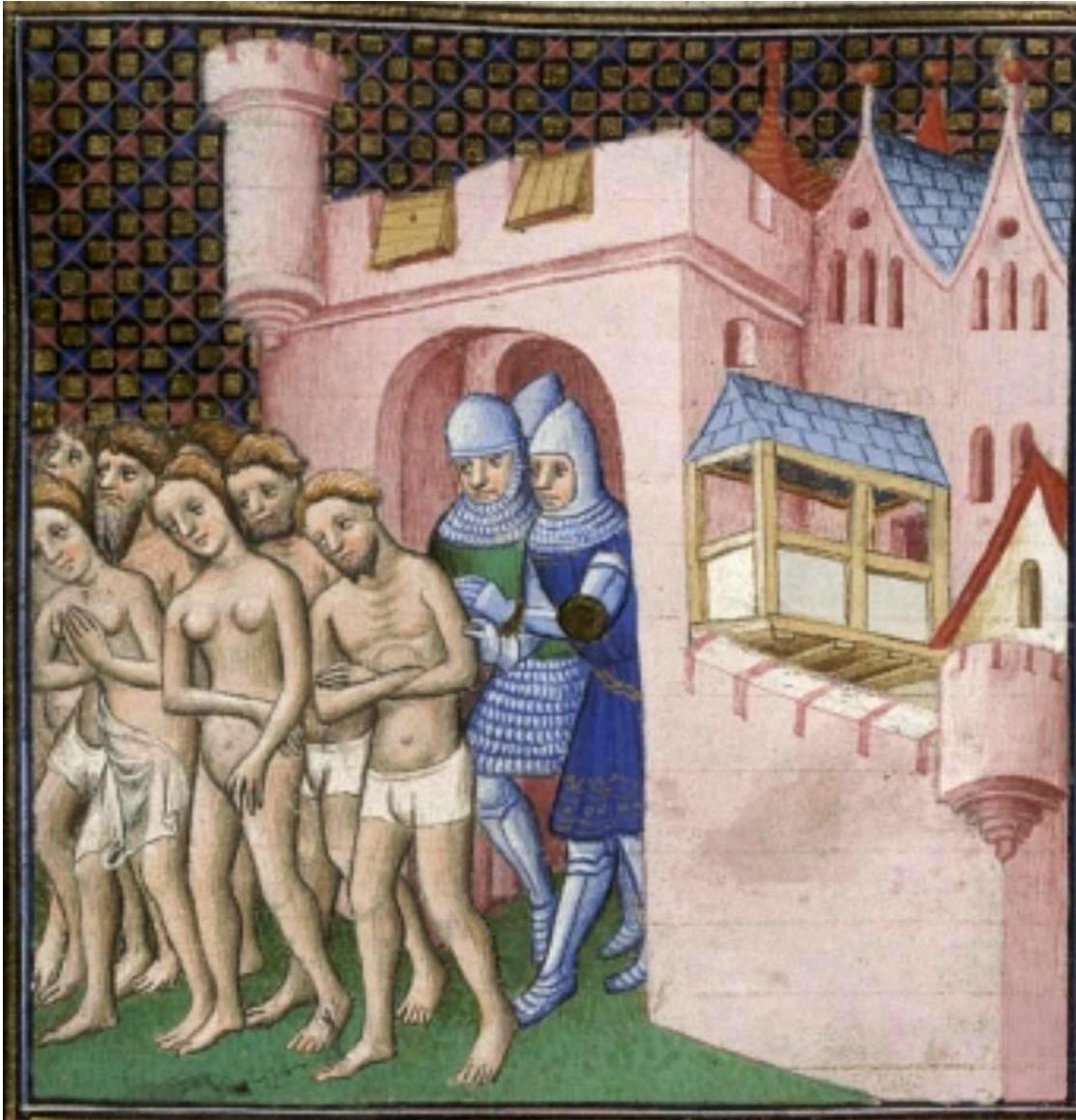


## Emotions in the Albigensian Crusade (1203-1247)

*How medieval sources framed Catholics and Cathars in terms of their emotional behaviour*



French Cathars being expelled from the city of Carcassonne (1209) by an unknown artist circa 1415.

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# Map of Medieval Languedoc

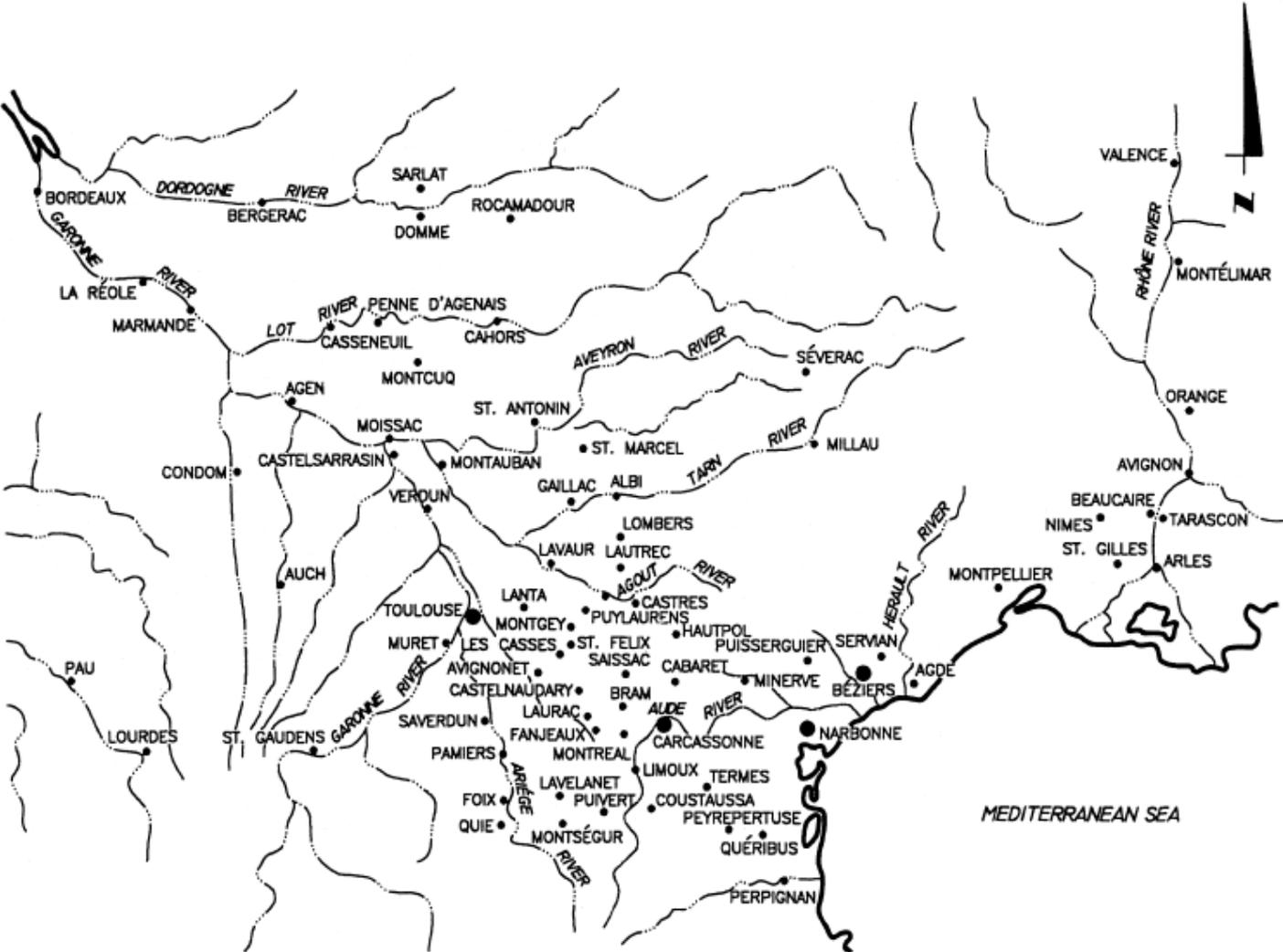


Figure 1: Occitania around 1209.

## Introduction

The scientific field of emotions in history is relatively new. It may then come as no surprise that there has not been a research into the emotions of the Albigensian Crusade (1209-1229). As historians not only try to uncover what happened in the past, but also what different groups of people felt or believed, this crusade is an excellent case study. Many people from a variety of social backgrounds and status were involved in this crusade. The sources for this conflict permit us to study the papacy, nobility, clergy as well as commoners and soldiers in a single war.

This crusade was very different from previous crusades because it was not, as most might suspect, directed at Jerusalem and Muslims, but at the Languedoc in France and people who considered themselves to be Christians. These Cathars, who formed a significant group in this region, were targeted as heretics however, and not considered real Christians by the pope. Furthermore, the crusade was different in the way it operated. David Chambers studied popes in relation to war and notes that pope Innocent III (r. 1198-1216) got involved in this way of crusading by making members of the clergy key in leading them.<sup>1</sup>

A great deal has been written about this crusade, about the causes, the aftermath and through the perspective of various sides in the conflict. I will give an overview of where scholars agree and where there is debate for this crusade. The main points of debate are whether this was a political or religious crusade, whether this crusade could be called a genocide and whether the Cathars were an organised group with a doctrine. After discussing these debates, I will investigate some theoretical concepts about the history of emotions and why this research will be done through the focus on emotional communities.

The direct causes for the Albigensian Crusade seem abundantly clear. Historians agree that its direct cause was the murder of papal legate Peter of Castelnau in 1208. He was sent to Toulouse to convert heretics, and to punish those who did not convert or anyone that protected them. Shortly after excommunicating Raymond VI of Toulouse (d. 1222) for not putting in enough effort to suppress the heresy, Peter was murdered. Pope Innocent III, upon hearing this news, called for a crusade. For what happened after

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<sup>1</sup> Chambers, D. *Popes, Cardinals and War* (London 2006) 14-15.

that point, modern historians start to disagree. The first debate revolves around the question of whether this was a religiously motivated or a politically motivated crusade. Rebecca Rist, John Moore and others have emphasised that Innocent III was greatly concerned about the Christian faith and what damage these heretics could do to it. They elaborate on his policies and reforms towards the Cathars in order to convert them back to the Catholic Church prior to calling to arms against them. They certainly do not deny that this war had political implications, but they seem by and large more convinced that this crusade was, at least at heart, a religiously motivated undertaking.<sup>2</sup>

On the other side of this debate, Deane makes it clear that this war had at its main goal the conquest of territory, it was mainly political, not religious. The big and ultimate winner of this crusade was not the pope or the Catholic Church per se, but the king of France. Philip Augustus and his successors saw their power greatly expand over the south of France and it is they who benefitted most from this crusade. Frassetto, who also views the war more as a political than a religious one, states that pope Innocent called for a crusade against Raymond VI of Toulouse. Frassetto blames Raymond for this crusade, while acknowledging that he could not have prevented it, since he lacked the manpower and political support of his own vassals and local nobles to suppress the Cathars. In Frassetto's opinion, the war was a political feud between Simon de Montfort the Elder (d. 1218) and Raymond of Toulouse. Religion was perhaps important for the initiation of the crusade, but that quickly turned personal between the aforementioned leaders.<sup>3</sup>

Another small point of contention, although not especially debated, is how long the crusade actually lasted. Most of the historians who devoted a chapter to the Albigensian Crusade tend to conclude their account with the death of Simon de Montfort at the siege of Toulouse that took place in 1218. It is true, that the major events and also the successes of the crusade were in the period of 1208 to 1218. With de Montfort dead, the war lost its momentum and became a lesser priority. The formal end of the crusade came in 1229 with the treaty of Paris. The actual hostilities, however, continued

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<sup>2</sup> Rist, P. *Popes and Jews 1095-1291* (Oxford 2016) 128-131; Moore, J. *Pope Innocent III (1160/61-1216) To Root Up and To Plant* (Boston 2003) 145-153, 174-181.

<sup>3</sup> Deane, J. *A History of Medieval Heresy and Inquisition* (Plymouth 2011) 50-54; Frassetto, M. *Heretic Lives: Medieval Heresy from Bogomil and the Cathars to Wyclif and Hus* (London 2007). 75-101.

until 1244 where the castle of Montségur was captured, the last Cathar stronghold. After this battle, the Cathars practiced their religion in secret.

