them all; God will know his own" (as rumoured by the German chronicler Caesarius of Heisterbach) 20,000 lost their lives in 1209 - and finally on the 16 March 1244, over 200 Cathari, men, women and children, burned in the 'Bucher de Montsegur'.4

The violence with which the Albigensian Cathari were stamped out, is evidence enough of the threat which the Catholic

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<sup>3</sup> Peter de Vaux-Cernay "Historia Albigensis" ed. P.Guebin & E.Lyon, 3 vols., Paris 1926-1939 (Henceforth Vaux-Cernay), 156.160-1. Cited M.Barber, "Catharism & the Occitan nobility: the lordships of Cabaret, Minerve & Termes." in 'The Ideals & Practice of Medieval Knighthood.III.', Boydell Press, (Henceforth Barber.), p.16.

<sup>4</sup> For a powerful account of the last days of Montsegur see M. Roquebert, "Le paysage et les hommes", in "Les Cathares en Occitanie." Robert Lafont et al., Librairie Artheme Fayard, 1982 (Henceforth Lafont).

church saw these dualist heretics as presenting; in all seriousness did Pons d'Arsace, archbishop of Narbonne write in 1172:

"The Catholic faith is very seriously threatened in our diocese.." <sup>5</sup>

The Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries saw the rise of a plethora of diverse heretical groups. Pope Lucius III's decree "Ab Abolendum", issued on the 4 November 1184 at the Council of Veronne, mentions Catharism as just one in a list of heresies including Patarenes, Humiliati, the Poor of Lyons, Passagians, Iosephins, Runcariani and Arnoldists. Yet none was the object of as fierce and calculated a repressive programme as the Cathars of the Albigeois, even though the simplicity of their doctrines (such as the Waldensian notion of the Poverty of Christ) was more suitable for popular assimilation than the cosmological exactitude in Cathar dualism, and as such, presented direct confrontation with the established political order, as in the milleniarist revolts encouraged by the Arnoldists.

To ask why the Cathari were so feared, is to ask why they were so successful. It was clearly not a typically popularist movement, in that its church was noted for requiring of its members a rigour of observance unusual - if not ill suited -

for popular adoption. It maintained a theology and cosmology so demanding and obscure to mainstream Judaeo-Christian culture, that it prompted H.C. Lea to suggest that if Albigensian dualism had become the dominant ideology in the west, it would have lead

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<sup>5</sup> M. Roquebert "L'Epopée Cathare", vol 1. p.83

either to the extinction of the race, or to "lawless concubinage and the destruction of the family" !<sup>6</sup>

It is the aim of this essay:

a) to suggest that the gravity of the Albigensian threat amidst a plethora of other heretical sects came primarily from its institutionalisation within the Languedoc. In this process the establishment of Cathar church orders i.e. an ecclesiology (the theology and practice of a church's hierarchy) , was a central factor, for it presented an organised anti-structure of worship and ecclesiastical authority that could allow the traditional Catholic monopoly to be challenged;

b) to examine how the Cathar church was formed, ordered and operated;

c) to suggest that the development and perpetuation of a Cathar church within the Languedoc was in part dictated by the demands of Albigensian dualist theology.

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#### THE THREAT OF CATHARISM

The threat posed by heresy had a long tradition in the scriptural heritage of medieval theology<sup>7</sup>. St. Paul had warned that:

"There must be also heresies amongst you, that they

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<sup>6</sup> H.C.Lea " A history of the inquisition in the Middle Ages." vol.,I, p.106. cited Barber p.1.

<sup>7</sup> See for example G.R.Evans "Alan of Lille: the frontiers of theology in the later 12th Century", Cambridge 1983, pp.102-133 on reactions to the "impedimenta" of the Catholic faith at the University of Paris.

which are approved may be made manifest amongst you;<sup>8</sup>  
So also, in his epistle to Timothy, did he warn of the danger of  
an 'ecclesia malignatum', saying:

"Now the spirit speaketh expressly, that in the latter  
times shall some depart from the faith, giving heed to  
seducing spirits and doctrines of the spirit.<sup>9</sup>.."

The second epistle general of Peter warns of those who

"Shall bring in damnable heresies, even denying the  
Lord that brought them<sup>10</sup>"

as indeed Cathar dualist cosmology was seen by Catholic writers  
to do.

Its origin lies in the early Dualist controversies, as  
expounded by Sir.Stephen Runciman<sup>11</sup>, regarding the origin of evil  
in the world. For the traditional Catholic doctrine of the fall  
of man and the redemption was seen by some to explain HOW man was  
enchained in sin, but not WHY sin existed. How could evil have  
its origin in an omnipotent and benevolent deity? So it was  
necessary, as Tertullian states in the "De Praescriptionibus", to  
question :

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<sup>8</sup> I Corinthians XI v. 19. (King James)

<sup>9</sup> I Timothy IV v.I; cited Moneta of Cremona O.P. "Summa  
contra Kataros (sic) et Ualdenses" c.1218, ed. Ricchini 1743  
(Henceforth Moneta) Lib. V Caput III p.401-"Quod nec Cathari nec  
pauperes Lugdunenses sunt ecclesia dei, sed sola ecclesia Romana"  
; and also Eckbert of Schonau (op. cit.) Sermon I, p.14 & Sermon  
V p.26.

<sup>10</sup> 2 Peter II v.I

<sup>11</sup> Sir.Stephen Runciman "The Medieval Manichee", Cambridge  
1947, (Henceforth Runciman)

"From whence and what came badness."<sup>12</sup>

The Gnostic-Dualist grouping of the 'Pleroma' in the Heavens, consisting of 'Eons' who were imperfect (so capable of sin) co-existent & co-eternal with God, solved the dilemma by producing amongst the eons a 'Demiurge', an imperfect creator of the imperfect material world.

Thus developed the doctrine of the essential wickedness of matter as originating outside the benevolent Deity, with its vast- and to Catholics heretical-implications on the nature of Christ's humanity, the value to salvation of ecclesiastical institutions and rites, and the theology of Good Works, all of which dualists denied.

Dualism is traditionally presented as existing in its Manichean form, as the postulation of two powers, good and evil, with the material world in origin evil; and Man's soul, of good origin, trapped in an evil body through the Fall, and thus separated from its celestial spirit, the search for which is the

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<sup>12</sup> 'De Praescriptionibus' \*7.M.P.L. Col.22 cited Runciman (op.cit.) p.5. That this is central to the development of Cathar dualism is indicated in the introduction to the heresy given by the Lombard Inquisitor Anselm of Alexandria, who in his handbook the "Tractatus de Hereticis" 1267, fol Ir. 1-2, ed. Dondaine 'Tractatus' in A.F.P.XIX p.308 places the origin of the movement in:

"quidam cui vocabatur Manes, qui ait primo intra se: Si Deus est, unde sunt male; et si Deus non est, unde bona? Et hoc posuit duo principia."

That is, from Mani developed the 'two principles' which remained the central tenet of Dualism.

So also, Moneta of Cremona prefaces his work with the conviction that:

"Quae quidem aptissime ad Manicheos seu Catharos referenda sunt." Moneta, (op.cit.) Caput VI.1.p.XVIII.

again seeing the Cathars as being in the Neo-Manichean tradition.

end of life.

As Runciman demonstrates, the centre for dualism shifted from the the Persia of Mani to the Bulgaria of the Bogomil heretics from the 10th Century. As he shows<sup>13</sup>, at this time a schism occurred within the their Church, with the Bulgarian Bogomils maintaining a traditional Mitigated or Moderate dualism, and a new sect, the Dragovitsan or Drugunthian dualists, of Thrace/Macedonia<sup>14</sup>, proposing an Absolute dualism in the tradition of the Paulicians, an earlier Dualist Church of Antioch.

Dualists, therefore, divided into Moderates, who proposed that although all matter is evil, the Demiurge (its creator) as an eon was a creation of God, and Absolutists, who saw two coexistent & coeternal powers, one Benevolent and one Malignant, with the latter introducing the Creation quite independent of the former.

Although there exist well documented instances of indigenous dualism in Western Christendom up to the 12th Century, described by Runciman as 'Manichean memories'<sup>15</sup>, it is now acknowledged that the intervention of Bogomil heretics in general, and the Absolutism of the church of Dragovitsa in particular, under one 'Pope Nicetas' self-styled bishop of Constantinople (the new

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<sup>13</sup> Runciman (op.cit.) p.69.

<sup>14</sup> Named after the village of Dragovitsa, a dualist centre on the border of the two Provinces.

<sup>15</sup> Runciman (op.cit.)p.117; for example, the burning of two Canons at Ste-Croix in Orleans by King Robert the Pious in 1022 for proclaiming the original baseness of matter.

centre for the Drugunthians), was fundamental to the formalisation of dualist theology and practice amongst the Cathari of the Languedoc and Italy.<sup>16</sup>

The missionary work of the Eastern dualists has been well documented; by 1170 the Moderated Bogomils of the Church of Bosnia (as they were styled) had founded a church in Lombardy around Bagnola<sup>17</sup>, whilst Pope Nicetas and the Drugunthian Absolutists had established what became called the Albanenses church in the same region. Fr.Dondaine O.P. confirmed the existence by 1200 of at least 6 separate and delineated Cathar churches in Lombardy, but conclusively, Rainerius Sacconi, a Lombard Cathar who converted to Catholicism, spoke in his "Summa de Catharis" 1250, of all Cathar churches :

"Having their origin in these two Churches ultimately: (the Moderates) of Bulgaria, and the (Absolutists) of Dragovitsia."<sup>18</sup>

What is certain, is the importance of Absolute dualism as the driving force in the establishment of institutionalised Cathar churches in the Languedoc, following the dualists success in Italy. There is little evidence to suggest that Albigensian Catharism was a totally indigenous movement. Indeed, Sacconi

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<sup>16</sup> It is interesting that the Catholic Troubadour Guillelm de Tudela refers to the Albigensians as "Bougres", a derogative, diminutive form of Bogomil. 'Chanson'(op.cit.) 1.18.