A couple of controversial statements have also been made about this war in terms of its savagery. The medieval historian Mark Gregory Pegg, for instance, called the crusade a genocide in 2008 and argues that antisemitism and genocide in the west started here. In 2012 R. Moore followed this example and called the war a holocaust several times throughout his book. These are very bold statements and they need to be addressed in this study of emotions during a time of war and conflict. The historians that would describe the crusade as a holocaust or genocide seem to be in the minority. As pointed out, most of the studies have concluded that political and territorial gains, as well as increasing influence through religion were the main objectives for this crusade. There seems to be no evidence that pope Innocent III, de Montfort, or any other leader of the crusade intended to murder every single Cathar just because they were Cathars. As becomes clear from J. Moore's biography among many other works, violence was the final resort, not the first. Conversion and reform were the first policies enacted and even before a town where Cathars lived was besieged, the Catholic clergy went to the Cathars and begged the heretics to recant and come back to the church of Rome.

Another argument, where it becomes clear that this study will not follow the reasoning of R. Moore and Pegg, is a comparison. There is ample evidence that Adolf Hitler intended to eradicate the Jewish population of Europe during World War II because they were Jewish. Such evidence for pope Innocent III does not exist. Finally, Lerner, in a review of Pegg's book states the crusade: "was proclaimed against unbelievers ... not against a 'genus' or people; those who joined the crusade had no intention of annihilating the population of southern France ... If Pegg wishes to connect the Albigensian Crusade to modern ethnic slaughter, well—words fail me (as they do him)."<sup>4</sup>

Before turning to the history of emotions and the theoretical framework there is another point of debate that shall be discussed with regards to the Cathars. Were the

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<sup>4</sup> Pegg, M. *A Most Holy War: The Albigensian Crusade and the Battle for Christendom* (New York 2008); Moore, R. *The War on Heresy: Faith and Power in Medieval Europe* (London 2012); Lerner, R. 'A Most Holy War: The Albigensian Crusade and the Battle for Christendom', (review) *Common Knowledge* 16:2 (2010) 292.

Cathars of Languedoc an organised and structured group? Did they have a common theology like Catholics did? Barber implies that the Cathars were an organised group by using the terminology 'Cathar Church'. R. Moore is on the same side. He describes the persecution of heretics in a very broad historical context, going back to the first Christian emperor Constantine the Great and makes comparisons between Cathars and other heretical Christian beliefs. Martin even goes so far as to speak of a 'heretical kingdom' that stretched from the Provence to Aragon although he does make the distinction between Languedoc Cathars and Italian Cathars.<sup>5</sup> When it comes to the former, they were 'endemic' and definitely had a 'dualist word' that they could preach, in the sense that they believed there were in fact two gods. One that was evil and the other that was good.

Kaelber has studied the social organisation of the Cathars and speaks of organised networks and supportive establishments which were crucial to the rise of Catharism and posed a threat to the Catholic church. Certainly, a disorganised group could not be a threat to Rome? When it comes to religious practice, Arnold has written about the Cathars and their beliefs in the context of the inquisitions in the second half of the thirteenth century. He is very nuanced about the organisation of the Cathars. According to him, the Cathars operated in very small groups and most of the people who were interrogated by the inquisitors knew only very few heretics. The Cathar belief was also very fluid and those that followed the Cathar *perfecti* did not necessarily believe in everything that was preached. Arnold doubts that the line between religions can be so distinctly made. People believed all sorts of things and might have synthesised from among the Cathar, Waldensian, Catholic and Jewish religions that were available in Languedoc. The inquisition then, forced people to choose.<sup>6</sup>

Arnold's argument is supported by Pegg who, seven years later, states that many historians are wrong to believe that the Cathars were a large and organised group with hierarchy and doctrine. Marvin reviewed Pegg's work and is inclined to agree with him, stating that: "People held a wide variety of beliefs during the Middle Ages." The twelfth

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<sup>5</sup> Marvin, L. *A Most Holy War: The Albigensian Crusade and the Battle for Christendom* (New York 2008) (review).

<sup>6</sup> Kaelber, L. 'Weavers into Heretics? The Social Organisation of Early-Thirteenth Century Catharism in Comparative Perspective', *Social Science History*, 21:1 (1997) 111-137; Arnold, J. *Inquisition and Power: Catharism and the Confessing Subject in Medieval Languedoc* (Pennsylvania 2001) 116-163.

and thirteenth century also lacked means of mass communication which is in support of what Arnold has deduced from the inquisitional records: that most heretics only knew about few others and did not necessarily believe the same things.<sup>7</sup>

When it comes to the history of emotions in the Albigensian Crusade, there has not been a study done yet. *Montaillou* by Le Roy Ladurie, however, is the closest thing to it. By using inquisitional records, he has written a compelling social history of the people of Montaillou during the fourteenth century. He devotes attention to body language, emotions, marriage, love, and even the libido of the clergy.<sup>8</sup> But we do not yet have an answer as to how different social groups experienced the Albigensian Crusade in terms of emotional behaviour. Zeldin was one of the first to call for a study of the history of emotions for its own sake. His primary reason for why it would contribute to history is as follows. Emotions give us a deeper understanding and clarification of human behaviour. The possibilities are endless, Zeldin argues. Three years after Zeldin's plea, Stearns invented the term of 'emotionology'. It is a theoretical concept that historians can use to analyse emotions in history. The primary objective is to research what attitudes people had towards different emotions. For this to be successfully researched, one would need an elaborate number of sources that the Middle Ages sadly cannot provide. It is no surprise then, that Stearns focusses mainly on modern history, roughly starting with the French Revolution.<sup>9</sup>

The medievalist Barbara Rosenwein has picked up on this limitation and has created a new concept that historians can use to study the history of emotions when looking at medieval topics. The concept is called 'emotional communities', a way of categorising different social groups with the intention of finding systems of feeling. By creating this system, the historian can describe certain events through the emotions of different groups. Emotions are definitely described in works of chroniclers and Rosenwein gives, through various articles, advice on how to work with them. Examples are: seeing through irony and metaphors and to notice the absence of emotions.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Pegg, *The Battle for Christendom*; Marvin, (review)

<sup>8</sup> E, Le Roy Ladurie. *Montaillou* (Paris 1978).

<sup>9</sup> Zeldin, T. 'Personal History and the History of Emotions' in: *Journal of Social History* 15:3 (1982) 339-347; Stearns, P. & Stearns, C. 'Clarifying the History of Emotions and Emotional Standards', *The American Historical Review* 90:4 (1985) 813-836.

<sup>10</sup> Rosenwein, B. 'Worrying about Emotions in History', *The American Historical Review* 107:3 (2002) 821-845; Rosenwein, B. 'Problems and Methods in the History of Emotions', *Passions in Context* 1 (2010) 1-33.

The final concept to be discussed here is the 'emotional practice' by Scheer, who has distinguished four different overlapping categories that can be studied in the history of emotions. First, there is mobilizing, which means that emotions are acted upon, such as discontent leading to political demonstrations and so on. The second category is naming. Only by giving names and using language to describe emotions can you give meaning to them. Thirdly, there is communicating, where people try to convey emotions and feelings by their behaviour, think of a politician giving a speech after a major tragedy. The fourth and final category is regulating, which deals with the cultural and authoritative norms in which emotions are proper for a given situation. Scheer criticises Rosenwein's concept of emotional community. Scheer argues that the concept is too broad and that it will suffer from the same problems that the term culture has. The sources on the Albigensian Crusade however, seem not adequate to be studied as 'emotional practice'. Therefore, for the rest of this research, Rosenwein's concept of emotional communities will be the directive, but Scheer's emotional practice will occasionally be used as well.<sup>11</sup>

The main question of this research then, will be as follows. How were different social groups framed by medieval sources in terms of their emotional behaviour during and after the events of the Albigensian Crusade (1203-1247)? Sadly, there are not enough sources to analyse the actual emotions felt during the crusade and this research does not presume to truthfully uncover what emotions were experienced. Rather, the aim is to give more clarity on how the medieval sources attributed emotional behaviour to different social groups in this time of war. In what kind of situations were people afraid, angry or in joy? And what does that tell us about the values of the writers of these sources? Are there significant differences between the Catholic side and the side fighting with the heretics? These questions will be answered through four chapters that each cover different events of the crusade. The first chapter will give a summary of the historical context, to identify the main areas and key players in this crusade. In the second chapter, we will be looking at the conversion campaigns that were initiated by pope Innocent III shortly before the fighting started. The third chapter will focus on the battles, sieges, and their aftermaths. The fourth and final chapter will delve into the

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<sup>11</sup> Scheer, M. 'Are Emotions a kind of Practice (and is that what makes them have a History)? A Bourdieuan approach to understanding Emotion', *History and Theory* 51:2 (2012) 193-220.

inquisitions that were being held when the military aspect of the crusade was over.

Awareness of the partisan bias, as with any historical study, of the sources is also warranted. All of the sources come from Catholic writers, although they sometimes show sympathy towards the Cathars, they were mostly proponents of the pope and his policies. Aside from partisan bias, some critical comments need to be made about the genre of the sources and what that entails. The sources that are used are the chronicles by William of Puylaurens, Peter of Cernay and William Tudela. Puylaurens was fiercely loyal to the Catholics and unquestioningly opposed to heresy. Cernay writes in his preface a letter of dedication to pope Innocent III. Both of these authors could arguably have motives to put the heretics in a certain framework.<sup>12</sup> The chronicle of Tudela differs from the others because it was written as a song. Musical and literary elements can therefore have been added to make it more practical for singing to an audience. The *Song* was for the most part written by an anonymous author who continued writing from the battle of Muret onwards. This anonymous author took the side of Toulouse and showed even more sympathy for the defenders than Tudela did. The other sources are papal letters, poems and inquisitional records. The same criticism for Tudela's work can be made for the poems, they were of another genre and not necessarily intended to relate the truth of what happened. Finally, the inquisitional records were written and edited by the inquisitors themselves. They followed a standard format and they sometimes altered the answers of the people they interrogated to make it more suitable for recording.<sup>13</sup>

The social groups or emotional communities will be divided into Catholics and Cathars and when the sources allow it further categorised into: clergy, commoners, nobles and soldiers. Of course, not everyone who fought against the Catholic crusaders was a Cathar heretic, but they were considered to be on the same side by the sources and therefore also regarded as being on the same side in this study. This categorisation follows the concept of emotional communities, where this research intends to establish the system of feelings, or in Rosenwein's words: "what these communities define and assess as valuable or harmful to them the emotions that they value, devalue, or ignore;

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<sup>12</sup> W.A. Sibly & M.D. Sibly, *The Chronicle of William of Puylaurens* (Woodbridge 2003) XVI; W.A. Sibly & M.D. Sibly, *The History of the Albigensian Crusade by Peter of Les Vaux-de-Cernay* (Woodbridge 2002) 5.

<sup>13</sup> C. Leglu & R. Rist, *The Cathars and the Albigensian Crusade a sourcebook* (New York 2014) 131-134.

the nature of the affective bonds between people that they recognize; and the modes of emotional expression that they expect, encourage, tolerate, and deplore.”<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Rosenwein, ‘Problems and Methods’ 11.

## I The Albigensian Crusade

In 1145, the French abbot Bernard of Clairvaux entered the city of Verfeil. It was a town where he had thought the heresy was most severe and if he could extinguish it there then he would have an easier time doing it elsewhere. Bernard preached to whoever he could find, but the nobles hid themselves and the knights prevented him from preaching to the commoners. With his mission incomplete, he left Verfeil and cursed the city: “Verfeil, may God wither you.”<sup>15</sup> The Cathar heresy was already firmly rooted in the region by the time Bernard started to preach. The Cathars were considered dangerous because their core religious principles undermined that of the Catholic church. They did not believe Jesus had been an actual human being and they rejected marriage, baptism and ecclesiastical hierarchy. Furthermore, they believed in two gods.

On his ascension to the papacy in 1198, Innocent III wrote a letter to the nobles and clergy of Southern France to inform them that he was sending missionaries to combat the heresy.<sup>16</sup> The missionaries proved to be ineffective however, so Innocent wrote to Philip Augustus, king of France. He commanded him to take up arms against these heretics and if he himself could not lead the army, then either his son, prince Louis or some other lord should be sent in his place.<sup>17</sup> Philip Augustus did not respond in the manner that Innocent had hoped. Being occupied in a long-drawing conflict with the king of England, John I, Philip lacked the resources to start a new war in the south of France. He did not however, forbade his nobles from taking up the cause. The papal letter was written in 1204, but nothing happened and the Cathar heresy continued to prosper in the Occitan.<sup>18</sup>

Around the same time of the pope appealing to the French king, papal legates were working to convert as many heretics as they could. Most notably it was Peter of Castelnau who went from town to town, preaching and confronting the Cathars. This campaign of preaching was not very effective, Castelnau only managed to convert a handful of heretics if any. The ineffectiveness was caused by the unwillingness of the nobility of the region to act against the heretics. Many of them either turned a blind eye

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<sup>15</sup> Puylaurens, *Chronicle*, 10.