<sup>17</sup> For Italian Cathar Churches, see A.Dondaine O.P. "Cathar Hierarchy in Italy" A.F.P.XIX,pp.280-312, & A.F.P. XX,pp.234-324 (Henceforth Dondaine XIX or XX).

<sup>18</sup> Rainerius Sacconi "Summa de Catharis"1250, p.70,17-18. Cited Dondaine XX p.276:

"..et omnes habuerunt originem de duobus ultimas.."



noted

"The sect of the Cathari is divided into three parts; Albanenses, Concorezenses (Absolutists) and Bagnolese (Moderates), and all these in Lombardy. The other Cathari, whether in Tuscany or the Provence (Albigensians), do not differ in their opinions from the said Cathari.."19

The moment for the formalisation of Catharism in the Languedoc can be dated almost exactly, to the summoning of a Cathar council at St.Felix de Caraman in 1167 to be held under the authority of Nicetas, the Dragovitsian absolutist who had previously established the Albanenses church in Lombardy.

The existence of the Council has been a source of much contention between Historians, but it is fundamental to note that after 1167, the date claimed for the Council, Absolute dualism dominates Languedocian Cathar theology, as would follow in a church established and institutionalised by an absolutist.

Until this time, documents from the Languedoc are marked by an absence of reference to a specific absolutist cosmology. Even the Catholic Council of Lombers, near Albi, convened in 1165 to examine the doctrine of diocesan heretics makes no mention of the theology of the Absolutists. Indeed, the Cathar questioned, one

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19 Rainerius Sacconi op.cit. ch.6., in S.R.Maitland "Facts and documents illustrative of the History, Doctrine and Rites of the Ancient Albigenses and Waldenses." London, 1832. (Henceforth Maitland.) Provides sometimes inaccurate, but valuable translations of relevant documents in their entirety.

Olivier, was clearly a moderate dualist.<sup>20</sup>

But from this time, the references to dualism in Occitania are marked by their frequency and uniformity. When listing the Catholic Councils summoned to condemn Catharism, Moneta of Cremona names only 6 for the period 1025-1160; But from 1163-1215, only 52 years, he includes 12 such assemblies condemning recognisably absolutist doctrines.<sup>21</sup>

The narrative chronicle of Roger of Hovedon, describing the Cistercian Abbot Henry de Marsias' 1178 preaching mission to the Languedoc, quotes a letter of Papal Legate Peter Chrysogonus regarding his meeting at the Colloque of Toulouse 1178 with two Cathari, who both :

"Declared...that there were two Gods...one Good, who had made only the things invisible, and such as were not changeable, or corruptible; and one Evil had made heaven and earth, mankind, and all visible things."<sup>22</sup>

It is evidently an accurate confession of Absolutist Dualism.

With the imposition of the Inquisition into the Languedoc at Toulouse 1229, depositions are filled with confessions of Absolutism which display a marked theological uniformity in

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<sup>20</sup> Acta Concilii Lumbariensis, in M.Bouquet "Recueil des historiens des Gaules" 1738-1904, vol 14.pp.431-434. cited B.Hamilton "the Cathar Council of St.Felix", A.F.P. 1978.(Henceforth Hamilton)

<sup>21</sup> Moneta, (op.cit.) "de Conciliis adversus Catharos celebratis." Caput VIII,I-XXI;pp XXXII-XXXV.

<sup>22</sup> From Maitland, op.cit.,(translation), p.165.

contrast to those from Italy<sup>23</sup>. The December 1243 confession of one Bernarda Targucira, a cathar, wife of Pons, states:

"Item,, audivit eos praedicantes apud Villemur apud Carbarii (Corbieres) quod Deus non fecerat visibilia et quod hostia sacrata non erat corpus Christi, de Baptismo et matrimonia, quod non proderant ad Salutem..<sup>24</sup>."

So also, the confession of Guillelmus Fabet de Podio for the same

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23 The two references to mitigated dualism in the Languedoc after 1167 that I have come across, are both dubious. A letter of Conrad, Bishop of Porto, Papal legate to the archbishop of Rouen, 1223, mentions:

"An heresiarch.. whom the Albigensians call their pope, dwelling in the confines of the Bulgarians, of Croatia and Dalmatia..(that is Moderates)..To him the heretics resort, that he may give them advise; For one Bartholomew, bishop of the heretics, being a native of Carcassonne, and Vicar to this antipope...amongst other enormities creates bishops.." Extract from extended letter, Maitland (op.cit.)p.192.

Hamilton is convinced that this is a reference to mitigated dualism in the Languedoc, but adds that as a moderate Bartholomew would be considered heretical by most albigensians.(Hamilton op.cit.,pp.44-48). However, it is possible that Cardinal Conrad was in fact talking of the Absolutist Nicetas, who is known to have used the title 'papa',and confused the origin of his heresy, as to catholics, all Cathari were Bogomils.

Secondly,there is the deposition of one Iohn Uitalis, 1243, in the Doat Folio vol.XXII,fol.13, microfich courtesy of Dr.Malcolm Barber, University of Reading (Henceforth DOAT), which records:

"Item, dixit quod audivit W.Audebert dicentem...et statim Dominus misit Lucibel in hunc mundum et recepit eum pro fratre et postea voluit Lucibel habere partem haereditatis de inferioribus et de superioribus, et Dominus noluit et propter hoc diu fuit guerra, et de hoc dictus W.Audebert habebat multa scripta.."

which is notable in being almost unique as a confession from the Languedoc depositions of mitigated dualist cosmology, but also for suggesting that Moderate Cathar literature was available for Albigensians.

24 "item she heard them (cathars) preach at Villemur and Corbieres (see map 1) that God did not make the visible world, and that the Sacred Host was not the Body of Christ, that the sacraments of Baptism and matrimony were not beneficial to salvation.." DOAT XXII fol.5. A presentation of accepted articles of absolute dualism.

year claims:

"Item, audivit..quod resurrectio mortuorum non esset,  
quod Deus non fecerat visibilia.."25

Perhaps most significantly, in the lists regularly published to assist Inquisitors in the refutation of current heretical doctrines, and in the requests by Catholics to theologians to clarify confusing points of Roman dogma on which they had been challenged, emerges by analogy a picture of contemporary Cathar doctrine.

Beverly Kienzle and Susan schroff in their analysis of Dijon M.S.611 (Bibliotheque Municipale), a collection of three letters c.1165 by the Monk Francigena O.Cist. of the Abbey of Silvanes, to Gaucelin, bishop of Lodeve (1161-1187), present such an analogous discovery of Cathar doctrine.<sup>26</sup> the Catholic monk enquires as to the benefit of visible things, and asks for a Catholic reconciliation of 3 Biblical texts<sup>27</sup> which are known to have been used by Cathar preachers as scriptural refutations of the divine origin of the world, on account of its imperfection.

So also, Dondaine notes a fragment from an anonymous Languedocian document, which states :

"In Narbonensi videlicet, Biterensi,  
Carcassonensi, Tolosensi, Albigensi, Rutenensi,

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<sup>25</sup> "Item, he heard..that the resurrection of the body was not so; that God did not make the visible world.." DOAT XXII fol.6.

<sup>26</sup> Kienzle & Schroff, Citeaux ~~30, 1979~~ 41, 1990 pp 159-166.

<sup>27</sup> Isaiah 60 :v.19  
Revelation 21 :v.23  
Isaiah 30 :v.26

Caturensi, Agenensi, Petrogoricensi episcopatibus  
credit et audet duos esse Deos.."28

that is a uniform acceptance of Absolutism amongst the dualists  
of the Languedoc.

Indeed, this uniformity of dualist confessions in the  
Languedoc after 1167, is confirmed by Sacconi, who claims that by  
1250 only the :

" Ecclesia Franciae (heretics of Northern France)  
moratur Veronae ut in Lombardia concordat cum  
Baiolensi.."

that is the Baiolensi or moderates of Bagnola; whilst

"Cathari Tholosanae et Albigensis et  
Carcassonensis tenant errores Albanensium"29

that is the absolutists of Lombardy. Evidently, this doctrinal  
schism came to be entrenched between the various Cathar  
Churches. The crusading chronicler Petér de Vaux-Cernay could  
report how some Albigensians in 1218 :

"Said that there are two creators.."

whilst attacking any :

"Other heretics, who said that there is one

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28 Rheims ff.134-137;"Manifestio heresis Albigensium et  
Lugdunensium." cited Dondaine A.F.P.1959;

"Clearly in the the (Catholic) Dioceses of Narbonne, Beziers,  
Carcassonne, Toulouse, Albi, Rodez, Cahors, Agen & Perigeaux, it  
is believed and heard said that there are Two Gods." (Trans. from  
Orbis Latina, Braunschweig,1972).

29 Rainerius Sacconi (op.cit.) cited Hamilton A.F.P.1978  
p.33 n.40.:

"The cathar church of N.France, in the manner of that  
of Veronne in Lombardy, agrees with the Bagnolese....the Cathars  
of Toulouse ,Albi and Carcassonne hold to the errors of the  
Albanenses.."

creator, who had for sons Christ and Lucifer (who then made the world according to the moderates.).."30

The reason for the success and uniformity of Absolute dualism, a rigorous and demanding doctrine, amongst the Albigensians, is indicated by Dondaine:

" Pope Nicetas implanted definitely the Absolute dualism of his Ordo Dragovitsia in...the Languedoc (at the Council of St.Felix, 1167)...AND GAVE TO CATHARISM ITS DECISIVE ELAN BY THE CREATION OF A LOCAL HIERARCHY.."31

that is an internal church structure, with acknowledged authority to maintain and perpetuate the correctness of Cathar doctrine within the Languedoc. The unity of theological thought within a church indicates the strength of the ecclesiastical hierarchy that maintains it; and indeed, an example of the successful operation of a cathar ecclesiology in Óccitania, to confirm and therefore regulate uncertain matters of doctrine, is testified to in the deposition of one Peter Guillelm d'Aruinha in November, 1246 regarding an event forty years earlier:

"Item...vidit apud Mirapicem (Mirepoix, in Cathar diocese of Toulouse) magnum congregationem haereticorum usque ad sex centos haereticos qui venerant ibi pro quidam questione determinam..." 32

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30 From Rainaldus An.1204 \*59 cited Maitland.

31 Dondaine XX op.cit. p.267.

32 DOAT XXIV, fol 240v  
"He saw at Mirepoix a large congregation of heretics, numbering around 600, who came there to determine certain

Here the importance of a church hierarchy within a heretical movement can implicitly be observed: providing the organisational framework within which the theology could be secured and hence strengthened throughout the Languedoc. This process would by definition strengthen the Cathar Church as a vehicle to counter its opponents and encourage its own growth, but also, as Dr.Malcolm Barber has concluded, provide the conditions for Catharism

"..to replace the Catholic church as a framework for social control.."33

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#### THE CATHAR CHURCH

The extent of Catharism by the beginning of the Thirteenth Century is clearly marked by Guillaume de Puylaurens, the Catholic historian whose 'Historia Albigensis' is central to our understanding of the development of the heresy. He states :

"..privatate haeretici exstirpanda in provincia Narbonensi, et Albiensi, Ruthenensi, Caturcensi, Agennensi diocesibus.."34

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questions (of doctrine)..."

33 Barber op.cit. p.13.

34 Guillaume de Puylaurens, "Historia Albigensis" 1200-1272 in Bouquet, "Recueil..", vol.XIX 1870.(Henceforth 'Puylaurens') p.193.D.

"The depravity of the heretic is spread in the province of Narbonne, and the dioceses of Albi, Rodez, Cahors and Agen."

that is the area of the Languedoc in Southern France. It is clear that the Northern French Cathari, the 'Texerants' noted by Eckbert of Schonau in the 1160's, declined in comparison with the Albigensians.<sup>35</sup>

Perhaps this can be best explained through Sacconi's observation that the 'Ecclesia Franciae' reverted, after its Bishop Robert's consecration as an Absolutist at the Council of St.Felix 1167, to following the moderates of Bagnola, so would have been considered heretics by the Languedoc Cathar churches.

The origin for this schism between the Dualist orders therefore lies in the original establishment of the French churches, at the moment of their institutionalisation, that is the summoning of the Cathar Council of St.Felix.

#### ST.FELIX DE CARAMAN

The primary evidence for this first organisation of an Albigensian ecclesiology survives in a 17th Century document copied by an historian of Carcassonne, Guillaume Besse<sup>36</sup>, who claimed to have received the original from a Toulousan priest. In this form, it purports to be the transcript of the Council of St.Felix, copied for the 6th Cathar bishop of Carcassonne in 1232, to confirm the boundary of his diocese and possibly reinforce the authority of his bishopric in the face of a preaching mission by moderate dualists from Bosnia (see note 23).

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<sup>35</sup> Eckbert, op.cit. Sermon 1, p.14:

"..hoc nostra Germania, Cathares; Flandri, Piphles; GALLIA, Texerants, ab usu lexendi appellat."

See also Acta Concilii Caraman, APPENDIX I, lines 10-11, 28-30.

<sup>36</sup> Guillaume Besse "L'Histoire des Comtes de Narbonne."1660



NR Douais "Manuel de Paléographie" 1892

describes p. 127

"le mode le plus fréquemment employé au ~~XIII~~<sup>XII</sup><sup>e</sup> siècle -  
de l'eau de grasse"

'eau de grasse'

St. Felix doc. drawn up 1232: implication that its formula  
was archaic again suggestive of its origin.

Despite the criticism of Yves Dossat and others,<sup>37</sup> its authenticity is now generally acknowledged<sup>38</sup>. I would like to query this consensus with one observation as yet unchallenged. The document is signed:

"...anno MCCXXXII AB INCANATIONE DOMINO..<sup>39</sup>"

(my italics)

But it can be established that Cathars did not accept that Christ became flesh, or 'incarnated'.<sup>40</sup> We are told the document was drawn up by Peter Poulha (see Appendix I line 100) who is known to have been a senior Cathar 'parfait' or churchman. Would such a Cathar utilise a legal formula which would be considered 'heretical' by all Albigensians ?

However, for the purpose of this essay its authenticity will be accepted, due to the strength of corroborative sources, notably the Doat Inquisitorial proceedings.

It establishes firstly, that the Absolutist 'Pope Nicetas' gave the 'Consolamentum' to all present, even established Cathari such as Sicard Celleriar, who already claimed the title of Bishop

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<sup>37</sup> Yves Dossat

see also Louis de Lacger "L'albigeois pendant la crise d'Albigeisme." Rev. d'Hist. Ecclesiastique, XXIX 1933 & August Mollinier " L'Histoire de Languedoc" Nouv. Ed. 1879 t. VIII n. I

"Cet acte peut a bon droit passer pour suspect."

<sup>38</sup> see Hamilton A.F.P. 1978.

<sup>39</sup> Hamilton op.cit. p.53.

<sup>40</sup> See for example Moneta of Cremona, op.cit., XXI, caput IV.X 'Errores de Catharorum'

"Quod Christus non duxit carnem de Caelo....  
Quod ..non sumsit carnem de Beata Maria.."

of Agen.<sup>41</sup> The 'Consolamentum' was the official sacrament of the cathars, bestowed on believers - 'Croyant'-to enter them officially to the church as 'Perfected' believers - 'Parfait'- and on lapsed Parfait (as mitigated Dualists would be considered) to reconcile them. We can conclude that Cellerier was previously a Mitigated Dualist, but Nicetas' consecrations at St.Felix, were the moment when all French dualists became baptised Absolutists.

Secondly, the Bishoprics were authorised at the command of Nicetas; they were not indigenously created.<sup>42</sup> This is significant in that rather than making the churches a spontaneous phenomenon, it linked them with the historicity of the Dragovitsan heretics, thereby imposing on them a greater authority at their establishment.

The third striking feature of the Acta, is the sophistication of the institutions established. There are six churches<sup>43</sup> : Lombardy, Francia, Albi, Toulouse, Carcassonne and Agen ; with bishops and selected counsellors to arbitrate diocesan delineation<sup>44</sup>. This is striking in that Dualism, especially in its Absolutist form, is noted for its rejection of the material world and its institutions, as base and evil in origin. Indeed, Moneta of Cremona states that one tenet of Catharism is ..

"Quod ecclesia materialis non est bona..non

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<sup>41</sup> Appendix I, lines 6-9, 13-14, 23-25.

<sup>42</sup> Appendix I, lines 7-9.

<sup>43</sup> Appendix I, lines 28-35.

<sup>44</sup> Appendix I, lines 51-62.

possest facere constitutiones.."45

Yet here is that same Catharism, which in doctrine seems to call for a deconstituted church, removed from the baseness of the world as necessary to salvation, apparently embracing this same worldly practice.

This apparent paradox seems to rest in a misunderstanding of Albigensian dualism; like all ideologies OF the world, it had to survive IN the world; but so to, this exposure necessitated the constant adaption of its theology to suit the varying demands of believers at different stages.

With the necessity for a church in the world, Absolutists came to claim that everything OF the world was of base origin, but not necessarily everything IN it. So, Christ could appear in the world, although he could not have human sustance, merely human form (in the tradition of Docetist christology). But also it follows that that which Christ - as an emanation of the good Deity - condones or constitutes, cannot be of evil origin.

We see in the St.Felix document the importance of the connection of the Cathar churches with the seven churches of Asia<sup>46</sup>, that is the seven churches addressed by John in the book of Revelations.<sup>47</sup> Indeed, Cathar ecclesiology is marked by its attention to the primitive forms of Christ's church, as justification for its condition. This appeal was to play a

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<sup>45</sup> Moneta, op.cit.,XXII, caput I.XI. :  
"that the material church is not good...it is not able to make constitutions" (that are valid for man's salvation.)

<sup>46</sup> Appendix I, lines41-50.

<sup>47</sup> Revelations I v.4: "John to the the- & churches in Asia."

prominent part in many later heretical movements in Christendom, notably amongst the Fransiscan Spirituals and the Fraticelli, and it is interesting to suggest that the Cathari were important in the dissimilation of this revolutionary claim.

In 1218 Moneta of Cremona wrote that the Cathar claim to their authority as the church of God was based on the proposition that :

"The faith of the Roman church is dead, thus the Roman Church is dead;...if, however, the Roman Church is dead when the Church of God is alive (as it must be), then it is not the Church of God..."<sup>48</sup>

and this status as 'Ecclesia Deorum' could therefore be claimed solely by the Cathar church, for it alone followed the original constitutions of Christ, whilst resisting the temptation to embrace such worldly orders and institutions as the Catholic church had, which would by nature be of base origin, so unfit for the church of God.