<sup>16</sup> *Cum Unus Dominus, The Cathars and the Albigensian Crusade: A Sourcebook* (2014) 32-34.

<sup>17</sup> *Ad Sponse Sue*, Sourcebook 34-36.

<sup>18</sup> Frassetto, *Heretic Lives*, 82.

or openly supported the Cathar heresy. The most powerful of these nobles, was count Raymond VI of Toulouse (1156-1222).

Raymond was born into a family of impressive lineage. His mother, Constance, was a princess of the royal house of Capet which made him a cousin to Philip Augustus. Raymond also married himself into the royal houses of Plantagenet and Aragon. These connections made him incredibly famous and influential in the region. He was charming and attractive, but he lacked tactical insight and he turned out to be a very poor military commander. He was often accused of wanting to be a Cathar himself. While that accusation is hard to prove, Raymond did go out of his way to not act against the heretics in his domains. At some point in 1205 he even promised the pope he would persecute them but continued to do nothing.<sup>19</sup>

The papacy became increasingly concerned and agitated that the Cathar heresy was not properly dealt with. The preaching accomplished too little and the nobles were unresponsive. In 1208 the situation came to a boiling point. Papal legate Peter of Castelnau was murdered. The murderer was never identified but contemporary historians blamed Raymond. Innocent now felt that the time for preaching and conversion was over. He called for a crusade against the county of Toulouse. He promised all the benefits that a crusader would normally attain upon reaching the Holy Land.<sup>20</sup> Soon after this declaration, the crusade was being preached all over France. Raymond, upon hearing this news, decided that his only way of survival was to reconcile with the pope. He promised to surrender seven of his finest castles and he made an act of public penance. After everything was said and done, his excommunication was lifted and he joined the crusade into his own lands.<sup>21</sup>

Raymond wanted to profit from the crusade as best he could. By joining the war, he could rid himself of his rivals in the region. Raymond-Roger Trencavel, viscount of Béziers and Carcassonne, was the first to experience the Albigensian Crusade in full force. On July 22th of 1209, the crusader army reached Béziers. Roger had anticipated the attack and the village was fully prepared for a siege. The town was known for its strong city-walls and since the crusaders were obliged to participate only for forty days,

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<sup>19</sup> Frassetto, *Heretic Lives*, 82.

<sup>20</sup> Tudela, *The Song*, 13-14.

<sup>21</sup> Tudela, *The Song*, 16; Cernay, *Crusade*, 39-40.

the people of Béziers had reason to think that they could outlast the siege. Before the battle commenced, a Bishop went to Béziers to negotiate terms. If the heretics were given over to the crusaders or if the Catholic inhabitants departed, the city would be spared. The terms were rejected and the crusaders took Béziers in just a few hours. The entire population was massacred and the heretics were burned at the stake.<sup>22</sup>

The crusaders marched on to Carcassonne where the viscount had tactically retreated to before Béziers was taken. Roger took personal command of the city's defences. It was the hottest part of the summer and the viscount foresaw the problems of food and water shortages. His liege lord, king Peter of Aragon, came to Carcassonne, but not to fight. Peter wanted to negotiate terms between the crusaders and his vassal. The king pleaded with his viscount, urging him to parlay with the French. The proposal was that Raymond-Roger was allowed safe passage out of the city if he surrendered. Initially, the viscount refused. After just fourteen days of siege however, Roger came back on his word and surrendered the castle. Unfortunately for him, the crusaders violated the agreement and the viscount died of dysentery in a prison-cell.<sup>23</sup>

With the viscount's death, a replacement had to be found and perhaps Raymond VI had thought he would be the likely candidate, but the choice fell upon Simon de Montfort (1175-1218).<sup>24</sup> Simon was earl of Leicester and lord of Montfort-l'Aumary, which made him part of both the English and French nobility. He had the reputation of being an excellent battle commander and had taken part in the Fourth Crusade (1202-1204). Raymond VI now retired from the crusade, as he completed his owed term of service of forty days. The papal legates who had joint command of the army along with Montfort responded by excommunicating him. They argued that he had not been a devoted crusader and that he only took part to salvage his own position.<sup>25</sup>

A great many towns and cities fell to Montfort and his crusader forces, heretics were burned at Lavaur, Minerve and Les Casses. In 1217/1218 Simon decided to attack the stronghold of Raymond VI, Toulouse. He had tried it previously in 1211 and failed, but in May of that year, Montfort had an army prepared for another attempt. The siege ended

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<sup>22</sup> Frassetto, *Heretic Lives*, 89-90; Cernay, *Crusade*, 50.

<sup>23</sup> Frassetto, *Heretic Lives*, 90; Tudela, *The Song*, 29.

<sup>24</sup> Tudela, *The Song*, 26-27.

<sup>25</sup> Frassetto, *Heretic Lives*, 91.

in triumph for Raymond VI, Montfort was killed in battle and with his death the crusade as a whole lost significant momentum.<sup>26</sup> Montfort was rapidly succeeded by his son and heir, Amaury de Montfort. He decided to raise the siege and move his father's body to Carcassonne. In 1219, prince Louis of France took the cross and continued the crusade as its leader. He besieged Marmande and after several days of battle it surrendered to the prince. Louis then marched on to Toulouse with a large army and laid another siege. Once again, the Toulousians repelled the attackers and Louis retreated. In 1222, Raymond VI of Toulouse suddenly fell ill and died, he was not given a proper Catholic burial, since he was still excommunicated.<sup>27</sup>

The war on Toulouse raged on and in 1226, Louis VIII, who was now king of France, besieged and captured Avignon, but in the same year Raymond VII (son of Raymond VI) took Auterive. The cost of this war became so great that the Abbot of Grandselve, on behalf of the crusaders, sued for peace. In 1229 the papal legates, the count of Toulouse and the king of France signed a formal treaty that brought an end to the Albigensian Crusade. The war on Toulouse was over, but the war against the Cathars continued. In 1244 an army lead by the Archbishop of Narbonne and others laid siege to Montségur. When the castle was captured, hundreds of heretics were round up and burned at the stake after refusing recantation.<sup>28</sup>

Ten years before the siege of Montségur, the inquisitions had begun. These were interrogations intended to investigate into the community of the Cathars, who consorted with them and who accepted their faith. Interrogees who confessed openly and truthfully could be taken back to the church of Rome if they swore to abjure heresy and carry out a sentence of punishment. Suspects of heresy who refused to recant altogether, were burned. It was not until 1350 that the Catholic church stopped actively interrogating and persecuting Cathars. By then, the movement was considered to be dead.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> Tudela, *The Song*, 151, 172.

<sup>27</sup> Puylaurens, *Chronicle*, 62-67.

<sup>28</sup> Puylaurens, *Chronicle*, 79, 107-108.

<sup>29</sup> J. Strayer, *The Albigensian Crusades* (New York 1971) 162.

## II Preaching and conversion

*We must protect the vineyard of the Lord against these little foxes*, Innocent III wrote to the Catholic clergy in the south of France only four months into his pontificate. The letter from April 1198 can be considered the writing on the wall for the crusade if looked at it in retrospect. Innocent had made the campaign against the Cathar heresy one of his priorities as pope. His first few letters started relatively mild, but they would become increasingly harsh. His metaphor of little foxes would later transform into rapacious wolves. This shift in attitude coincided with the preaching and conversion campaign that did not achieve its goals. Only very few heretics returned to the church of Rome.<sup>30</sup>

This chapter covers the preaching campaign prior to the crusade. The campaign started in 1203 and abruptly ended in 1208, when one of the papal legates, Peter of Castelnau, was murdered. The chroniclers ascribed many different sorts of emotions and emotional behaviour to the categorised social groups. Not all emotions can be discussed, so a selection has been made of the emotions that seem to be the most dominant and the most telling about the emotional communities. This chapter will firstly look into love and emotional behaviours associated with it, then fear, followed by wickedness.

### Love and *paratge*

Peter of Cernay mentioned love five times in his history about the preaching campaign. Tellingly, it is attributed to the Cathar side four times and only once to the Catholics. The love ascribed to the Catholics is love from God and not actual love from one person to another, which this research is more interested in. Besides love for God, there are many more forms of love, but in this paragraph the conflicting vision of the ecclesiastical love to Christians as opposed to the Occitanian love for the Cathars is of vital importance. Love is important in this story, because it plays a major role in the growth and continuation of the Cathar faith. When Cernay relates the events of 1203, he states: “The barons of the south almost all became defenders and receivers of the heretics, welcomed them in their hearts and defended them against God and the Church.”<sup>31</sup> Although the word love is not explicitly used, Rosenwein has expressly stated that the

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<sup>30</sup> *Cum Unus Dominus*, Sourcebook, 32-34; *Ad Sponse Su*, idem, 34-36.

<sup>31</sup> Cernay, *Crusade*, 10.

historian must not overlook metaphors or irony.<sup>32</sup> Welcoming someone in your heart is a clear sign of love for that someone. In the eyes of Cernay, the nobility is what kept the Cathar heresy alive and formed a threat to the Catholic church. Not necessarily because they adhered to their faith, but because they showed love towards them and gave them a friendly powerbase.

In the town of Servian, which the preachers visited in either 1206 or 1207, another example of nobles protecting heretics out of friendly or familial love surfaces: “The lord of this place- infected with the poison of heresy- had made them his familiars and friends.”<sup>33</sup> The most powerful or influential noble of this region was undoubtedly count Raymond VI of Toulouse. Papal legate Peter of Castelnau had strongly urged him to combat the heresy and even excommunicated him when he did not follow through. Love, once again, prevented the nobility from taking action. “Almost from the cradle he [Raymond VI] always loved and cherished heretics.”<sup>34</sup> Out of the five instances of love being explicitly or implicitly mentioned by Cernay, three times it is the nobility on the side of the heretics that show this emotion. We will be taking a look at the other sources before we will deeper analyse the meaning of love in this context.

William of Puylaurens has a dramatically shorter account of the preaching campaign prior to the crusade than Cernay, mentioning the emotion of love only once. This one instance is essential though, because just like Cernay, it is ascribed to the nobility that favours the heretics. The situation in which this emotive behaviour took place was either in late 1206 or early 1207. It was a discussion between the bishop of Fulk and a French knight named Pons Adhemar of Roudeille. The knight seemingly followed the preaching debates that were organised very closely. He uttered to the bishop that the church of Rome actually had some valid arguments against the heretics. The bishop replied and asked the knight why he did not persecute the heretics as had been called for by the pope. The knight’s response is of vital importance in studying the Cathars as an emotional community: “We cannot, we were brought up with them, there are many of our relatives amongst them.”<sup>35</sup> So the knight admitted to the bishop of Fulk that the

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<sup>32</sup> Rosenwein, ‘Problems and Methods’, 18.

<sup>33</sup> Cernay, *Crusade*, 18.

<sup>34</sup> *Idem*, 22.

<sup>35</sup> Puylaurens, *Chronicle*, 25.

Catholics were more convincing in their arguments than the heretics. *He knew* and yet he did not persecute the heretics because of love for his friends and family. This account is in agreement with the framework that Cernay already had established. This particular instance is not recorded in the work of Cernay so Puylaurens must have gotten this from another source, which only enhances the notion that they viewed the nobility supporting the heretics to be in the same emotional community.

Innocent III wrote at least ten letters during his pontificate about the heretics and the crusade, but in the letters he wrote prior to the crusade he gives us an interesting look into what love in a medieval context means, or at least what it should mean according to the pope. On the 28<sup>th</sup> of May in 1204, Innocent wrote a letter to Philip Augustus, king of France, to implore him to take action against the heretics. He wrote that God created two institutions that support each other “The one to love its enemies and even pray for its persecutors, the other to employ the material sword to punish evil doers. It is expedient that the spiritual authority and the secular power fight as one.”<sup>36</sup>

Innocent believed that love was reserved for the church while punishment and violence were tools of the secular powers. If we look at the examples where love was described in the chronicles, then it seems that love has been used in the wrong way. It was the nobility that loved and cherished the heretics, understandably so, because they were family and friends, but loving your enemies was not something for the nobility to do. The nobility represented the secular powers that Innocent alluded to in his letter. They were supposed to punish enemies, not love them. So, when the nobility showed love or sympathy towards enemies then that is a weakness whereas the church showed devotion and piety by loving their enemies. Weakness is a strong word here that needs to be elaborated on. With weakness is being meant that the nobility, in this case the nobles supporting the heretics, could not do what was demanded of them by their superiors. In fact, it looks like the roles of the church and the secular powers have been reversed in the preaching campaign. Peter of Castelnau, the papal legate, had excommunicated Raymond of Toulouse as a punishment, while the nobility took on the role of the church by showing love for the Cathars. It can be concluded then, that norms and values written on paper by someone as influential as the pope, in this case the role

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<sup>36</sup> *Ad Sponse Su*, Sourcebook, 34-35.

of the church versus the role of the secular nobles, did not necessarily translate into actual norms and values practiced.

The Southern French nobility not being able to do what was demanded of them because of familial love might in addition also be explained through *paratge*. *Paratge* is a word frequently used by William Tudela in his chronicle. It has no clear-cut English translation, but it is best understood as a behavioural code. A modern, romanticized interpretation is given by Norman Gautreau who dissected this code and distinguished multiple concepts that resonate in our modern languages. Honor, civility, tolerance, balance, courtesy and grace are but a few examples given by Gautreau. His explanation of tolerance is the most noteworthy: “freedom from bigotry. To have a permissive and fair attitude toward others whose opinions, practices, race religion, gender or nationality differ from one's own. Occitania was famous for its tolerance. Indeed, the pope and the northern crusaders hated the people of Occitania precisely because of their tolerance of the Cathars who could usually find safe haven among Christian Occitans.”<sup>37</sup> A more scholarly and scientific approach to explain *paratge* is given by Bagley. He argues in his article that *paratge* meant, above all things, rightful ownership. He does however state that in different contexts it could also encompass nobility of character, splendour, dignity, compassion and understanding.<sup>38</sup> In short, the people of this region were exceedingly tolerant or compassionate and did not judge those who practiced a different religion. Therefore, being a Cathar was not a legitimate justification to act against your own family. Especially since the Cathar sympathizers were the rightful lords of region, in terms of ownership.

Ironically enough, by upholding the *paratge* that was so valued in the south of France, the nobility forsake their duty to the pope and Innocent now had a cause to call for a crusade. The nobility of Toulouse and its region were no longer legitimate since they had put love for family and friends before duty.

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<sup>37</sup> N. Gautreau, <http://www.normangautreau.com/paratge.html#.Ws86KExuLIV> (consulted April 12<sup>th</sup> 2018).

<sup>38</sup> C. Bagly, ‘Paratge in the anonymous Chanson de la Croisade Albigeoise’, *French Studies* 21:3 (1967) 195-204.

## Fear and fearlessness

Fear or fearlessness is being mentioned eight times in the preaching campaign. It's attributed to the heretics four times and the same number of times to the Catholics. In comparison to love, the differences between the communities that have been described as fearful or fearless is not as stark, but still noteworthy. To start with the Cathars, three out of the four times fear has been invoked to describe fear of being punished, two of these instances concern Raymond VI of Toulouse in person. In his letter to Philip Augustus, Innocent III had used the word fear to state that the heretics were not afraid of ecclesiastical discipline.<sup>39</sup> While it can be deduced that the sources are strongly opposed of Raymond VI, he was framed to have had a good right to be afraid since he acted against the Catholic interest. Him not persecuting the Cathars, and even protecting them made him deserving of punishment in the eyes of the chroniclers. Out of the four mentions, two instances show that there was a fear of violence and even one of being murdered.

Puylaurens writes about the bishop of Fulk: "He did not dare to send the four mules he had brought with him to the public river to take water without an escort, instead they drank from a well at his house."<sup>40</sup> A fear of violence is not explicitly mentioned but looking at the context in which Puylaurens puts this passage, it is clear that the bishop was afraid of being robbed or attacked. Earlier on in his account, Puylaurens had called the area unhappy and a place of rapine.<sup>41</sup> The next passage is more explicit, here it is obvious that even those deemed to be on the right side of the argument were not without fear of death. The scene takes place at Béziers, where Peter of Castelnau and his colleagues had just finished campaigning. "The Bishop of Osma and Brother Ralph then advised Brother Peter to leave them, since they feared that because the heretics detested him above all else he might be murdered."<sup>42</sup> Interestingly, Cernay writes that the Bishop of Osma and Brother Ralph were afraid and not Castelnau. Even though the fear described is not that of Castelnau, he did act upon it by recusing himself. Cernay goes on to call Peter of Castelnau fearless in confronting Raymond VI. Brother Milo, who is

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<sup>39</sup> *Ad sponse su*, Sourcebook, 35; Cernay, *Crusade*, 7-10, 16-22; Puylaurens, *Chronicle*, 22.

<sup>40</sup> Puylaurens, *Chronicle*, 22.

<sup>41</sup> *Idem*, 21.

<sup>42</sup> Cernay, *Crusade*, 19.

sent to deal with the count, is also said to be fearless. It would seem that Cernay wanted to carefully frame Castelnau as fearless and make the Cathars more dangerous than they perhaps really were.<sup>43</sup> It is even more remarkable that Cernay himself puts the blame of Castelnau's death at the feet of Raymond of Toulouse, who was in fact not a Cathar.<sup>44</sup>

Fearlessness in the sources is often accompanied by a wide range of emotional behaviour, these do differ greatly from the two sides. Faithfulness, steadfastness, zealousness, virtuous, humbleness and courageousness are often mentioned alongside the absence of fear in these Catholic clergymen.<sup>45</sup> The exact opposite of emotions are given to the Cathars. So, the emotion of fear is framed in a particular manner and the context in which the fear is being placed is also very different. Castelnau's companions (he himself as well) were afraid of being murdered, but not because he had done anything wrong but because the heretics were wicked. Raymond VI had every just cause to be afraid since his behaviour was a disgrace and the chroniclers expected him to be punished for it. He did not act against the heretics as was commanded and he was a suspect in the murder of Castelnau. In short, when the Catholics were afraid it was because of hostile and dangerous heretics. When the Cathars or their supporters were afraid it was because they owed that to their own behaviour.

### Wickedness

The final form of emotional behaviour to be discussed in this chapter, is wickedness. It is being mentioned eight times across the three chroniclers and the papal letters of Innocent.<sup>46</sup> It has been ascribed to commoners four times, to nobles two times and used as a metaphor twice. The definition of wickedness used here is as follows: "The quality of being evil and morally wrong." Strangely though, this definition only seems to apply to the nobility and not the commoners. When the nobles, like Raymond of Toulouse or the count of Foix, are being called wicked, they receive a great many of derogatory qualities from the sources such as: detestable, deceitful, cruel, perjurers, faithless,

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<sup>43</sup> Idem, 21, 40.

<sup>44</sup> Idem, 32.

<sup>45</sup> Puylaurens, *Chronicle*, 23-25; Cernay, *Crusade*, 38-46.

<sup>46</sup> Tudela, *The Song*, 12-13; *Cum unus Dominus*, 32; *Ad sponse sue*, 34; *Inveterata pravitate heretice*, 36; Cernay, *Crusade*, 19-22.

lecherous, obstinate and duplicitous.<sup>47</sup> The commoners however, also receive insults, but they are of a much lesser degree. Rather, they are called obstinate, unwilling, and persisting in their wickedness.

The question that needs to be answered here then is why the sources contextualise the word wickedness differently when it comes to nobles and commoners. The answer may lie in the letter *Inveterata Pravitatis Heretice* by Innocent, in which he instructed Philip Augustus: "(...) to catch the little foxes which do not cease to destroy the vineyards of the Lord of Hosts among the simple minded."<sup>48</sup> The letter is highly metaphorical, and Innocent's recurring theme is the Lord's vineyard which is under threat from either foxes or wolves that are trying to destroy it. The words 'simple minded' are of relevance here. This could be seen as a categorisation on Innocent's part. The wickedness of the heresy spreads more easily among the simple minded. While he does not specifically state who exactly these simple minded are, it may be deduced that he surely means commoners and not the nobility, who have had education. Therefore, the 'simple minded' receive far fewer insults than the nobles, because the nobles should know better whilst the commoners can be easily led astray. It was not their fault, is perhaps what Innocent thought.

Further confirmation of the point made above can be found in William of Tudela's account: "(...) the preachers travelled on foot and on horseback among the wicked and misbelieving heretics, arguing with them and vigorously challenging their errors, but these fools paid no attention and despised everything they said."<sup>49</sup> The commoners here are being called fools. In a passage prior to this one, they are also called 'lost fools'.<sup>50</sup> Conversely, the nobility is never being called fools when it comes to their heretical beliefs or their protection of Cathars. Reading the sources next to each other makes it clear that from the viewpoint of the Catholics, the commoners were less intelligent and easy to manipulate into heresy, whilst the nobility should recognise Catharism as something evil, and not acting against it made them evil. That is the reason the nobility received insults alongside the word wickedness and the commoners did not. It is almost

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<sup>47</sup> Cernay, *Crusade*, 38-46.

<sup>48</sup> *Inveterata Pravitatis Heretice*, Sourcebook, 36.

<sup>49</sup> Tudela, *The Song*, 12.

<sup>50</sup> *Idem*, 12.

as if the commoners were understood to not be able to help themselves. It would certainly explain why Innocent expressed, throughout several letters, so much concern for this heresy.

### III Battles and sieges

The preaching campaign to convert the Cathars had all but failed. Innocent now sought more desperate measures and called for an official crusade. This chapter will look at the emotional behaviour during the military activities of the Albigensian Crusade. The battles that have been analysed for this research are: Béziers, Carcassonne, Minerve, Termes, Cabaret, Lavaur, Les Cassés, Montferrand, Toulouse (1211), Muret, Beaucaire and Toulouse (1218). The reasoning for this selection is two-part. Firstly, there have been many more battles in the Albigensian crusade, but none of the studied chroniclers have written about all of them. Therefore, the selection has been based on whether there was enough source material among the three chronicles. Secondly, these battles are arguably the most representative for the crusade. This selection features the battles after which heretics were burned, the all-out war with Raymond of Toulouse and battles which both Cathars and crusaders won and lost. The emotions that will be looked at in the following paragraphs are the various degrees of fear that have been ascribed to both sides of the conflict. Joy, anger and crying will be the main topics of the subsequent paragraphs.

#### Concern, fear and terror

Looking at the total tally of emotions counted that are related to fear, the total for the Cathars amounts to forty-four to thirty-three for the Catholics.<sup>51</sup> These numbers are noteworthy and show that the side of the heretics has been ascribed to experience visibly more fear than the Catholics, but it is not definitive proof that the chroniclers wanted to frame the heretics more fearful than the Catholics. Interestingly, when the emotion of fear is split up in the various degrees of concern, trouble, distress, anxiety, fear and terror the numbers start to become more meaningful. This distinction follows the theory developed by Plutchik who created a structural model to categorise emotions. The mildest forms of fear are called apprehension. This encompasses concern, anxiety, distress and being troubled. The moderate form is called fear, which needs no further explanation. The most extreme form is called terror, which again is fairly obvious.<sup>52</sup>

Some explanation on the emotion of fear in medieval context should also be given.

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<sup>51</sup> See figures 2a and 2b.

<sup>52</sup> R. Plutchik, *The Emotions* (London 1991) 111.

Scott and Kosso have argued that fear in the Middle Ages was widely embraced and it was surely not an emotion to be avoided. It was to be cultivated, harnessed and explored. It could inspire faith, grant personal awareness, or motivate political change.<sup>53</sup> While this certainly explains the fact that fear has been ascribed to both emotional communities and de Montfort personally, it will be shown that the distinctions into lesser forms of fear is far more prevalent on the crusading side.

When looking at fear as a standalone emotion, it can be seen to have been ascribed to the Cathars twenty-nine times and only nine times to the Catholics. Concern, a milder form of fear is then never given to the Cathars, but six times to the Catholics. Terror, the absolute acutest and strongest form of fear, was used to describe the Cathars six times, and only ascribed twice to the Catholics. So even though the emotion of fear was frequently attested for both sides, the Catholics were said to have experienced it in a lesser or moderate form for the most part. These numbers suggest that the chroniclers carefully constructed their use of emotions in text, to make the Catholics seem much less fearful and more in control than the Cathars, even though they experienced the same events at one point or another.