Thus we read in the 'Summa' that the Cathari condemned many of the ecclesiastical orders within the church of Rome as unconstituted by Christ. So they hold:

"Quod in Ecclesia Dei, non debent esse  
Subdiacones, nec Acolythe..."

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<sup>48</sup> Moneta, op.cit.,V. caput I;p.390.

"Item, fides Romanae Ecclesiae mortua est, ergo ecclesia Romana mortua; ex fide enim mortua non est vita; si autem Ecclesia Romana mortua est, cum ecclesia Dei viva sit, ipsa non est Dei Ecclesia."

Quod mali Presbyteri non possunt ministrare."<sup>49</sup>

For, as some Albigensians retorted to the Catholic bishop of Lodeve at the Council of Lombers, 1165 :

"Paul stated in his epistle <sup>50</sup> what sort of persons were to be ordained in the church, as bishops and presbyters (i.e. morally strong ones); and that if such persons were not ordained as Paul directed, they were not bishops and priests but ravening wolves."<sup>51</sup>

and so, as such moral strength could not be found in the Church of Rome :

"They said that the order of the priesthood is altogether lost in the Roman Church...and that true priests are not found except in their sect."<sup>52</sup>

This statement of faith is not a total rejection of ecclesiology. Its significance lies in the fact that firstly, it establishes which orders the Cathari considered valid, (namely those of bishop and deacon on account of their scriptural support), and that secondly, it reveals the rigour with which church officers

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<sup>49</sup> Ibid. caput I.XI p.XXII.

"that in the Church of God there ought not to be subdeacons nor acolytes..that a morally weak Presbyter (deacon) could not administer Sacraments."

<sup>50</sup> Probably I Timothy III v.1-14.

<sup>51</sup> From 'Proceedings of the Council of Lombers.', Labbe X,1470 cited Maitland.

<sup>52</sup> Eckbert of Schonau op.cit.,Sermon I, p.15, in a list of the 7 sacraments of Catharism, indicating how central this principle was to Cathar theology :

"Ordinem quippe sacerdoti in Romana ecclesia et incunctis ecclesiis Catholicae fidei omnino periisse dicunt, nec usquam nisi in secta eorum veros sacerdotes inventi."

had to conduct their lives in order to maintain the authority of their office ; that is not just for important exemplarist reasons, but as an article of Faith. The importance of this doctrine is underlined by Peter de Vaux-Cernay, when he noted at Montpellier in 1206 :

"Quotiescunque enim vellent ipsis hereticos praedicare, obiciebant eis heretici conversationem pessimam clericorum ;"<sup>53</sup>

since for the Cathars such behaviour automatically disqualified the individual from right to hold ecclesiastical office, in accordance with St. Paul's words. Indeed as an example of the severity with which the Cathari viewed the abuse of office, Rainerius Sacconi wrote :

"Omnes Cathari laborant in maximo dubio et periculo animae."<sup>54</sup>

For, as the Anonymale Chronicle states :

"si episcopus peccat occulte mortaliter, omnes, quibus manes imposuit, dampnatur, et ideo plures manus imponunt ut saltem per unius impositionem salventur."<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> Peter de Vaux-Cernay op.cit. vol I, pp.22-23, 1926.  
"..each time (the Papal Legate) wanted to preach to the heretics, they objected to the detestable behaviour of the Roman clerics."

<sup>54</sup> Dondaine op.cit., p.291  
" All Cathars live in great doubt and danger for their souls.."

<sup>55</sup> Ibid. p. 292.  
"if a (cathar) bishop hides a mortal sin he has committed, all to whom he gives the 'Consolamentum' will be damned, and so they have the hands of many (cathar 'parfait') laid on themselves so that through one at least they will be assured salvation."

It is apparent, that at the heart of Cathar salvationist theology lay the need for the successful execution of the rite of the 'Consolamentum', (SEE NOTE 55) which thereby required the successful organisation of its church to ensure the validity and availability of the ceremony. We can conclude that it represents an instance of the nature of an ecclesiology being dictated by a theology.

#### CATHAR ECCLESIASTICAL HIERARCHY

It is fitting that the fullest contemporary account of Cathar ecclesiology is provided by a 'reconciled' heretic, Rainerius Sacconi, who renounced Catharism and adopted the habit of the Dominican friars, to assist in the elimination of his old sect. In his "Summa de Catharis", he wrote of his old church with the authority of an initiate :

"Observe the orders of the Cathars are Four.

He who is first and chief order is called

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For the 'consolamentum', which could only be given by one who had already received it (i.e. a 'parfait') was the one sacrament whereby the earth-bound soul & Celestial spirit of a 'croyant' could be united for the first time since their separation at the Fall, thereby ensuring his or her salvation, and entering him officially into the Cathar 'Church' as a Parfait or Parfaite, man or woman 'Perfect', a status that demanded a hard lifestyle that was to be rigorously observed.

To receive the 'Consolamentum' from a parfait who was in a state of unconfessed or even unrealised mortal sin was useless: merely a human institution ; but also a terrifying threat as an individual could live under the illusion of sanctity, which no degree of good works could achieve, and thus would unwittingly die damned to the base material sphere.

For details of Cathar theology and eschatology see "La Religion Cathare en Occitanie" in "Les Cathares en Occitanie", ed. Lafont et al., (Henceforth Lafont) pp.205-269.



Bishop. (Episcopus)

He who is second, the Elder Son (Filius Maior)

He who is third, the Younger son (Filius Minor)

He who is fourth, and last, Deacon (Diaconus)."<sup>56</sup>

The remaining Cathari, those who had received the Consolamentum (a very small number, no more than 6000 throughout Christendom according to Sacconi, in contrast to the many believers or Credentes), are called Christiani. He continues :

"Secondly observe that it is the office of bishop always to take the lead in whatever they do, namely the imposition of hands, the breaking of bread, the beginning of prayers (the sacraments accepted by Cathars as ordained in Scripture)...observe that the bishop, and his sons, have deacons of their own, in every city where they reside...to hear confessions of venial sins.."

Although describing the Cathar church of his native Lombardy, Sacconi previously states that :

"The other Cathari...of Provence (Albigensians) do not differ in their opinions from the said heretics (of Lombardy), "

and indeed, Raymond Nelli in his comparison of surviving Cathar liturgies from the 13th Century, notably the Albigensian 'Liber de Duobus Principiis' c.1222/4, and the 'Cene Secrete' of Florentine origin, concludes that :

"The two rituels resemble one another so clearly, so to

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<sup>56</sup> Sacconi, op.cit., cited Maitland p.425.

show in consequence a certain fixity to Cathar Liturgy  
(in France & Italy) by this time,"<sup>57</sup>

thus supporting the value of Lombard sources for an understanding  
of Languedocian Catharism.

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It remains to be examined how Sacconi's model of Cathar  
ecclesiology, drawn up in Lombardy in the 1250's, can be applied  
to the operation of the Albigensian church from 1167, the date of  
its establishment at St.Felix, until the time when he was  
writing.

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#### THE STRUCTURING OF A CATHAR CHURCH HIERARCHY IN THE LANGUEDOC

The ordering of the Albigensian church can be divided into  
three arbitrary chronological periods :

- a) 1167-1220 -that is, from the Council of St.Felix until  
the accession of Guilhabert de Castres as Cathar bishop of  
Toulouse (1220-1237)
- b) 1220-1237 -that is, the period of de Castres' episcopate,  
including the Cathar Councils of Pieusse 1226 & Montsegur  
1232; and the establishment of a new Cathar diocese at  
Razes.
- c) 1237-1244 - the wan of the Albigensian churches until the  
collapse of its administration following the fall of  
Montsegur, 16th March 1244.

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<sup>57</sup> R. Nelli "Ecritures Cathares", Paris, 1968, p.205.

As the St.Felix document illustrates, 4 Cathar bishoprics were established in the Languedoc in 1167;<sup>58</sup> Albi, Carcassonne, Toulouse and Agen, with Sicard Cellerier, Guiraud Mercier, Bernard Raymond, and Raymond de Casals ordained for each respective diocese, in accordance with the Ecclesiology stated by Sacconi.

There is however a noticeable absence in the text regarding the appointment of the other church officers, namely Filius Maior and Filius Minor. This has prompted speculation that these offices were later additions to the Cathar church hierarchy,<sup>59</sup> necessitated by the increasing complexity of diocesan administration.

However, the reason for this absence from the conciliar decree is probably more prosaic. Sacconi in 1250 tells how the two 'sons' were traditionally both appointed by the bishop, so that on his death, the Younger Son could proclaim the Elder Son bishop, and then adopt his post as Filius Maior, at which point the bishop-elect could select a new Filius Minor. The Apostolic succession of bishops amongst the Cathar churches, in accordance with St.Paul's wishes could therefore be assured by a self-perpetuating hierarchy that could avoid the dilemma regarding the rightful succession of a bishop faced by the Catholic church.

It appears that this system of self-perpetuation occurred

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<sup>58</sup> Appendix I, lines 28-35.

<sup>59</sup> See Duvernoy 'L'histoire de Catharism', p.218.

throughout Cathar church orders, even down to the office of deacon. In 1244, the deacon of Lanta, Pons de St.Foy, was arrested between Caraman and Lanta. His two assistants - 'socii' - escaped to inform a 'croyant', a Cathar believer, who entered his prison on the pretext of converting him to Catholicism, but instead brought a wax tablet on which Pons inscribed the name of his chosen successor, Guillaume Dejean who had previously served as his 'socius', but from that moment, adopted his old master's office.<sup>60</sup>

The importance laid on the rightful succession of officers and the measures taken to ensure the legitimate accession of a new church official, can be understood in view of the dualist rejection of worldly, base institutions as valueless - indeed detrimental - to man's salvation. Thus from the document of St.Felix, throughout the Inquisitorial depositions, there are many instances of church officers<sup>61</sup> and parfait<sup>62</sup> being 'reconsoled' to ensure the legitimation of their office.

So , it is probable that the St.Felix document drawn up in 1232 by the Cathar bishop Peter Isarn, to confirm inter-diocesan delineation, would not include clauses legitimising local diocesan officers, who were the appointees of each respective

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<sup>60</sup> DOAT XXV, fol.12v-13v, cited Dossat "Les Cathares d'apres L'Inquisition.", Cahiers de Fanjeaux III p.74.

<sup>61</sup> Such as the rebaptism and reordination of Siccard Cellerier as Cathar Bishop of Albi; Appendix I, lines 13 & 31.

<sup>62</sup> The 1244 deposition of Raymond de Mas recorded the reordination of two women Parfaite, Arnaude and Peronne de Lamothe, in the 1220's, following their capture and renunciation of Catharism to the Inquisition. Lafont op.cit., p.278.

bishop, and as such, outside the concern of such inter-diocesan affairs.

Indeed, it is apparent that even if the official titles of *Filii Maior* and *Minor* were not introduced immediately, a Cathar bishop's 'socius' or companion -often used in Catholic depositions to indicate the said officers- were seen to play a significant role in the formation of Albigensian theology and administration from an early stage, not only by fellow Cathari but in the opinion of contemporary Catholic observers.

Speaking of the year 1207, Guillaume de Puylaurens, the Catholic chronicler of the 1209 Albigensian crusade, noted for the Languedoc :

"...et ex parte altera, haeresiarcha Arnaldus Othonis, Guilabert de Castres, Benedictus de Termino, Pontius Iordani.."63

The term 'Haeresiarcha' was relatively new to scholastic Latin. Du Cange notes only two instances of its use before the 12th Century, the first being in 890<sup>64</sup>, whilst Latham, in his analysis of British and Irish capitulary sources identifies the word first in 1192 meaning 'heresiarch' as in an institutionalised leader of a heretical group<sup>65</sup>.

In itself the development of this word in the 12th Century

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<sup>63</sup> Guillaume de Puylaurens, op.cit., IX, p.201.

"..and from that part, the Heresiarchs were Arnald Oth, Guilabert de Castres, Benedict of Termens and Pons Jordan."

<sup>64</sup> Dom. du Cange "Glossarium mediae et infimae Latinitatis", London 1885.

<sup>65</sup> R.E.Latham "Revised Medieval Latin word list", British Academy, 1965, p.225.

is significant in illustrating how the Catholic church developed its vocabulary to challenge the developments within the heresies it sought to undermine, and so indicating the nature of these changes, namely the increased institutionalisation of heretical churches.

But more specifically, its use helps build a picture of the dominant Cathar churchmen in the first decade of the 13th Century. Arnould Oth is known to have been Cathar deacon for Cabardes and the Montaigne Noir (1200-1207), in the Cathar diocese of Carcassonne<sup>66</sup>; Benedict de Termes was to become the first Cathar bishop of Razes in 1226, but at this stage probably served the Cathar church of Toulouse; Pons Jourdan was a known Cathar parfait; but most interesting is the mention of Guilabert de Castres as a leading heretic, for in a deposition of 21 April 1244, one Bernard de Lavalnet, a Cathar follower, called Guilabert :

"Filius maior de Tholosano...quod sunt quadraginta anni.."67

In other words, from 1204 at the latest, we have corroborative evidence for the significance and indeed the existence of a Filius Maior within the Albigensian Church, in the diocese of Toulouse at least, thereby confirming that by this time, the ecclesiology outlined by Sacconi, was already operating. The

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<sup>66</sup> See Duvernoy "L'Histoire .."op.cit., p.351, and Lafont,op.cit., p.79.

<sup>67</sup> DOAT XXIV fol 42-43.  
"Filius maior of the Cathar church of Toulouse...that was 40 years ago."i.e.1204.

narrative chronicle of Roger of Hovedon describing Henry de Marsiac's 1178 preaching mission, claims that in that year he debated with two leading Albigensians, Bernard Raimond, Cathar Bishop of Toulouse (1167-1180) and Raimond de Bamiac his 'Socius', so by implication his Filius Maior. Raimond is known to have been executed with Bernard in 1180 at which point he was succeeded by Guilhabert de Castres, who was officially titled Filius Maior by de Lavelnet. It is possible therefore, that the institutions of bishop and Filius Maior were in place in the diocese of Toulouse at least, before the beginning of the thirteenth century.

The next clear statement for the condition of the Cathar hierarchy in the second decade of the 13th century comes from the pen of Durandus de Huesca, a Spanish Catholic polemicist, who writing in his "Liber Contra haereticos" c.1224 claims

"Siccharidi Cellari, Gaucelmi, Bernard de Simorre et Vigorosi de Baconi episcoporum nefande hereseos.."68

that is Sicard Celleria, known Bishop of Albi 1167-1202, Gaucelm Bishop of Toulouse 1204-1220, Bernard de Simorre, Bishop of Carcassonne 1209-1212, and Vigorous de Bacon, who is only known otherwise to have become Filius Maior of the Church of Agen in 1229 after Durandus was writing. 69

The significance of Durandus' statement lies in it being one of the earliest accounts by a Catholic, to witness to the

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68 Durandus, ed. M. Thouzellier, Louvain, 1964 pp 76-78

69 Deposition of Bernard de Lavoluet, DOAT XXII, Fol. 227. cited Hamilton pp 46-7.

existence of all four Cathar dioceses, and by so doing indicating that at the level of Bishop at least, the four churches were operating effectively.

Regarding the role and establishment of deacons between 1167 and 1220, Dondaine identifies the following centres.

Diocese of Toulouse:

Caraman, Les Casses, Castelbon, Catalogne, Fanjeaux, Labecede, Lanta, Laurac, Mirepoix, Montmaur, Sabartes, St Paul Cap de Joux, Verfeuil, Vielmur and Villemur, to which Guiraud adds Lautrec. (see Map I)

Dioceses of Carcassonne: (see Maps I & II)

Cabardes, Montreal while Guiraud includes Fenouillet.<sup>70</sup>

For the dioceses of Agen and Albi there are no known deacons at this stage, in part due to the relative paucity of inquisitorial records for these regions in contrast to the survival of the Doat Folio for Toulouse.

The predominance of the Cathar ministry in Toulouse at this point can in parts be explained by the greater volume of surviving registries of inquisitorial proceedings for the diocese. But it is evident that Toulouse held an authority amongst the Albigensians that was acknowledged but only by the Catholic opponents of dualism but by the Cathari themselves. In 1207 St Dominic debated at Verfeil with two known Toulousain Cathar deacons, Pons Jordan and Arnaud Arrafut<sup>71</sup>.

It is clear therefore that firstly the structure of a Cathar

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<sup>70</sup> Guiraud "L'Histoire de l'inquisition" 1935.

<sup>71</sup> Lafont Op.cit., p.130



hierarchy had been established by 1220 with Bishops, Elder Sons, and deacons. But secondly it can be suggested that these churchmen were not merely administrators but central to the dissemination, and theological form, of the heresy at this stage. It is very significant that when Count Raimond V of Toulouse wrote to Alexander, Abbot of Citeaux, 1178, appealing for aid against the Albigensian heresy prevalent in his diocese, he emphasised that he wished to destroy the Cathars, but could not because:

"Certain of my nobility HAVE BEEN CULTIVATED BY THE PRELATES OF THIS STINKING HERESY" (my italics) <sup>72</sup>

From its earliest stage the system of Cathar church officers can be seen to have been of central importance to the spread of the heresy's doctrine.

#### 1220 - 1237

One problem hindering the succesful identification of Albigensian church officers in the Languedoc, is the limited number of sources providing such information. Except for the survival of the Acta Concilii Caramensis, as the only known Cathar account, our knowledge of individual Cathar ecclesiasts comes either by reputation or in person from the recorded notes of the Inquisition's depositions or the polemic of Catholic apologists.

It follows that only the most influential, or least careful,

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<sup>72</sup> Gervase of Canterbury, Chronicle, Rolls series (Stubbs) 1879 v.1 p.270

individuals survive in name. Thus whilst fortunately preserving the most directly significant figures, and providing thereby a picture of the regions most heavily infused by Catharism (see Map 1), our knowledge is limited for the many minor but no less important officers who would have been vital for the maintenance of Catharism in many of its smaller diaconates. The deacons themselves as Sacconi stated, provided a vital parochial role for the more important Bishops, as they would "hear confession of venial sins".

However some surviving depositions for this period do provide an insight into the daily execution of duty by deacons. The deposition of Bernard Oth de Niort, contains an example of a typical incident; in about 1220 he notes how the Cathar Bishop Guilhabert, on one of his many tours of his diocese of Toulouse, came to Laurac, where he was put up by Raimond Bernard who was his deacon for that town, and from his house he preached to the knights of the area<sup>73</sup>. In a document from 1224, one Raymond de Mas-Sts-Puelles, a Cathar perfect, recounts how he was sent with a companion to Linars (La Quercy) by the then deacon of Lantares, Bernard de Lamothe. From here he was to lead the women parfaites Austorgue de Lamothe and her two daughters Arnaude and Peronne, to Lavaur, where Bernard was residing where he would administer reordination to the women following their capitulation to the

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<sup>73</sup> Doat XXIV, Folio 85, Bernard Oth Confession 1240.