The actions that followed upon the fearful emotions were quite different between the two sides. An example of Montfort acting out of fear is given by Puylaurens: “Accordingly Count Simon- fearful that if he took no steps to suppress them [Toulousians] they would become as a swelling tumour, decided to oppose them with armed force and punish their arrogance severely.”<sup>54</sup> This scene took place after the siege of Beaucaire, where Montfort lost the fight. Another example of Montfort being afraid: “Once settled in the fief and county of Carcassonne, the count de Montfort became anxious, for very few friends decided to stay with him.”<sup>55</sup> Whenever Montfort is described as being afraid, anxious or concerned it is always related to the war effort and not his own life. Even as he was losing at Beaucaire, a battle in which he lost thousands of soldiers, he is described merely to be concerned that he cannot take the castle back.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> A. Scott, *Fear and its representations in the Middle Ages and Renaissance* (Turnhout 2002) XII.

<sup>54</sup> Puylaurens, *Chronicle*, 57-58.

<sup>55</sup> Tudela, *The Song*, 27.

<sup>56</sup> Cernay, *Crusade*, 262.

Just like their commander, the crusading soldiers were said to experience fear for their enemies. At Beaucaire, for instance, Montfort's besieged soldiers were said to be in terror, but this did not cause them to waver or flee. The crusaders at Beaucaire debated about what they should do as their food and wine were running out. They came to the conclusion that they should fight to the death, rather than surrender.<sup>57</sup> Other instances of concern and anxiety in the sources are mostly related to discord between the different nobles on the crusading side and the worry of winter approaching that might halt the war.

The people in support of the Cathars almost exclusively flee in response to experiencing fear and terror. Puylaurens, when Carcassonne was taken by the crusaders, reports: "The inhabitants of the neighbouring area were driven by fear to abandon their towns and flee from their towns and fortified places." Cernay relates about the siege of Termes that: "The defenders now realised that they were besieged and could expect no help from their comrades in Termes, and one night in fear for their safety they sought protection in flight."<sup>58</sup> These two are but a few of many examples where the people deemed to be on the heretics' side flee in fear. There seems to be hardly a difference between soldiers and commoners here. The commoners abandoned their cities, the soldiers forsake their duties so they could save their lives. Conversely, the crusaders are never said to flee out of fear. They have been forced to retreat, but they never fully deserted the war. By ascribing fear and terror to such degrees to the Cathar side and having it almost every time be followed by fleeing it can be deduced that fear was an emotion that was generally deplored by the chroniclers if it caused fleeing.

Puylaurens describes a scene at the battle of Muret where this point is almost explicitly being made. The king of Aragon and the count of Toulouse discuss their battle plans for the incoming fight. The king wanted to sally from his camp and attack Montfort, but Toulouse instead advised to stay in the camp, fortify it and wait. "The king refused to listen to this advice, ascribing it to fear and cowardice."<sup>59</sup> The plan that the count put forward might have been strategically sound, but since it had the appearance of being made out of fear, it was dismissed. The king does not give any other reason for

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<sup>57</sup> Tudela, *The Song*: for crusaders in terror: p.105 and debating: p.99-101.

<sup>58</sup> Puylaurens, *Chronicle*, 34; Cernay, *Crusade*, 94.

<sup>59</sup> Puylaurens, *Chronicle*, 48.

the dismissal of the plan and it is hard to imagine that there would not have been a better option than what Toulouse suggested, but Puylaurens chose to write it down this way. A plan made out of fear was a bad plan.

The anonymous author who continued Tudela's work also wrote about what happened when Raymond VI gave his advice: "My lords, in no way can I approve of the king of Aragon's ever doing anything so improper. And it is a great pity that you who have lands to live on should have been such cowards as to lose them." The passages are not exactly the same as it is Michael of Luesia speaking here, but the plan and Raymond are brought into connection with cowardice. Raymond VI also gave response: "My lords, all I can say is, be it as you wish, for before nightfall we shall see who is last to quit the field."<sup>60</sup> That response speaks volumes. Instead of defending his battle plans, Raymond turned the conversation around, removing the accusation of cowardice from his own person. Raymond was well aware, or at least the author of the chronicle, that it was imperative not to be regarded as fearful or as a coward. This is the reason the chroniclers ascribe fear to the Cathars more frequently and also why they nuance it into concern, trouble and anxiousness for the Catholics.

### Joy and delight

Strangely enough, there was also a good amount of joy and delight during the analysed battles and sieges of the crusade. Even more strange is the fact that the side of the Cathars have slightly more ascribed emotions related to joy than the Catholics, with a tally of twenty-five to twenty-two respectively.<sup>61</sup> The crusaders won most of the battles, so it would be far more likely that they would have the upper hand when it comes to joy, rejoicing and delight. For both sides however, the reason for experiencing these emotions are very similar. Receiving reinforcements, winning battles, the death of enemy leaders and the turning of the odds due to weather or other circumstances were the main motivators for joy to be ascribed by the chroniclers. These situations leading to joy are fairly obvious. What is not obvious however is why the side of the heretics rejoice and delight so much in a war they were losing.

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<sup>60</sup> Tudela, *The Song*, 69-70.

<sup>61</sup> See figure 3.

In my view, the frequency with which joyous emotions were ascribed to the heretics can be explained as an attempt to build up the success of the crusaders even more. An example of this was written down by Tudela about Carcassonne. In August of 1209 Peter of Aragon came to Carcassonne and “when the viscount [Raymond-Roger Trencavel] saw him, he and all his men ran forward to meet him in great joy, for they thought he was going to help them as they were his vassals and his friends, very dear to him.”<sup>62</sup> Carcassonne would be lost to the crusaders, but by having its inhabitants rejoice over the arrival of their liege lord it looks like the Cathar side felt that it had more of a chance against the crusaders.

Another potential reason for these joyous emotions ascribed to the Cathars is that the chroniclers wanted to portray the Cathars as haughty. Haughtiness was considered one of the worst sins in Medieval Christendom.<sup>63</sup> A very clear example of this is when Cernay relates the battle of Lavaur. He notes that the crusaders had built a wooden fortification and had placed a sign of the Cross upon it. The enemies concentrated all their fire on it and destroyed one arm of the Cross after which they cheered and rejoiced. But immediately afterwards, they were punished: “it came about that the enemies of the Cross, who had rejoiced in destroying the Cross, were captured on the day of the feast of the Cross.” It is incredibly ironic, and this is seemingly a recurring theme for Cernay. In Béziers he also accused the inhabitants of mishandling a priest inside a church and inside that same church they found their own deaths, although they were not reported to be rejoicing at the time.<sup>64</sup>

A third example is in between the battles of Carcassonne and Termes where the crusaders were moving their siege engines. “A spy had left the host and went quickly to Cabaret, where he immediately told them that the count had sent wretched and useless men to transport the siege engines and that their escort would not number more than a hundred, horse and foot. When they heard that, they were delighted.”<sup>65</sup> This minor battle near Termes resulted in a costly defeat for the side supporting the Cathars and in the end it was the crusaders who were rejoicing and in delight.<sup>66</sup> Even though joy was

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<sup>62</sup> Tudela, *The Song*, 23.

<sup>63</sup> H. Vogt, *The Function of Kinship in Medieval Nordic Legislation* (Leiden 2010) 152.

<sup>64</sup> Cernay, *Crusade*, 115. For the story about Béziers: 49-51.

<sup>65</sup> Tudela, *The Song*, 35.

<sup>66</sup> *Idem*, 36.

an emotion that was obviously valued for both emotional communities, the chroniclers frame it in such a way that the joy was somehow better when it was felt by the crusaders, as on several occasions the joy for the Cathar side quickly turned for the worse.

There is an anomaly about joy in the sources that must be addressed. Cernay wrote a passage about the siege and fall of Lavaur which does not correspond at all with the other chroniclers and how they used emotions of joy. “Our crusaders burnt innumerable heretics, with great rejoicing.” And before this, when the knights defending Lavaur were ordered to be executed: “The crusaders fell to this task with great enthusiasm and quickly slew them on the spot.”<sup>67</sup> The chronicles by Tudela and Puylaurens do not depict any celebration of the act of burning heretics or enthusiasm in murdering prisoners of war. At les Cassés, Cernay reports this happened again: “The crusaders seized nearly sixty heretics and burnt them with great rejoicing.”<sup>68</sup> Conversely, Puylaurens and Tudela describe these deaths very factually, without any emotions given to the executioners.<sup>69</sup>

What is known about Cernay is that he wrote his work for the pope personally, because he writes a letter of dedication as the preface for his work which is addressed to pope Innocent III himself.<sup>70</sup> It is argued here, that Cernay was being overzealous in ascribing these emotions. Perhaps it would make the pope feel more comfortable knowing that crusaders happily burnt heretics. But these emotions are missing entirely in the works of the other chroniclers. It can be stated then, that there were conflicting visions as to whether or not there was joy in burning heretics and murdering prisoners. Cernay certainly deviates from Tudela and Puylaurens in this respect.

## Anger

Rage, fury, rancour and anger cannot be missing from a study about war. And interestingly enough, the side of the Catholic crusaders are reported to have shown anger twenty-four times as opposed to only eight times on the side supporting the heretics.<sup>71</sup> This is mostly due to the work of Tudela and the unknown author, since Puylaurens does not mention anger and Cernay only three times. It is plausible to expect,

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<sup>67</sup> Cernay, *Crusade*, 117.

<sup>68</sup> *Idem*, 120.

<sup>69</sup> Puylaurens, *Chronicle*, 40; Tudela, *The Song*, 43.

<sup>70</sup> Cernay, *Crusade*, 5-6.

<sup>71</sup> See figure 4.

that both sides would be angry at losing battles, especially the Cathar side since they lost the most. That happens not to be the case however, the Cathar side actually never showed anger at losing a battle, the opposite is true for the crusaders.

Starting with the side of the defenders, Peter of Aragon is angry twice for not being able to establish peace between the crusaders and his vassal Raymond-Roger Trencavel at Carcassonne. “King Peter of Aragon went away very sad, unhappy at failing to have saved them. Angry and sorrowful, he rode back to Aragon.”<sup>72</sup> Peter tried to negotiate with the crusaders but felt that their terms were unfair and that is why he became angry. Being angry at unfair terms occurred again when Raymond of Toulouse heard from Rome after the siege and fall of Termes. “These letters [from Rome] made such demands that when the reading was done, Count Raymond said he could never pay them all. (...) He set foot in his stirrup and in distress and anger rode back to Toulouse.”<sup>73</sup> In a meeting with Peter of Aragon, the count is again angry when he read through the letters again and fully understood what was demanded of him.

As for the commoners, they are only reported to have been angry once. It was during the siege of Lavaur where they were in distress over a scarcity of food, which resulted in the prices of food rising dramatically. The lesser noble, Sir Aimery, who was present at Lavaur was angry at losing his lands to the crusaders.<sup>74</sup>

The side of the Catholics is represented with the emotion of anger twenty-four times. It was often at losing or seeming to lose battles that caused them to be angry. This is remarkable since the crusaders won most of the battles that have been studied for this chapter. As has been said, Tudela and the unknown author are responsible for this high tally of anger. Simon de Montfort is exceedingly well represented, being described as angry ten times. It occurs mostly due to factors that are outside of Montfort’s control. When someone needed to take command of Carcassonne, Montfort was angry that the choice fell upon William of Contres. He was angry again when that same Contres lost a minor battle near Cabaret. As Montfort’s crusaders were being besieged in Beaucaire, Montfort was almost continuously angry at not being able to lift the siege or force any kind of breakthrough. Cernay, who uses emotions frequently, only mentions Montfort

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<sup>72</sup> Tudela, *The Song*, 24.

<sup>73</sup> *Idem*, 37.

<sup>74</sup> *Idem*, 41.

being angry once, at learning that the people of Nimes have defected to Raymond VI. In sharp contrast with the description of the unknown author, Montfort was simply concerned, not angry, that he might not be able to take the castle of Beaucaire back.

What can be the reason for this dichotomy in the use of emotions in the chronicles? For this question it is useful to look at the theory posed by Monique Scheer in her article about emotional practice. According to Scheer, emotions can be utilised in historical sources to demonstrate desired feelings, as well as denounce those that are unwanted. Scheer gives the example of a love letter in which the writer shows emotions in order to evoke certain emotions from the reader. Various other activities also modulate emotions, such as reading books and listening to music (Tudela's work was a song).<sup>75</sup> For Cernay then, it would appear that anger was not a desirable emotion, as he only reported Simon to be angry once at defectors. Defecting is something that was largely condemned throughout history, so it was relatively safe and perhaps also historically accurate to portray Montfort as such. Cernay framed Montfort as being concerned, while the unknown author framed him as angry in the same circumstance.