"item dicit quodquodam Guilabertus de Castris episcopus haereticorum venit apud Lauracium ad Domum Raimundi Bernardi diachoni...et ibi dictus haereticus praedicavit et inter fuerunt illi praedicationi ipse testes et omnes praedicti milites de Lauraco...de tempore circa viginti annos"

Inquisition<sup>74</sup>.

Twenty years later Raymond de Mas' loyal service was repaid as he was appointed deacon of Veilmores in 1243 on the command of the then Bishop of Toulouse, Bertrand Marti. His companion from 1237, Bernard de Mayreville was also awarded with a deaconate, so Raymond received a newly created parfait to assist him, one Guillaume Carrere.

This example is interesting in showing the efficient workings of the Albigensian hierarchy, with periods of service leading to promotion in rank. Bernard de Lamothe, the original deacon who commanded Raymond in 1224, was to become Filius Maior for the church of Toulouse.

Indeed, the period 1220 - 1237 is marked by the sophistication with which the Cathar hierarchy entrenched and developed itself in Occitania, and central to this development was the episcopate of Guilhabert de Castres for Toulouse between these dates.

Referred to as an "Haeresiarcho" as early as 1207, De Castres' term of office is most significant for seeing the creation of an entirely new diocese, at Razes on the border of Toulouse - Carcassonne. (see Map I)

The evidence for the establishment of Razes comes primarily from the deposition of Raymond Dejean, Socius to Bernard de la Mothe recalling in March 1238 an event that occurred thirteen years previously:

"Item dicit quod inde venerunt praefati haeretici et

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<sup>74</sup> Roquebert, in Lafont Op.cit., p.278.

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ipse testis cum eis apud Piussanum (Pieusse: diocese of Carcassonne) et lutraverunt domum haereticos congregatos usque ad (illegible) inter quos erat Guilhabertus de Castis (then Bishop of Toulouse) et Pons Bernard (Cathar Parfait) et Benezet de Termino (Benedict de Termes, Cathar of Razes) et Bertrandus Martini de Tarvello (Filius Maior of Toulouse) et Raymond Agulherri (Deacon of Sabartes) et alii...et ibi hunc haeretici fecerunt concilium generate in quo concilio haeretici de Redesio (Razes) petierunt et postularunt Episopum sibi dari dicentes quod non erat expediens eis quod pro necessitatibus suis adirent vel natarent haeretici vel de Tholosano vel Carcassensi quia nesciabant (sui) debebant esse submissi vel obedientes et aliqui eorum ibant ab Tholosano, alii ad haereticos de Carcasses..."<sup>75</sup>

This is remarkable for indicating that a council was convened at Pieusse, in the Cathar diocese of Carcássonne (see Map 2), with the presence of members of the church of Carcassonne, yet under the authority of the Bishop of Toulouse who was considered to hold sufficient authority that he might settle an inter-diocesan boundary dispute without the assent of the other bishops. The document continues:

"et ita fuit definitum quod episcopus concederetur eisdem haereticis de Redesio et quod personae proestarent consulamentum et manus impositionum seu ordinationem Episcopi haeticorum tholosanaorum quo facto concesserunt praefatis de Redesio Benedictus de Temino in Episcopum cui

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<sup>75</sup> DOAT XXIII, Fol.267-270.

Guilhabertus de Castris haereticorum. Tholosanorum episcopus proestitit consolamentum et manus impositionem seu ordinationem. Hoc facto fecerunt Raymundum Agulerium filium maiorem et Petrum Bernardi filium minorem..."

This represents an unprecedented moment in Cathar ecclesiology. Previously, the only Bishoprics created (at St Felix in 1167) had been commanded under the authority of Nicetas, who was honoured with the title "Papa" i.e. Pope. Yet the Council of Pieusse, 1226, suggests firmly that the Albigensian church was operating finally as a fully indigenous structure; while the role of Guilhabert de Castres as Bishop of Toulouse indicates the supremacy for his diocese amongst the other churches, adopting the right to create bishoprics in the Languedoc.

What is more, the ordinations carried out by Guilhabert at Pieusse were not unique. Raymond de Pérelha, Lord of Montsegur, declared after his capture following the fall of his castle in 1244, that:

"Guilabertus de Castris, epsicopus haereticorum fecit ordinationes apud Monern securum (Montsegur) et ordinavit Tento Episcopum haereticorum in Agennensi et Vigoros de la Bacona filium maiorem..et Iohannem Cambiare filium maiorem in Tholosano..de tempore quod sunt quindecim anni ei amplius.."76

That is, in 1232 at the latest, De Castres not only appointed his own Filius Minor, but also the senior officers for the diocese of

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<sup>76</sup> DOAT XXII, Fol.227(13th April 1247) cited Hamilton op.cit.

Agen.

In part the leading role played by the de Castres can be explained in the face of the Catholic reaction to the Albigensians. Following the disaster inflicted on the Cathari after the crusade declared by Innocent III, 10th March 1208, culminating in the slaughter at Beziers in 1209, the subsequent recovery of the heresy in the second decade of the 13th century was checked with the introduction of the Inquisition into Toulouse from 1229<sup>77</sup>. From this point, Catharism in general and the Albigensian Parfait and ecclesiasts in particular, faced an unprecedented level of detection and persecution; the Filius Maior of Agen, Vigorous de Bacona, was burned at Toulouse in 1233; the Bishop of Carcassonne, Peter Isarn, suffered a similar fate as early as 1226. Throughout the Languedoc, the pressure on the Cathar Church to survive was greatly increased. Indeed Marcel Becamel, in his study of the Cathar diocese of Albi clearly divides his history between the period 1185 - 1227, when he sees the repressive power of the Catholic Church under Bishop Guilhelm Peyre as being gravely limited, and the years 1227-1254, under Bishop Durand de Beaucaire, when the imposition of the Inquisition drastically altered the security of the Albigensian Church<sup>78</sup>.

In contrast to the first 50 years of Catharism in the Languedoc - when Guillaume de Puylaurens addressed a whole

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<sup>77</sup> See Douais, "L'Histoire de l'Inquisition" (164)

<sup>78</sup> Marcel Becamel "Le Diocese d'Albi" in Cahiers de Fanjeaux III, p.237.

chapter of his chronicle 'de misero statu Tolosanae ecclesiae (Catholic)'<sup>79</sup> - with the Inquisition, the Catholic authorities were capable of challenging the institutionalised heresy with an institution of their own.

But as a natural result of persecution and death amongst the Cathar church, the scale of ordinations necessarily increased, which in turn demanded a greater organisation within the Albigensian hierarchy. The apparent supremacy of Toulouse under de Castres can be seen as a necessary reaction to the very attacks intended to destroy it. Yves Dossat concludes that from 1232:

"the most remarkable thing about (the persecution) is that it assisted the veritable centralisation of Catharism. Large (Cathar) Councils were held where the important decisions were taken; the dignitaries there remembered their ecclesiastical rank...it was in the manner of a collegiate administration.."80

and indeed, the importance of Councils to the survival of Catharism has already been suggested. We know of such gatherings at Pieusse in 1226, and Montsegur 1232<sup>81</sup>, and possibly at

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<sup>79</sup> Puylaurens, Op.cit., in Bouquet Vol.XIX, VI. p.199.

<sup>80</sup> Dossat "Les Cathares d'apres l'Inquisition" Cahiers de Fanjeaux.

<sup>81</sup> DOAT XXIV, Fol.43-4., Dep. of Berengar de Lavalnet (1244)  
"Montis secreta diocesis Tholosanae dicit se vidisse quod Guilhabertus de Castris Episcopus haereticorum et Bernardus de lamotha filius maior et Iohannes Cambairo filis (viz) Hugonis de la Bacona filius maior haereticorum Agennensium et Poncius Guiaberti Drixehonus haereticorum de Villemur et Tento episcopus haereticorum Agennensium et multi alii haeretici venerunt in castrum montis securi...ut in ipso castro posset ECCLESIA MONTIS

Mirepoix<sup>82</sup>.

However, despite Dossat's vision of a conciliarist ideal of Cathar church life, it is apparent that the church in Toulouse became the focus for the Albigensian ecclesiastical hierarchy in this period, (see notes 81 and 82 for the role of the Bishop of Toulouse in convening Cathar councils), culminating ultimately in the removal of its church offices under the authority of De Castres :

"so that in that castle the church of the heretics might have its home and head so that it might be able to send out and defend its teachers..."(see note 81)

that is, to serve as the new, centralised missionary and pastoral centre for the Albigensian churches to recuperate from the ravages of the Inquisitors' success.

#### 1237-1244 : A POSTSCRIPT.

The story of the Albigensian church in this period is one of decline, culminating in the final slaughter at Montsegur, March 1244. At that point, the Cathari of Languedoc suffered losses from which they would never recover : the 200 heretics burned

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HAERTICORUM HABERE DOMICILIA ET CAPET ET INDE POSSET TRANSMITTERE ET DEFENDERE PRAEDICATORES SUOS...de tempore quod sunt duodecim anni..." i.e. 1232.

<sup>82</sup> DOAT XXII, Fol.111, Dep. of Arnould Roger de Mirepoix, 1244. "Item dixit quoid Guilhabertus de Castris episcopus haereticorum et Raimundus Mercerii haereticus tenbant publice domum suam apud Mirepoix..ET IBI PLURIES PRAEDICTI HAERETICI PRAEDICAVERUNT ET VENIEBANT AD AUDIENDUM SERMIONEM DICTI HAERETICI IPSI TESTIS ET OMNES ALII.."



following their capture included Bertrand Marty, bishop of Toulouse who had succeeded de Castres in 1237; Peter Sirven his Filius Maior; Raymund Agulher, bishop of Razes; Guillaume Dejean, deacon of Lanta; and Raymond de St.Martin, deacon of the Pays d'Olmes...The heart of Toulousain Catharism had been torn out, and with it, the last great heretical centre in the Languedoc.

It was not the end of all Albigensian church structures; indeed Dondaine notes a Bishop of Agen as late as 1310, one Raimund de Castelnau<sup>83</sup>, but following the fall of Montsegur, the church experienced a dislocation which rapidly diminished its importance.

With the temporal institutions to support them removed, the remaining Albigensian spirituals increasingly turned for assistance - and even shelter - to their Cathar brothers in Lombardy. Marty's successor as bishop of Toulouse, Vivianus, spent his episcopate in Italy, and many churchmen followed. The result can be termed a 'poverty of legitimation' amongst the Albigensians remaining in France, left without the authority of an indigenous church structure to support them. Mosheim records :

"We learn also from the Codex Tholosanus (the 'Liber Sentenciarum' 1307-1325) that the...Albigensians had no bishop to consecrate their 'Anciani' (such was the title they gave to their Presbyters) so that such of them as were desirous of being placed in the order of presbyters were obliged to repair to Italy, in order for their being

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<sup>83</sup> Dondaine, op.cit., p.351.

regularly installed.."84

The importance laid on the legitimation of Cathar church officers for their to be of value in ensuring the salvation of the 'croyants' to whom they administer the 'consolamentum' has already been established.

It would follow, that the difficulty placed on legitimation with the removal of the necessary legitimating officers (i.e. Cathar Parfait, forced to flea from succesful persecution as they were by definition the prime targets) , would automatically impede the progress of Catharism within the Languedoc, and indeed, the close correlation between the collapse of the Albigensian hierarchy and the decline of Catharism in the Languedoc after 1244 indicates that this is the case. We can conclude, that a church whose theology depends on the succesful operation of an ecclesiological structure, cannot survive the loss of that same order.

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#### THE SIGNIFICANCE OF ECCLESIOLOGY TO CATHARISM

It is fundamental to a study of Cathar ecclesiology that, as a heretical and so reactionary church, it is understood in relation to the ecclesiastical structure its establishment opposed.

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84 Maitland, op.cit., p.89. (Trans. Macfarlane).

The importance of the monopoly of ecclesiastical orders to Roman Catholic theology cannot be overstressed. The indivisibility of the 'Ecclesia Sanctorum', central to the claims of Catholicism as the Church of God, could only be assured by the indivisibility of the Faith; this unity was required to be maintained by a divinely ordained authority, which the Church of Rome held to lie in the priesthood, as appointed by Peter's successors to the Holy See. So, as early as 1119 the Second Canon of the Council of Toulouse called on men to anathemise

"..and expel from the church of God as heretics, those who condemn..THE PRIESTHOOD AND OTHER ECCLESIASTICAL ORDERS.."85

because an attack on the institutions of the Catholic church that maintained and perpetuated doctrine, represented an attack on the authority of the Church of Rome to maintain the indivisibility of the Faith. This maintenance was essential, for if every man was free to decide over matters of doctrine, then as St.Thomas Aquinas stated :

"..the truth would be forthcoming to only a few men."

So society needed to be based on clearly designated functional jurisdictions, to preserve the sacred Faith, and with it, Man's salvation, which was the original charge given to the bishops of Rome in the Petrine Commission<sup>86</sup> :and this separation of function came to be seen to lie at the heart of social as well as theological principles of the State. In its simplest form,

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85 Cited Maitland op.cit.

86 See Matthew XVI v.17-19.

Gerard of Cambrai at the end of the 11th Century divided society into 3 ordained, eternal orders:

"oratores..agricultores..pugnatores"

When in harmony, respecting and not interfering in the operations of the other functions, society ran well, and the Faith was secure.

It is interesting that conciliar and polemical condemnations of the Cathari attack the heretics primarily for initiating the breakdown of this social order. In 1157, the Council of Rheims feared that :

"The great impure sect of Manichaeans (Cathari)..looks to lead away the souls of the simple.."

The Council of Tours, 1163, attacked Catharism because

"..it ravages the vine of the Lord amongst the simple.."

whilst in the Lateran gathering of 1179 it was said that :

"They find adepts amongst the souls of the simple."

In ecclesiastical language, the 'Simple' - Vulgaris-represented those who were not able to

"..profit from the subtleties of scripture.."87

that is not necessarily the illiterate, but the untrained in theology as defined by the Church of Rome i.e. the Priesthood.

The heretic was he who presumed and usurped the rights and privileges of learning and preaching which were seen to be the preserve of the priest.He usurped the priests function, and therefore his relevance, as mediator between man and God.Very

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87 Canon Hugues de Fouilloi, 1153.

importantly, as Labal states :

"The heretical society was not a revolutionary society ; it was a mutated society : and as such (was seen by Catholics) to present a mutation of God.."

The theme of the 'mutated society' has been central to this essay, for if the monopoly of ecclesiastical orders was fundamental to Catholicism, then the overthrow and mutation of these orders , by a heresy which then adopted the structures it had overthrown<sup>88</sup>, represented a fundamental threat. As a theology develops, it dictates the development of a supportive ecclesiology, which in turn leads to a church -or heresy's- institutionalisation within society. It is this process which turns a theology into a social and political threat to the dominant ideology (in this case Catholicism), which responds to its challenger, but by so doing necessitates a reaction from the initial theology, and so also alters 'the condition of church structure. The form of a church's ecclesiology is, therefore, both the product and the initiator in the development of doctrine.

The existance of a Cathar ecclesiology, that is an INSTITUTIONALISED heresy, presented probably the gravest challenge to Catholicism of all Medieval heresies, by rejecting the Roman church in its entirety, and creating an alternative structure for the maintenance of a church's life outside the

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<sup>88</sup> N.B. the striking similarity of Cathar/catholic bishoprics (see Maps 1&2 and Appendix I for the formation of Toulouse and Carcassonne along the boundaries of their Respective Catholic dioceses.)

Church of Rome.<sup>89</sup> So, in the 'Tractatus' of 1267, the Italian Inquisitor Anselm of Alexandria notes above all else, that the gravest threat amidst the disparate Cathar churches of Lombardy is that despite their doctrinal differences,

"..all despise the constitutions of the Church of Rome..<sup>90</sup>"

That all Cathars rejected the constitutions of the Church of Rome, is best explained by the Moneta of Cremona, O.P., who in his 'Adversus Katharos et Valenses' c.1218, laid out the basic Cathar charge namely that

"they say..the faith of the Roman Church is dead; for from the death of faith there is no life. If however the Roman Church is dead, when the Church of God is alive (as it must be), then it is not the Church of God..."

Such reasoning suggests that Catharism starts as a theology, which in turns leads to firstly, a coherence in the articles of faith expressed by its church, and secondly, by analogy to the rejection of errors i.e. 'bad faith', which in turn serves to strengthen and formalise the original theology.

Maurice Wiles in his 'Making of Christian Doctrine'<sup>91</sup> proposes three stages to the development of a church's doctrine-

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<sup>89</sup> So J.Gordon, in a graduate lecture, Hilary term,1991, suggested that Cathar Parfait came to be adopted by the people of the Languedoc as Bonshommes, that is took to serving as unofficial, traditional arbitrators of local law & custom.

<sup>90</sup> Cited Dondaine A.F.P. XX.

<sup>91</sup> Maurice Wiles 'Making of Christian Doctrine', Cambridge, 1967.

a) apologetic motive, which leads to the articulation of dogma.

which gives rise to

b) the necessity to neutralise internal heresies which spring from the original articulation of doctrine.

and finally

c) the natural motive to think through the increasingly diverse implications of the developing faith.

His model is useful for studying the development of Catharism in that these three stages can all be observed within its church: articulation against Catholic opposition such as in declarations of faith at the early Catholic Councils by investigated heretics; rejection of 'heresy' as in the Absolutist-Mitigated dualist struggle, which became an entrenched schism in the Cathar churches by 1250 prompting Hamilton to propose that the St. Felix document was drawn up in response to 'a conversion mission by Mitigated Cathars of Bosmia in 1223, to reinforce the authority of the Bishop's position as successor to Nicetas' ordinations, in the face of this schismatic movement which threatened the unity of his church<sup>92</sup>; and finally the 'natural motive to think through articles of faith' in the increased institutionalisation and conformity of Cathar liturgy<sup>93</sup>.

But the importance of doctrine in the establishment of a church also suggests that the institutionalisation of church orders can be seen as the product of this same process of

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<sup>92</sup> Hamilton, Op.cit., p.49.

<sup>93</sup> See Rene Nelli "Rituel de Lyon", p.205.

doctrinal development.

If for example, the doctrine that the 'consolamentum' alone determined salvation came to be held by Cathari as has been established for the Albigensians, then the increased articulation of this doctrine must have an effect on the church that maintains it: the efficient exercise of this sacrament throughout Cathar lands becomes of prime importance<sup>94</sup>.

For as the rite could only be administered by a 'Parfait' then it became essential that such men were organised to provide an efficient execution of the sacrament.