Comparing two passages that both take place right before Montfort comes to terms with the Cathar side at Beaucaire makes it very clear that modifying feelings could be at work here. Cernay writes: "He [Montfort] was very concerned about the situation and did not know what action to take; he was not able to rescue the garrison, but totally against exposing them to certain death." The unknown author: "Dark with rage and grief (...). In rage and fury count Simon abandoned the siege."<sup>76</sup> So in the exact same circumstance, where Montfort is being advised to come to terms to save his men inside Beaucaire keep, totally different emotions are being ascribed. Scheer gave numerous examples of activities that can evoke and modulate emotions and this study argues that a historical narrative can have the same effect.

Looking at what is known about the works of the two mentioned chroniclers, Cernay was extremely devoted to the Catholic cause and the *song* is known for being the most sympathetic to the Cathars. The *song* also frequently speaks out the hope that *paratge* might return, which implies that the crusaders were on the wrong side of the

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<sup>75</sup> Scheer, 'Emotional Practice', 209.

<sup>76</sup> Cernay, *Crusade* 262; Tudela, *The Song*, 105.

conflict.<sup>77</sup> By making Montfort angry no less than ten times, it makes him look like the aggressor in the story and may have evoked antipathy towards him from an audience. This emotion will likely have had a larger chance of being evoked because Tudela's work was meant to be sung! Cernay, on the other hand, went out of his way to promote Montfort as a courageous Catholic champion. He described Montfort to be courageous at least eight times, with many other commendable qualities alongside.

So, by utilising the emotion of concern rather than anger, Montfort becomes much less aggressive. In fact, it makes him look like someone who cared about his men and their wellbeing. What's more, anger was considered to be a mortal sin in the Middle Ages, so Cernay would be cautious to use that emotion to describe someone he deemed to be a hero. He did use it once though, when soldiers were defecting. But anger against sin or crime was eminently justifiable.<sup>78</sup> This example also shows that the anonymous author and Cernay had the same notions of anger as an emotion in that it was a sin. All in all, the audience of Cernay might have been more inclined to have sympathetic feelings towards Simon de Montfort.

The point above can be further explained through Bagley, who in 1967 noted that Montfort was said to have had 'sudden fits of anger'.<sup>79</sup> By using the word 'sudden' it would seem that Bagley considered this to be an anomaly, but he did not research this further. Another argument in support of the conclusions above comes from Rosenwein, who has given evidence that anger could be used as a label by the elite to denigrate certain people.<sup>80</sup>

### Crying and weeping

Turning to the final emotion to be discussed in this chapter, crying, weeping, grieving and mourning is ascribed to the Catholic side fourteen times and twelve times to the side supporting the Cathars.<sup>81</sup> These numbers should not be used as evidence for one argument or another, since the emotions are often used in combination. For instance, when people are said to be weeping and crying at the funeral of Raymond-Roger

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<sup>77</sup> About *paratge* returning: Tudela, *The Song*, 173.

<sup>78</sup> Hyams, P. *Vengeance in the Middle Ages: Emotion, Religion and Feud* (New York 2016) 191.

<sup>79</sup> Bagley, 'Paratge' 196.

<sup>80</sup> B. Rosenwein, *Anger's Past: The Social Use of an Emotion in the Middle Ages* (Cornell 1998) chapter 8.

<sup>81</sup> See figure 5.

Trencavel.<sup>82</sup> The differences between the two emotional communities are non-existent. Both sides are said to have been crying and weeping under the same circumstances and for the same reasons.

Two reasons for crying are dominant in the sources for the studied battles. Losing battles is one of them and also when the odds of a battle were shifting, but most importantly, it was the loss of life, especially the lives of noble individuals. A quote by Tudela here is exemplary: “Great was the grief there [Carcassonne] for the deaths at Béziers.”<sup>83</sup> Another instance noted by Tudela is when king Peter of Aragon leaves Carcassonne in grief because he could not save his vassal Raymond-Roger and knowing that he would face certain death. Even though he was an enemy, Montfort displayed the body of Roger so that there could be a proper funeral, in which many people wept and cried over the death of their viscount. Raymond-Roger was being described very favourably by Tudela, but also in a poem by Guilhem Augier Novella of which the first paragraph will be cited here:

“Every man weeps and counts his losses, his misfortunes and his griefs, but (alas!), I have such rage and such sorrow in my heart that never, in all the days that are allotted to me, shall I have lamented or wept enough for that brave, valued, noble viscount who is dead, the one from Béziers. The bold and courtly one, the joyful, most skilful, gentle one: the best knight in the world”<sup>84</sup>

Even though poetry is a different genre than what the chroniclers were writing, the story it tells is remarkably similar to the way Tudela described the viscount. In Tudela’s description Roger was also joyful, generous and courteous and loved by his vassals because he was want to make jokes with them.<sup>85</sup> Roger was not the only noble who was mourned for. Sir Aimery’s death, who fought in Lavaur and Toulouse (1218), caused grief for the Toulousians even though they had just won the battle because Simon de Montfort was killed in battle.

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<sup>82</sup> Tudela, *The Song*, 29.

<sup>83</sup> Tudela, *The Song*, 22.

<sup>84</sup> Guilhem Augier Novella *Quascus plor e planh son damnatge* in Rist & Leglu *The Cathars and the Albigensian Crusade: A Sourcebook*, 84.

<sup>85</sup> Tudela, *The Song*, 18-19.

For the Catholics, there were also several nobles who died, and the people grieved accordingly. Eustace of Cayeux fell in battle during the siege of Toulouse in 1211 and the crusaders wept for him because he fought bravely.<sup>86</sup> There is one instance of Montfort actually mourning for one of his enemies. It took place after the battle of Muret where Peter of Aragon was slain. "The count dismounted and mourned over the body [of Peter of Aragon] a second David over a second Saul."<sup>87</sup> According to Rosenwein, in trying to create a system of feeling for emotional communities, one should look for emotions that are valued or deplored in the communities that are being studied.<sup>88</sup> The emotional behaviour attached to mourning, crying and weeping are greatly valued for both sides of this conflict. Those who behaved nobly, as adversaries or as a faithful lord, could count on being mourned, even by their enemies. The reason for this is that crying, and tears specifically, were considered to be eminently valuable. Gertsman writes in her study on crying in the Middle Ages that it could be seen as a stamp of merit on the person who was crying. Tears were considered to be a very powerful liquid, it could cure ills and release souls from purgatory.<sup>89</sup> In short, weeping over a noble death was a display of character and the chronicles do not seem to be denigrating the side of the Cathars on this particular matter.

An observation concerning women must be made here in relation to crying. Women are not often mentioned in the sources, but during the few instances that they are, they are the ones crying. At the fall of Carcassonne, Tudela reports that women and children were crying and shrieking at the suffering that they underwent. After the siege of Minerve when heretics were being burned it was again women who shrieked. At Lavaur, the lady Girauda is also said to have shrieked when she was about to be stoned to death. It is not surprising that people would cry or shriek at pain being inflicted upon them. But it is remarkable that men went through just as much pain, perhaps more so because they were also fighting the battles but are never said to be crying over it. It may be deduced, that crying and weeping was perfectly acceptable for men when mourning

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<sup>86</sup> Idem, 47.

<sup>87</sup> Cernay, *Crusade*, 212.

<sup>88</sup> Rosenwein, 'problems and methods' 11.

<sup>89</sup> Gertsman, E. *Crying in the Middle Ages: Tears of History* (Routledge 2012).

their respected nobles, but that crying out of pain and suffering was considered to be a female emotion.<sup>90</sup>

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<sup>90</sup> For crying and shrieking at Carcassonne: Tudela, *The Song*, 25, for Minerve: 33, for Lavaur: 42.

## IV Inquisition

Even though the crusade against Toulouse and the Cathar heresy was formally brought to an end with the treaty of Paris in 1229, hostilities continued. In 1244 the castle of Montségur was besieged by an army led by the Archbishop of Narbonne and the bishop of Albi. The castle was home to hundreds of Cathar heretics and when Montségur was taken, roughly 200 of them were burned at the stake.<sup>91</sup> This battle would be the end of the Cathar heresy as the religion could no longer be practiced freely. The inquisition had formally started in 1234, but most of the interrogations took place in the 1240s. These inquisitions were aimed at bringing former heretics or those who consorted with them back to the church of Rome. If the interrogee gave satisfactory answers and showed repentance, they could be taken back into the church after having been sentenced to varying degrees of punishments. This inquisition was, according to Mark Pegg, the single largest investigation, in the shortest possible time, in the entire European Middle Ages. Every man over fourteen and every woman over twelve was called to participate in the inquest. From the highest lord to the lowest commoner, there were no exceptions.<sup>92</sup>

This chapter will focus on the registers of the inquisitions that were being held between 1241 and 1247. The registers being used have been collected and translated into English by Catherine Léglu, Rebecca Rist and Claire Taylor in their sourcebook for the Cathars and the Albigensian Crusade. Of course, hundreds of people were interrogated at these inquisitions and the aforementioned historians have not published them all, but made a selection when creating their sourcebook. They have considered these extracts to be the most relevant to the Albigensian Crusade, as many of them inquire about events that took place during or even before the actual crusade. Not a lot of emotions are described in these transcripts, but there is a word that appears in almost every deposition: adoration. This chapter will start by exploring what the word adoration could mean in the concept of emotions for the Cathars. It will be argued that adoration was not necessarily an emotion in this context, but that there was a discrepancy between doing things for the Cathars with emotional ties and actually believing their doctrine.

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<sup>91</sup> Puylaurens, *Chronicle*, 107-108.

<sup>92</sup> Pegg, M. *The Corruption of Angels* (2001 New Jersey) 3.

Afterwards, some emotions that are mentioned only once or twice, such as fear and remorse, will be discussed.

Adoration: between friendship, worship and coercion

As has been stated, almost every single deposition of the inquisitions' registers mentions adoration. It can be deduced then, that the interrogee was actively asked if he or she adored the heretics. Many responded that they in fact had adored the heretics, but some also said that they had merely seen them or heard them preach. There are various definitions as to what the word adoration means. In modern dictionaries, the word can be used synonymous with worship, reverence or paying homage. Love and devotion are sometimes also mentioned. Mark Pegg has written a monograph on the inquests that took place in 1245-1246 and he draws the following conclusion as to what the word adoration could mean in this context: "the friar-inquisitors classified all this pious *cortesias* as heretical adoration, *adoratio*."<sup>93</sup> What Pegg is referring to here are the actions that heretics or those suspected of heresy took that had religious components. Receiving the so-called Kiss of Peace, the bowing of one's head as the Cathars spoke their blessings and genuflect three times in succession are but a few examples of such religious activities. If the definition of Pegg is to be maintained then adoration cannot be classified as an emotion, even though the modern meaning of the word is sometimes classified as such. This study concurs with the definition made by Pegg, although it is worth pointing out that the word adoration is sometimes replaced with love and that acts of worship and reverence are often mentioned *alongside* adoration.<sup>94</sup>

Accepting then, that adoration in this context was not an emotion, there is another matter that is interesting. It looks like the interrogees often acted friendly and affectionately with the Cathars, but that it is very questionable whether they actually believed their doctrines. A great number of interrogees testified that they had in fact adored heretics, treated them as friends, but that they did not become Cathars themselves. When it comes down to the actions that the interrogees took, it becomes clear that the relationship was not always strictly religious in nature.

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<sup>93</sup> Pegg, *Angels*, 92.

<sup>94</sup> For love being used instead of adoration see deposition of Peter Bacou, 140. For summing up religious activities alongside adoration see deposition of Raymond La Mothe, 140-141.

A woman named Huguette Guiraud testified in December 1241: “[that she] was a receiver of heretics, heard their preaching many times and many times adored them, and gave them things belonging to her. She visited them many times where they were lodging, where she heard them preach frequently. At that time she believed them to be good men, and she assisted at her husbands’ heredication (a ceremony to enter the Cathar religious community).”<sup>95</sup> The deposition by Huguette is exemplary as it contains the behaviours and actions that were often taken by interrogees. Dining with each other, exchanging gifts, lending money, paying visits, assisting at ceremonies and rituals, providing transport and accompanying them on journeys are incredibly frequent in the depositions. The point that is being made, is that the interrogees hardly ever merely accepted the doctrine of the Cathars. It was always accompanied by and or preceded by acts of affection, the sort of affection between friends and family. This ties into what has been argued in chapter two, that love of family and friends was the catalyst of why this Cathar heresy was so firmly rooted and managed to spread.

There is only one example in the depositions where an interrogated woman said: “[she] left her husband and had made herself a heretical ‘*perfecta*’.”<sup>96</sup> This example is unique among the others in that it shows no signs of affection towards the Cathars and because she is one of the few interrogees who actively became a member of the heretic clergy, as opposed to merely participating in some rituals. Some people even consorted with heretics while still claiming to hold true to the Catholic faith. A man named William Barrère made logistical arrangements for heretics, journeyed with them, ate drank and slept with them. He adored them, received gifts and heard them preach. At the inquest he claimed that he never stopped believing in the Roman faith.<sup>97</sup> Now, William may have lied to the inquisitors, perhaps in the hope of receiving a lesser punishment, but this is the story that is left to us. It was also perfectly possible for a person to consort with Cathars without ever becoming a Cathar, since the Cathar sacrament of *consolamentum* was only given shortly before death (with the exception of the ‘perfecti’). So, for most sympathisers, their ‘Catharism’ remained unfulfilled for most of their lives. This made the cult very hard to grasp and it was therefore relatively easy

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<sup>95</sup> Sourcebook, 137.

<sup>96</sup> idem, 139.

<sup>97</sup> Idem, 142.

for the interrogees to return to the Catholic faith or claim that they had in fact never abandoned it, like William Barrère might have done.

The religious aspect or doctrine that was so attractive as is made clear by the depositions is that people believed they could be saved if they died in the arms of Cathar clergy. It is the practice of 'laying on hands' and for it to succeed one needed to be brought to a 'perfecta' and die while they lay their hands upon the dying person. Preceding this event, the person needed to have fasted after receiving the *consolamentum*. The attraction, it can be argued, lies in that saving one's soul and entering heaven was perhaps easier than as a Catholic. For Peter of Las Oleiras, this seems to have been the case. He testified, like many others, as follows: "(...) [He] often ate with them and gave them things, believed that the heretics were good men and that if one died in their hands he would be saved, and held money for them."<sup>98</sup>

The religious attractiveness of the Cathar community must not be downplayed, but it is remarkable that nearly all of the interrogees had emotional ties with the Cathars that went far beyond religious practice. Love, kindness and respect shines through the depositions. This is certainly connected with *paratge*, the behavioural code that was valued dearly in the south of France, as one could interact with Cathars like they were family, while still having different faiths.

#### Fear of persecution and remorse

Interestingly, the emotion of fear only appears twice in the selected depositions. One would expect that, as these inquests were criminal investigations which lead to punishments, the interrogee feared the Cathars and consorted with them out of coercion. In fact, a woman testified that she was afraid of the Catholics and possible persecution. This is noteworthy for two reasons. The first is that in modern times it is somewhat more common to attest that you were acting out of fear or that you were being coerced to do something criminal. The second reason is that the fear described here was projected at a phase where this person consorted with Cathars, but probably had not received the sacrament and therefore was still a Catholic. Consorting with Cathars was thus a reason to fear Catholics. The fear being described here is mentioned by the

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<sup>98</sup> Idem, 138-139.

woman named Arnaude of La Mothe, who was just a girl of ten when she was given to the heretics to live with them. Her mother was a receiver of the Cathars and decided that her daughters Arnaude and her sister should go with them. “Then, she and her sister returned to Montauban through great fear of persecution and abandoned the sect of the heretics and ate meat and were reconciled by the bishop of Cahors.”<sup>99</sup> This took place in 1206 and so the ‘great fear of persecution’ must have referred to the campaigns preceding the Albigensian Crusade (1209-1229).

The other instance of fear occurs in the same deposition. It was Raymond Almaric who had visited Arnaudes mother and preached to her and her girls, after which he took them under his care. Raymond lived at Villemur but left out of fear: “When they had been there for about a year the crusaders came to the land. Through fear, Raymond Amalric left the *castrum* of Villemur with all the heretics.<sup>100</sup> The question is, why didn’t the depositions contain more references to fear? Most of the interrogees were asked about events in the 1240s about what they had done or seen during the Crusade in relation to the Cathar heresy. If the Cathar community tried to convert people by intimidation and fear, then it surely had not made its way into the accounts of the chroniclers or these inquisition registers. In fact, the registers and the chroniclers are very similar in that respect. Love and friendship were the main reasons for interacting with Cathars. The religious attraction that has been related above was also important. But it can be concluded that fear and coercion did not take place in this period. None of the interrogees attested that they committed heresy out of fear or because they were forced.

Remorse is mentioned once, which is remarkable since being remorseful is something that generally tends to help people who are facing criminal judgement nowadays. It was Pons Grimoard who went to the inquisitors out of his own volition: “[Pons Grimoard] coming freely and with devotion, and thus seeming moved inwardly by a remorseful heart, states by his own vow that he spoke the full and plain truth about himself and others and admits he had seen heretics in many places, and to have heard their preaching.”<sup>101</sup> There can be several explanations as to why the emotion of remorse,

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<sup>99</sup> Idem, 175.

<sup>100</sup> Idem 174-175.

<sup>101</sup> Idem, 146.

in what this study has called a criminal investigation, only appears once. The first reason is that the inquisitors, or the notary, did not feel the need to record the expressed emotions in the interrogations. The second, that the interrogees did not express any sort of emotion or relate that they had fear or remorse in the past. Whatever the reason is, it goes to show that expressing emotion was not carried into the sentence and the official deposition. This is in sharp contrast to the modern world, where expressing regret and showing remorse is taken into account when sentencing a suspect.<sup>102</sup> It is hard to imagine that the interrogees did not express emotions during these investigations. Perhaps it is even plausible to say that it is impossible that they did not express emotion. The frame created by the depositions however, is that they either were not expressed or that they did not matter in a criminal investigation.

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<sup>102</sup> Justice specialist Eric Hesen stated: “There is no harm in doing it. The judge will write down that you expressed remorse and it is definitely taken into account when sentencing.”  
<http://www.omroepbrabant.nl/?news/1978791613/Spijt+betuigen+in+de+rechtbank+Als+dader+kan+je+het+beter+maar+wel+doen.aspx> (consulted May 2<sup>nd</sup> 2018).

## Conclusion

The history of emotions is a relatively new field of study within the historical science. Perhaps that is even more so the case when it comes to the Middle Ages. *Montaillou* seems to have been the closest thing to an investigation of emotions during the late Middle Ages, focusing on heresy and inquisition. No such study has been done for the Albigensian Crusade however. The crusade is a suitable case study because it covers a wide variety of events in a rather short period of time. Within a period roughly forty years there were preaching and conversion campaigns, a great number of battles and sieges after which many heretics were burned followed by the inquisitions. Although no study into the emotions of the people in this conflict has been done, it would be unjust to state that this crusade has remained uninvestigated. The military, social and religious aspects of this crusade have been thoroughly examined and it has led to various debates among scholars.

The main question of how different social groups were framed by medieval sources in terms of their emotional behaviour in this crusade, has been investigated through three different aspects of the crusade. The second chapter focused on the preaching and conversion campaigns that were aimed at stopping the heresy from spreading and to bring back as many people as possible to the church of Rome. It has been made clear that love played a very important part for the growth and the stability of the Cathar community. Showing love to your enemies was greatly valued by the pope and likely by many members of the clergy as well. But the love was for the clergy to give, not the secular powers. There were of course, conflicting notions when it came to love. There was the Christian love that the church showed their flock as opposed to the love that the Southern-French nobility showed the Cathars, which made them unable to employ their material sword, as Innocent III put it. Love thus became a weakness as it prevented the nobility to punish wrongdoers. Fear was ascribed to both communities, but when the Catholic side was afraid it was because of unreasonable and hostile heretics, whereas the heretical side was afraid because of imminent punishment for their immoral behaviour. A distinction in ascribing wickedness also occurred in the sources. Nobles were often treacherous, perjurious or evil, but commoners were foolish and simple minded, and therefore easily led astray. It showed that the writers of the sources thought of the

nobility more harshly because they should have known better.

The third chapter delved into the battles and sieges that formed the military aspect of the crusade. Fear once again surfaces, but this time the heretics were reported to be in much more fear than the crusaders. Whenever the crusaders were depicted as afraid, this was also nuanced by using the emotions of concern, troubled and anxiousness, rather than the actual words fear and terror. Clearly the chroniclers wanted to make the crusaders seem more fearless and the heretics more panic-stricken and in terror. Strangely enough, joy occurs more often among the side of the Cathars than among the crusaders. The crusaders won most of the investigated battles, so they would have greater reason for rejoicing. It has been argued here that the authors wanted to build up the success of the crusaders. By showing the heretics as vainglorious and rejoicing in victory prematurely, the sources make the eventual crusader victory seem more spectacular and deserving.

Something peculiar happened within the *song* by Tudela with regards to anger. Before this emotion came to pass it was clear the sources wanted to frame the crusaders much more positively in their emotional behaviour. But the unknown author described Simon de Montfort to be exceedingly angry. The reason for this could be that he had sympathy for the Cathar side as he makes clear that he is hoping for *paratge* to return. By making Montfort angry, he can be seen as the aggressor and readers therefore might feel more antipathy towards him. Cernay, in contrast, framed Montfort in the same situation as concerned rather than angry. Mobilizing of emotions, as Scheer puts it, has certainly been at work here and the result is that the audience of Cernay would conclude a more positive image of de Montfort than an audience for the *song*.

Crying and weeping occurs on both sides and for the same reason. This is one of the emotions where it can be safely stated that the authors, and perhaps therefore also the two communities, valued weeping and mourning over loss of life. Many are said to have been crying and weeping at the death of Raymond-Roger Trencavel. Montfort also mourns the death of king Peter of Aragon. Crying out of fear and suffering is only mentioned a handful of times and it is always women doing it. That might mean that it was perfectly alright to cry over the loss of a noble leader, but that crying out of suffering was more of a feminine emotion.

The fourth and final chapter dealt with the inquisitions of the 1240s. These are very relevant to the crusade because interrogees were often asked about things they had done or seen during the time of the actual crusade. It has been debated whether adoration is to be considered an emotion or not in these depositions, but it has been made amply clear that the attraction in the Cathar heresy lay not so much in strict religious devotion and concurrence with the doctrine, but rather the affection and friendship that went alongside it. What's more, some suspects have even reported that they held true to the Catholic faith while still being in friendly relationships with Cathars. The absence of many other emotions such as remorse can mean several things. Firstly, that inquirers did not feel the need to write down the emotional reasoning behind one's actions, or the emotions expressed during the interrogation. The second explanation could be that remorse, unlike modern society, was not considered a valuable emotion during a criminal investigation.

This investigation has hopefully shown that medieval sources have been, in terms of ascribing emotions, carefully crafted. It was no surprise that Catholic writers put the Catholic crusaders in a better spotlight than their enemies. But looking purely at the emotions, this image can now be slightly nuanced. Simon de Montfort was described as a Catholic champion by Cernay, and by taking a closer look at the unknown author of the *song*, he has been shown to have been the aggressor in this conflict and his death signified the return of *paratge*. These visions did not necessarily exclude one another as the Cathars would probably agree more with the *song* and the Catholics more with Cernay. The emotion of anger thus shows that the sources were not always proponents of the Catholic cause.

What this study has shown as well, is how several different emotions were looked at. Crying over a noble knight's death was considered a valuable emotion, no matter the side of the conflict, whereas being fearful was something to avoid. Lastly and perhaps most importantly, this research has shown that it was not so much the religious aspect of the Cathar community that was so attractive to people, but the fact that it was settled in a social and friendly setting in a time and place where the people of southern France were beholden to their behavioural code of *paratge*. The Cathars were treated as friends and many nobles had a family member who was a Cathar. Love and affection made it so that the Cathar heresy was firmly rooted and incredibly difficult to destroy.