There appears to exist a strong correlation between the articulation of doctrine, and the formalisation of church structures within the Cathar movement. Indeed, Nelli notes in his analysis of two Cathar liturgies, that by the 1220's the sacraments had been expanded and structured. He notes two services:

a) 'Tradition de l'oraison dominicale' - the service of transmission whereby 'auditores' (hearers) became 'credentes' (believers) with the development of a service for the confession of venial sins - the 'melioramentum'

b) 'Baptême spirituel' - the Consolamentum whereby the 'credentes' became 'perfectus' (parfait) - and thereby ensured salvation.

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<sup>94</sup> It is noticeable that it is at this time that there appears in the Latin of Catholic polemicists a host of new phrases providing vocabulary to describe the newly developing rites of the Cathari, which by analogy suggests the institutionalisation of heretical doctrine through the universality with which these terms were applied e.g. consolamentum, melioramentum, convenienciam, perfecti, consolati.



What is more, he notes that at this stage, the consolamentum REQUIRED an 'Ordonne' - either a bishop or a deacon to give the baptism, showing how the ecclesiastical hierarchy had become essential to witnessing to the Cathar faith.

So also, as R.W. Southern noted of papal institutions at this time<sup>95</sup>, a principal of 'inflationary spiral' leads to the tendency of institutions in the world to become more worldly. It is ironic that a theology noted for its rejection of material goods as being of base origin, maintained in 1235 one Bernard Enjalbert, as deacon-treasurer of Lanta; a 'parfait' doctor, Guillaume Bernard d'Arroux<sup>96</sup>, and known cemetaries at Lourdat, Montesquieu, Puylaurens, and St Paul Cap de Joux as essential for serving and supporting the eremitic Cathar parfait who sought to free converts from the baseness of the world, but by so doing increasing the integration of the church within the world. So we see Pierre de Mazerolles, Chevalier de Fanjeaux, borrowing 200 sous at one time from Bertrand Marty, Cathar of Toulouse, in return for "being the friend, to protect and defend the heretic"<sup>97</sup>.

Here the Cathar ecclesiasts can be seen increasingly playing a role in the social order of the Languedoc, building relationships with the local nobility - and the castles that were to protect and institutionalise their office - so that by 1232,

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<sup>95</sup> R.W.Southern, "Western Society and the Church in the Middle Ages.", Penguin, 1970. pp.133-169.

<sup>96</sup> Lafont, Op.cit., p.291.

<sup>97</sup> Lafont, Op.cit., p.104.

Bishop Guilhabert de Castris requests and obtains the right to the usage of Raymond de Perelha's Pyrennean stronghold of Montsegur to serve as the centre for the Albigensian church.

It is significant that in the 1213 Catholic Statutes of Pamiers, one clause forbids the laity to construct private chapels in their Chateaux. It indicates firstly that they were doing so, and thus providing Catharism with unofficial, temporal centres for worship with which to challenge the Catholic monopoly, and secondly, that the local nobility provided the material support necessary for the institutionalisation of heresy in the Languedoc.

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#### CONCLUSION

Proof by analogy as to the nature of heresy is a dangerous principle, and one faced by a historian of Catharism, when most of the surviving information is by its nature written by Catholics who could proclaim their faith with impunity.

The crediting of heretical movements with an ecclesiology is not unprecedented by Catholic polemicists, anxious to show the heresy as presenting as serious a threat as possible, to encourage action to halt it. It is equally probable that Catholics applied the language of their own church hierarchy, the only vocabulary satisfactorily available to them, to heretical groups underserving of such sophistication. So in a letter of 1147 to Bernard of Clairvaux, Everinus Praepositus of Steinfeld

states :

"There have lately been some heretics discovered amongst us, near Cologne..one that was Bishop amongst them..."<sup>98</sup>

when it is unlikely that he was anything other than leader of the sect.

However, it would appear that the existance and threat posed by the Albigensian church hierarchy, as a direct result of the developments within Cathar salvationism, was as real as has been suggested by writers of a Catholic church facing a heresy unprecedented in its tenacity for being sustained within the social structure of the Languedoc, 1167-1244.

**D. Cherrett,**

Mansfield College, Oxford.

October, 1991.

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<sup>98</sup> Maitland, op.cit.,p.344.

## APPENDIX I

Acta Concilii Caramensis.(Trans. from Duvernoy)<sup>99</sup>

- 1 `In the year of our Lords incarnation 1167, in the  
month of May, the (cathar) church of Toulouse  
brought Pope Nicetas to the Chateau of St.Felix  
and a large multitude of men and women  
5 of the Church of Toulouse and of the  
other neighbouring churches, so that they might  
gather to receive the consolamentum, that  
M.Pope Nicetas would confer on  
them.
- 10 Then Robert of Epernon, bishop of the (cathar)  
church of N.France, came with his counsel,  
Marc of Lombardy came with his counsel,  
Sicard Cellerier, bishop of the church of Albi,  
came with his counsel. Bernard Catalan came  
15 with the counsel of the church of  
Carcassone, and the Counsel of the church  
of Agen<sup>100</sup> was there.  
Gathered in an innumerable group, the men  
of the church of Toulouse wanted to have a  
20 Bishop, and they elected Bernard Baimond.  
Likewise Bernard Cathalan and the Counsel  
of the church of Carcassonne, at the request  
and on the orders of the church of Toulouse, and  
with the opinion, wish and decision  
25 of M. Siccard Cellerier, elected Guiraud Mercier.  
The men of Agen elected Raimond de Casals.

Then Robert d'Epernon received the Consolamentum  
and ordination as bishop from "Domino Papa

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<sup>99</sup> Based on the Acta of St.Felix, with the "Atlas des  
anciens dioceses de France", Centre Nationale de la Recherche  
Scientifiques, 1954-1960., for information on Catholic dioceses, a  
conjectural plan of the Cathar dioceses can be constructed-see  
Map I&II. The Doat depositions provide information for the siting  
of diaconates within respective diocese, supported by Duvernoy,  
"L'Histoire.." pp.215-351, with additional seats such as Montmaur  
in Toulouse, drawn from Guiraud, op.cit.; 1935.

<sup>100</sup> Not Val d'Aran as has been suggested, see Yves Dossat  
"Remarques sue un pretendu eveque Cathare du val d'Aran."  
Bulletin., 1956 pp.339-349. Agen is the most likely region to hold  
a Cathar diocese- appears in the chronicle of Robert of  
Torigni, 1178 as a term synonymous with `albigensian': "Haeretici  
QUOS AGENENSES VOCANT, et alii multi, connenerunt circa Tolosam".  
ed. Delisle, Rouen, 1873. p.77.

- 30 Nicetas" to be Bishop of Francia.  
 IBID. S. Cellerier to be Bishop of Albi.  
 IBID. Marc to be Bishop of Lombardy.  
 IBID. B.Raimond to be Bishop of Toulouse.  
 IBID. G.Mercier to be Bishop of Carcassonne.  
 35 IBID. R. de Casals to be Bishop of agen.

After that, Pope Nicetas said to the church of Toulouse :

- "You have said to me that you ask if the  
 40 customs of the primitive church were lax or rigorous.I say to you that the seven churches of Asia had been separated and delineated between themselves, and none of them would go against the rights of the others. And the  
 45 (Bogomil) churches of Constantinople, Dragovitsa, Melenguie Bulgaria and Dalmatia were separated and delineated and none of them would go against the rights of the others. And thus there is peace between them : do the  
 50 same."

The church of Toulouse chose Bernard Raimond, Guillaume Garsias, Ermengand de Forest, Raymond de Bamiac, Guilabert de Bonvilar, Bernard Guillaume Contor, Bernard Guilhem Bonneville and

- 55 Bertrand d'Avignonet to arbitrate over its boundary

The church of Carcassonne chose Guiraud Mercier Bernard Cathala, Gregoire, Pierre Caldemas, Raimond Pons, Bertrand de Moly, Martin de la Salle and Raimond Guibert to arbitrate over its boundary.

- 60 Having gathered and deliberated, they said that the Church of Toulouse and the Church of Carcassonne would be divided just as the (Catholic) bishoprics:

The territory which stretched from Toulouse, to the limit between the Catholic bishopric of Toulouse  
 65 and the Archbishopric of Narbonne in two places, and the limit between the Catholic bishoprics of Toulouse and Carcassonne : from St.Pons, the mountain between the Chateaux of Cabaret and of Hautpoul, the separation between the Chateaux of Saissac and Verdun,  
 70 Montreal and fanjeaux, and the border between the other Catholic dioceses<sup>101</sup>

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<sup>101</sup> Duvernoy indicates the diocese of Toulouse and Narbonne/Carcassonne, but I suggest the boundary between the Catholic bishoprics of Toulouse and Agde, which covered the Razes, which was a source of trouble at the Cathar council of Pieusse 1226. Hamilton's inclusion of the Spanish Catholic dioceses in this delineation seems unlikely: the Geography of the Pyrenees would have prohibited the effective jurisdiction of any bishop on both sides of the Franco-Spanish border.

from the end of Razes to the Lerida<sup>102</sup>  
This territory would be under the  
power and administration of Toulouse.

75 The Cathar church of Carcassonne thus  
delineated and divided had under its power  
and administration all the Catholic bishopric of Carcassonne,  
and Archbishopric of Narbonne(see Map II) and the  
rest of the territory thus delineated and indicated, from  
80 the Sea (Mediterranean) to Lerida.

Thus the Cathar churches were delineated, as has been  
said, so that they would have peace and concord  
between them and that none would do anything  
contrary to their rights.

The document is then witnessed, signed and dated 1232.

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102 The river Hers, see Duvernoy op.cit.,p.217.n.27.

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