# Graphs for battles and sieges (chapter III)

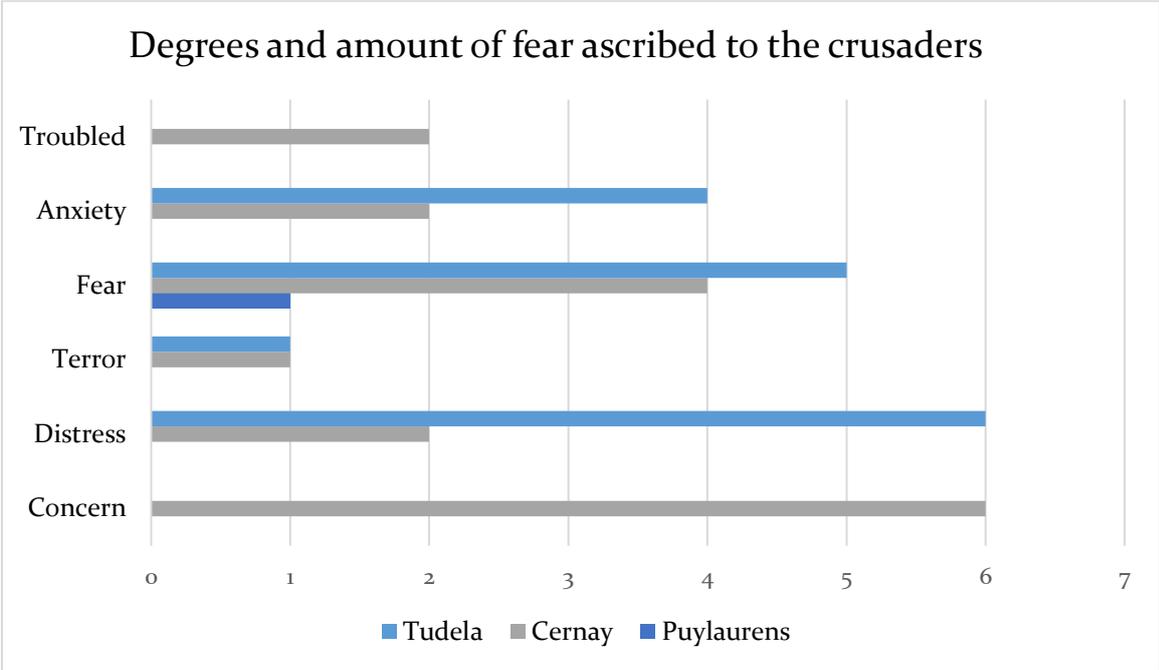


Figure 2a

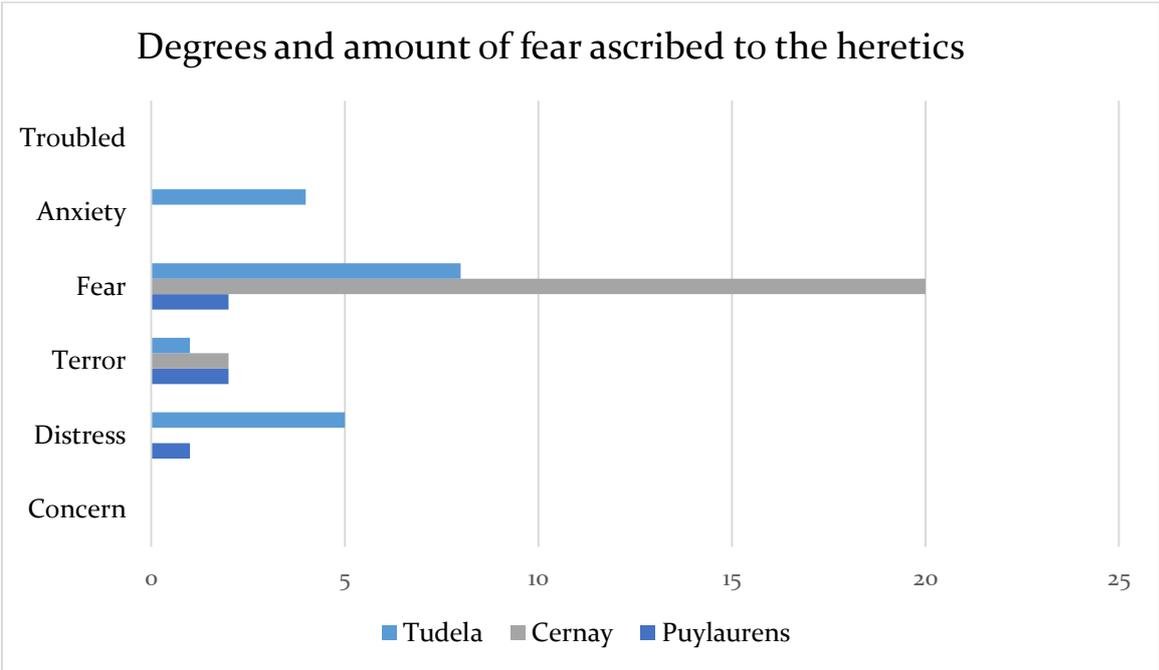


Figure 2b

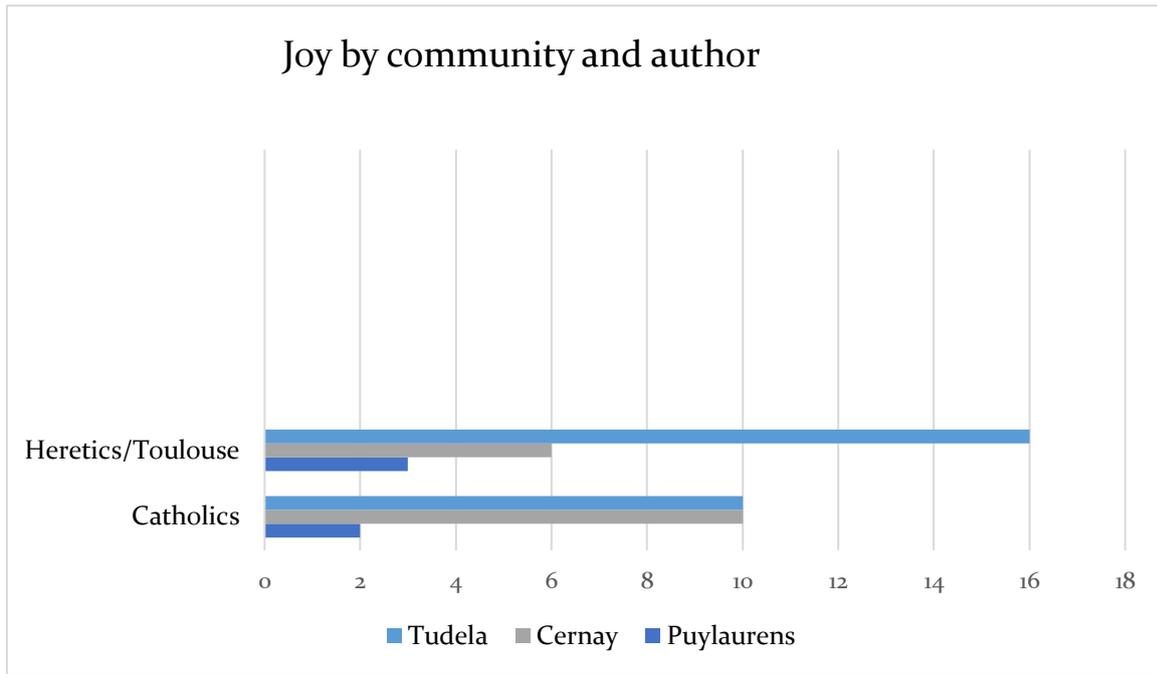


Figure 3

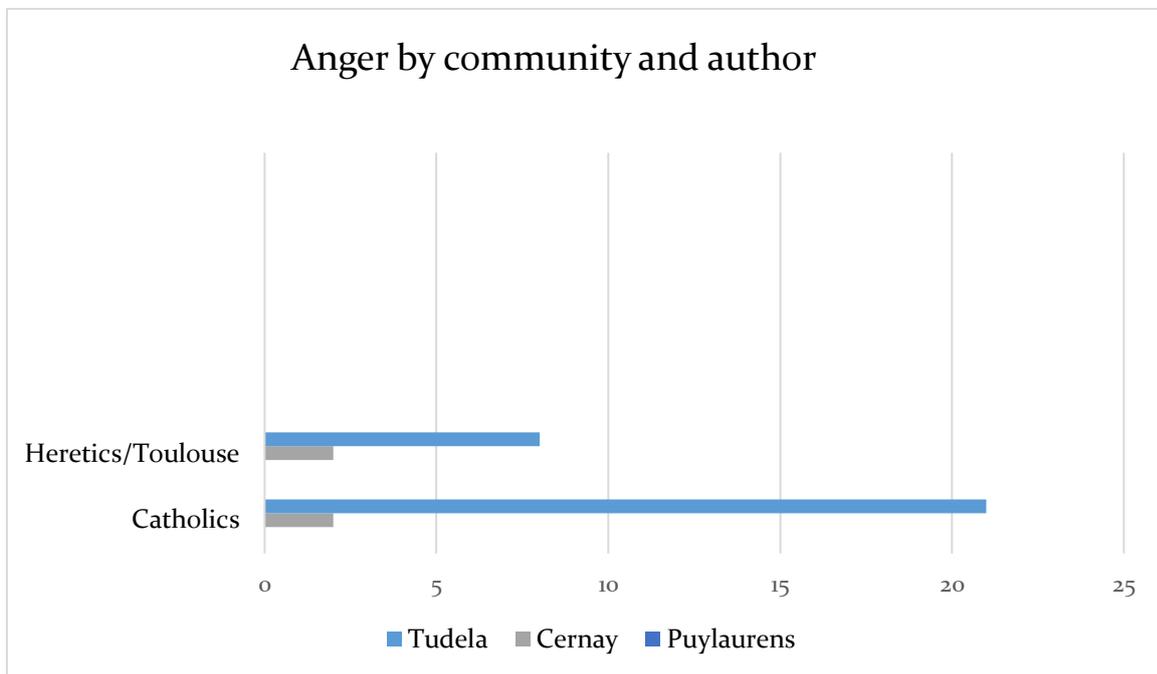


Figure 4

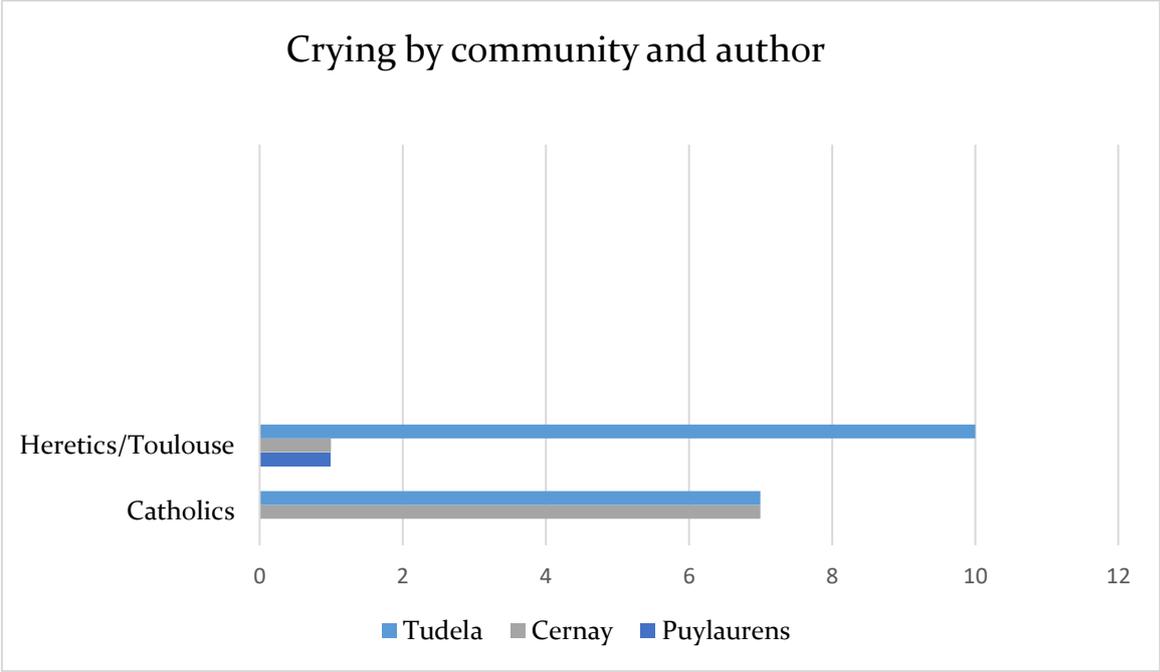


Figure 5

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#### Image on front page:

- Cathars being expelled from Carcassonne by an unknown artist circa 1415, from: [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Albigensian\\_Crusade#/media/File:Cathars\\_expelled.JPG](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Albigensian_Crusade#/media/File:Cathars_expelled.JPG)

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